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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

First Session, 35th Parliament

## Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Wednesday 27 November 1991

Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

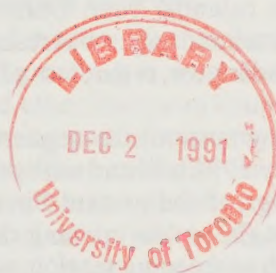
Première session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

## Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le mercredi 27 novembre 1991

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers





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### Numbering of Hansard

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For the last two years Hansard has been numbered according to the calendar year. Under this system, the numbering of issues and pages was restarted with the first issue in the calendar year, regardless of session or Parliament.

Under the new system, the sequence of numbering started in January 1991 will end with the final House and committee sittings of the present First Session. A new sequence will begin on the opening day of the Second Session, and each succeeding session, which will be issue 1 and begin with page 1. Committee reports likewise will be numbered from the first sitting of each committee in a parliamentary session.

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Depuis deux ans, le Journal des débats était numéroté par année civile. Avec ce système, la numérotation des numéros et des pages recommençait au premier numéro de l'année civile, quelle que soit la session ou la législature.

Avec le nouveau système, la numérotation commencée en janvier 1991 s'arrêtera à la dernière séance de la Chambre et des comités de l'actuelle première session. Une nouvelle série commencera le jour de l'ouverture de la deuxième session et des sessions suivantes : numéro 1, page 1. Les rapports des comités seront également numérotés à partir de la première séance de chaque comité pour une session parlementaire donnée.

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Wednesday 27 November 1991

The House met at 1330.

Prayers.

## MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

### ENVIRONMENTAL LEGISLATION

**Mr McClelland:** The government House leader has circulated a memo stating that it is imperative—imperative, I stress—that the government receive passage of Bill 143 before Christmas in order to put desired waste reduction regulations into effect.

Mr Speaker, on behalf of my party I want to inform you, members of the assembly and the people of Ontario that the Liberal caucus is prepared to comply with the government House leader's wishes. We will ensure speedy passage of the waste reduction portion of the bill.

The only thing the minister has to do to ensure passage is agree to sever out part IV of Bill 143, which deals with the waste reduction measures. It is that simple. Part IV of Bill 143 can go forward, as per the government House leader's request, while the more controversial parts of the bill receive the public scrutiny they deserve.

Severance of part IV is the only way, because in its present form Bill 143 overrides every contract and every piece of legislation that is currently in place to ensure the protection of the environment. In fact, we have pointed out to the Minister of the Environment that Bill 143 would override an environmental bill of rights had she kept her election promise and had such a bill in place. It is clear that the Liberal caucus will not stand aside while the Minister of the Environment and her government endeavour to destroy, in fact steamroll over, the rights of the people in this province.

In order to help the minister and the government House leader along, later this afternoon I will be introducing for first reading a bill entitled Amendments to the Environmental Protection Act. I hope the government plans to move quickly on my bill and ensure swift passage so that the important waste reduction regulations can go into effect. It is a separate piece of legislation. The government can implement those waste reduction measures. I expect to see some action on it.

### WINE INDUSTRY

**Mr Villeneuve:** Last Thursday marked the day when new wines made their arrival in Ontario. Vin nouveau, from Ontario or elsewhere, has never pretended to be a quality wine, but it does provide the first opportunity to sense the quality of the harvest of that year. As well, any excuse to have a celebration with large amounts of wine in the month of November can certainly be appreciated.

I think we in Ontario can appreciate the weather aspect more than the grape growers in France. Something else that can be said and appreciated is that Ontario also grows the Gamay grape and that Ontario growers and wine makers produce excellent new wines as well.

This year, Ontario's nouveau wines are available in LCBO stores from Chateau des Charmes and from Pelee Island. At least one other winery, the Hillebrand Estates Winery, has a new wine available in its own stores. I would encourage members to try these Ontario products, which are excellent, in the next few weeks, during which new wines must be consumed. They must be consumed rather quickly.

We had a very good growing season for grapes here in Ontario this summer, and the quality is reflected in the Gamay nouveau wines. We certainly look forward to other wines in the 1991 harvest.

I would like to congratulate my colleagues in the PC caucus for serving Ontario wine last night at the Ontario Federation of Agriculture annual convention.

I think all members should partake of the new wines produced here in Ontario from Ontario grapes.

### RACE RELATIONS

**Mr Frankford:** As members know, Scarborough has a diverse and growing population. We now have over 500,000 people living there. As members are well aware, they come from all over the world and reflect all the trends in immigration over the past decades.

When you attend events in local schools, as I am sure you do, Mr Speaker, the mixture of national origins is quite apparent and it adds to the liveliness there. The numerous small plazas in my riding of Scarborough East often contain ethnic businesses, adding variety and providing valuable diversity to the local economy.

It is a sad fact of modern life that there are tensions and prejudices between groups. It is most distressing to look at France, Britain and other European countries and see violent tensions becoming part of everyday and political life there. Members may have seen the fine documentary by David Suzuki this week and observed the devastation of urban decay and racism in major US cities. The unrest caused by racism makes countries less competitive in the global economy.

I am pleased to inform members that the city of Scarborough has taken the initiative recently to set up a committee on race relations. It will be holding public hearings across the city, and tonight we will be having the first one at West Rouge Community Centre in my riding.

It is crucial for civic leaders to take the initiative in this and to develop the awareness and sensitivity needed to prevent criminal behaviour, to develop economically and to ensure equity in job opportunities for all who go through the educational system and live in our city.

### CREDIT COUNSELLING

**Mr H. O'Neil:** The Minister of Community and Social Services has set credit counselling services in Ontario adrift by her recent announcement that 25 years of funding would be discontinued. The Ontario Association of Credit



Counselling Services fears that "this may well be the end of this valuable service to the citizens of Ontario."

I want to draw members' attention for a moment to the impact of the province's withdrawal from this much-needed service. The average client at the Quinte Region Credit Counselling Service in my riding earns less than \$26,000 per year, has two children and owes an average of \$11,000 in consumer debt. Once funding for credit counselling is withdrawn, families in Quinte and across the province will be without the third-party mediation services of credit counselling programs and can expect, according to Richard Bauer, executive director in Quinte, bankruptcies, legal actions and the restoration of interest charges and penalties that are currently waived.

By failing to recognize the social problems associated with financial crisis in the home, the Ministry of Community and Social Services is abandoning families in Ontario at a time when credit counselling services have never been needed more. Perhaps we can convince the minister and the Treasurer and the government and the Premier to reconsider this action.

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#### ELECTORAL DISTRICT OF BRANT-HALDIMAND

**Mrs Cunningham:** The former member for Brant-Haldimand, Mr Robert Nixon, resigned as MPP effective August 1, 1991. That riding has now been without provincial representation for four months.

The former member for London North, Mr Ron Van Horne, resigned effective December 31, 1987. The by-election was held on March 31, 1988. London North went without provincial representation for three months. It was, by the way, a most successful by-election.

The most recent by-election, in Welland-Thorold, was held on November 3, 1988, three months after the former member, Mr Mel Swart, resigned. That was a most interesting by-election.

In his capacity as leader of the official opposition, the Premier stated during a press conference at Brock University, "People are entitled to local representation when the provincial Legislature reopens October 17. People want a local member." Obviously at that time the Premier thought four months without local representation was too long.

Mr David Timms is willing and able to serve the riding of Brant-Haldimand at Queen's Park. Brant-Haldimand will have been without local representation for four months on December 1. When is the Premier going to practise what he preached when he was in opposition, or is this another "That was then, this is now"?

#### VILLAGE OF WINSTON PARK

**Mr Cooper:** Recently I had the pleasure of participating at the official opening of phase 1 of the Village of Winston Park. Phase 1 is a 95-bed nursing home, phase 2 will consist of 80 retirement home suites and phase 3 will include two apartment buildings for seniors.

The overall intent of Winston Park is to offer a complete long-term care community which provides a broad range of living opportunities to serve the daily living needs, as well as health care needs, of the elderly. Beyond

this, the Village of Winston Park is also intended to be a part of the Glencairn community of Kitchener-Waterloo, rather than an isolated ghetto for seniors.

The concept of continuing care for seniors is one which is only now being developed in Ontario, although it is quite well established in other parts of the world. The advantages of being able to stay in the same facility, even though the level of care which one requires may change with the passage of time, are obvious.

Such facilities, however, are hard to find, and in the Kitchener-Waterloo area they were practically non-existent until now. The Village of Winston Park will be a multilevel care community in a parklike setting, but still within the city of Kitchener. It will also, as development progresses, be a focal point for seniors in the area and will provide an outreach into the community at large.

One can imagine families where each spouse requires a different level of care as the years go by. In the Village of Winston Park it is entirely possible for spouses to be cared for in different parts of the complex according to their needs, but to be able to see each other as often as is desired without leaving the village. With the increasing numbers of elderly people in our community, the time is ripe for a project like the Village of Winston Park.

#### ASSISTANCE TO FARMERS

**Mr Mancini:** Last night my colleagues heard one consistent message from farmers at the Ontario Federation of Agriculture's annual convention: that this NDP government does not understand the crisis farmers are facing.

Yesterday the Minister of Agriculture and Food told the House that the NDP has put \$119 million in new funding into agriculture. The minister must be having some problems with addition, because the money he talks about just is not there. According to the figures from the budget and the second-quarter finances, agriculture spending is up by only \$48 million over last year and agriculture's share of the provincial budget has actually dropped.

Yesterday we heard the auditor's criticism of the NDP's decision to unnecessarily preflow almost \$200 million in funding to the teachers' pension fund a year early. Members should think of what \$200 million would have meant to the farmers of the province, to a \$17-billion industry and the 570,000 jobs they support. I want to tell the Treasurer that farmers in my riding are still waiting for the NDP to make good on its promises. I am glad the Treasurer is here. I am glad he is participating. The farmers of Ontario are facing a crisis. We were promised \$119 million; we got only \$48 million. I tell the Treasurer: Let's add up our numbers correctly and let's flow the money to the farmers.

#### LABOUR LEGISLATION

**Mr McLean:** A growing number of businesses and workers in my riding of Simcoe East are worried that this government's proposed overhaul of Ontario's labour and employment laws will destroy the unique partnership between labour and business. It is a partnership that is necessary if Ontario is to be economically healthy and vibrant.



The Orillia and District Chamber of Commerce and about 200 businesses and individuals that employ more than 25,000 people placed a full-page advertisement in the Orillia Packet and Times on November 23. This ad states in no uncertain terms that Ontario does not need an overhaul of these laws because existing businesses cannot afford additional costs and restrictions. They suggest such amendments are unnecessary and will further damage the province's already fragile ability to compete in the world marketplace.

As well, a recent town hall meeting was held in Midland to give representatives of labour and business a chance to talk about promoting competitiveness and prosperity. The gathering suggested unions should be toned down and workers should have an opportunity to choose whether they want to belong to a union.

It was also suggested that the provincial government should stop forcing industries to leave Ontario because of labour laws. By overhauling Ontario's labour and employment laws, this government is giving prospective investors one more reason not to invest in Ontario. The people of Ontario will benefit most if the government will instead develop proposals to address job attraction and creation. Affixed to my statement is the full-page ad entitled "When is Enough Enough?"

#### CANADA AWARD FOR BUSINESS EXCELLENCE

**Mr Lessard:** Today I would like to recognize an Ontario success story. Recently I was in Windsor with Lee Iacocca to celebrate that Chrysler Canada's Windsor assembly plant beat out 42 other finalists to become the first auto manufacturer in Canada to win the prestigious Canada Award for Business Excellence in the category of quality. The real recognition for this award goes to the 4,000 employees of the plant represented by Local 444 and Local 1498 of the Canadian Auto Workers. It was their hard work and self-confidence that made this award possible.

The Windsor plant produces the Chrysler mini-van. So successful has this product been that over three million have been assembled. From its introduction, the mini-van has been produced in Windsor and is credited with turning around the once ailing Chrysler Corp in the early 1980s. Chrysler's chairman praised the plant's workers and said it was their ability to build the revolutionary new vehicle to such high levels of quality that helped bring Chrysler back from the brink. Winning this award proves that, working together, CAW members and Chrysler can be competitive and build the best.

Larry Bauer, president of CAW Local 444, accepted the award on behalf of his brothers and sisters and said the award is proof Chrysler workers can deliver and will continue to deliver quality products for the corporation. I have no doubt Windsor workers could do the same for others who may choose Windsor as a place to invest. I want to add my congratulations and share the pride of the people of Windsor for the members of CAW Local 444 and Local 1498 and the Chrysler Corp.

#### ENERGY CONSERVATION

**The Speaker:** On Wednesday, November 6, 1991, the member for Lanark-Renfrew raised a question of privilege with respect to a telephone conversation with a senior official of Ontario Hydro following a statement the member had made in the House regarding the government's policy on conservation programs. I have carefully reviewed the points raised by the member for Lanark-Renfrew both in the House and in correspondence to me. The record tends to indicate that there was nothing more than a disagreement between the member and the official of Ontario Hydro. This falls well short of establishing a *prima facie* case of privilege.

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#### STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

##### TORONTO ISLANDS COMMUNITY

**Hon Mr Cooke:** For many decades the Toronto Islands community has been buffeted by legal wrangles and political battles. The people of the Toronto Islands community have lived with uncertainty for far too long. Will the islands be a community or a park, or will they be both? Who will own the lands? That is why I am pleased to inform the members of the House today that we have arrived at what I believe is a fair and innovative solution. To this end, next month I will be introducing legislation called the Toronto Islands Stewardship Act. The legislation will be part of an overall plan to preserve the islands community.

Previous governments have tried to find a solution to this problem but have failed. The province's decision in 1956 to turn over the Toronto Islands to Metro Toronto did not resolve the matter, and neither did the provincial legislation in 1981, but I believe the policy we are announcing today will resolve this issue and will do so in a manner that is fair to the islanders, the city, Metropolitan Toronto and the Ontario taxpayers.

The direction we are taking today would not have been possible without the skilful efforts of the former MPP for Scarborough West, Richard Johnston. The members will recall that earlier this year I asked Mr Johnston to find the fairest way to ensure the preservation of a residential community on the Toronto Islands. Mr Johnston consulted extensively with the islanders, Metro Toronto, the city of Toronto and many others. Within the 60-day mandate given to Mr Johnston, he produced a report with a creative set of recommendations. I am pleased to note that the policy we are announcing today is very much in line with the spirit of the original Johnston report.

The Toronto Islands Stewardship Act will include the following measures.

First, land comprising the residential community will remain in public ownership. These residential lands will be transferred from Metro Toronto to the province.

Second, the Toronto Islands Community Trust will be established with representation from the community and government. The community trust will manage the lands for the benefit of the residential community and the Metro Toronto public at large.



Third, we are returning to the islanders a limited right of ownership to their homes.

Fourth, island residents will be offered 99-year leases for the land. Residents on Ward's Island will pay \$36,000 for their leases while each lot on Algonquin Island will cost \$46,000. Those people who cannot afford the lease price will be able to join a new island housing co-op.

Fifth, the sale of these lot leases will provide about \$12 million in compensation to the city of Toronto for its investment in the islands community. In addition, the city will be compensated for 50% of its investment in islands water and sewer services.

Sixth, land lease sales will be strictly regulated to ensure no windfall profits accrue to island residents who sell their houses and leases.

Seventh, the island community will be increased by up to 110 new housing units with at least 80 of the new homes managed by the housing co-operative. This will expand the community from the 250 homes that now house 650 people.

Finally, about 23 acres of provincially owned land, part of the former Lakeshore Psychiatric Hospital site in Etobicoke, will be made available as additional park land to Metro Toronto and the city of Etobicoke.

I am pleased to report that this solution comes at no cost to the province, the city of Toronto, Metro or any of their taxpayers.

To recap, the island lands remain in public ownership, island residents own their homes but pay \$36,000 to \$46,000 for land leases, islanders who cannot afford the lease prices can join a new island housing co-operative, lease sales will be strictly regulated by a community trust to prevent windfall profits, the city will be repaid its islands investment while Metro Toronto is compensated with park land and up to 110 new housing units will be built there.

In conclusion, any way you look at the solution, it is innovative, creative and fair. It is fair to the islands community, the municipalities of Toronto and Metro and Ontario's taxpayers. The actions we are beginning today will effectively end this dispute and enable us to maintain a healthy, vibrant islands community for all.

## RESPONSES

### TORONTO ISLANDS COMMUNITY

**Mr Phillips:** I am pleased to respond. I think everyone would like a resolution to this problem. The statement by the minister today has raised a number of questions that we will be looking at carefully.

One of them, of course, is the cost of this to the taxpayer. I realize that in his statement he indicates there is no cost to the taxpayer. We will be looking carefully at the costs that have already been put into the island by city of Toronto and Metro taxpayers to ensure this is a fair solution to all the parties concerned. I think we can all recognize as well that Metro council has raised concerns about the initial Johnston report. I am sure a government dedicated to consultation—and prepared to invest a fair bit of money on advertising the fact that it is dedicated to consultation—will want to ensure there is a good period of consultation with Metro council on this matter. It is of major importance to Metro residents.

There are a few other questions that perhaps the minister's statement ultimately will resolve, as we find out more about it. What is going to happen to owners of island homes who do not live on the island but may have other tenants in their homes? We want to know about that. How will the government ensure that none of these leases will be flipped? I realize there is an indication in its statement that it will ensure that happens, but we will want to know on what basis that happens.

The 99-year lease is a question. I realize it stays in "public ownership," but as we look ahead at a large metropolitan area and perhaps the need for park land in the future, is 99 years the right amount of time? Finally, how will the government solve the issue of ownership, or will it simply extend the leases?

It may not be quite as clear-cut as the minister would like us to believe today in his statement. We will want to look in more detail at the specifics behind the words, and obviously we will want to hear the comments of Metro council during the consultation period as it looks at the details of this proposal.

**Mr Stockwell:** It is very correct that this issue has been around for a few decades, and what has happened is that in those few decades governments could not make a decision. They could not make a decision for the residents of the island. They could not make a decision for the benefit of the people of Metropolitan Toronto, the taxpayers of Metropolitan Toronto, for public open space.

This government has made a decision all right. It is a sellout of public open space. One of the most precious issues facing the residents in Metro Toronto is public open space. The minister suggests he gives us back 23 acres in the psychiatric grounds. The member sitting next to him knows full well that this always was open space. It is designated and zoned public open space in Etobicoke. He has given us the sleeves from his vest. I can only thank God that this member did not get her way so she could develop co-operative housing on the psychiatric grounds, which nobody wanted anyway. He is just playing a shell game with the residents in Metro.

Let's go back to the original people who were expropriated from there. Those people were moved off because council made a decision many decades ago to take the public open space on the waterfront and use it for the benefit of the people. What has happened is that these people who are left on the island, mark my words, are not original islanders. They have moved in. They have gotten a piece of property for 99 years for \$36,000.

They just won the lottery thanks to this government. It is going to cost them roughly \$360 a year to live in their premises. By rent, that is \$30 a month in Metropolitan Toronto to live on the island, to have a ferry service paid for by the Metro taxpayers to get them there and back. They have a fire service paid for. They have not paid taxes for years. They have basically become squatters. They have moved in on public park land and this government is paying them out because they elected NDP representatives.

Not once has Metro council ever endorsed the islanders, because it knows it is wrong. With this settlement, we know full well that people can look forward to moving



into High Park next and in 20 years winning the lottery and living in High Park, according to the criteria of this government.

This government suggests it wants a public open space policy on the waterfront. Mr Crombie must be having very serious concerns about this decision when the government takes public property on the island and starts developing it for co-operative housing. It is absolutely unacceptable today to start developing co-operative housing in the middle of parks.

1400

I do not know any municipality that would accept it and I do not know any municipality in Metropolitan Toronto that would endorse this deal. They are on record as opposing the continual attack by the islanders on public property, and this is what it comes down to, public property. If this government thinks it has cut a deal that is acceptable to Metro council, may I suggest it is going to be rudely awakened when that vote comes, because Metro council will not endorse this decision either. Metropolitan Toronto residents will not endorse this decision.

If the government is going to start selling out, it should use its own money. I am sick and tired of their giving payoffs to NDP-supported wards and ridings so they can live on this land for 99 years. The member opposite knows that full well. Why does he not quote the polls last election and see how many votes he got off the island?

In the end, if the government thinks it has cut a fair and equitable deal, it is wrong. They have taken 99 years of public use of public park land on a very, very shrinking amount of public space on the waterfront and given it away. If they think that is a good idea, it does not surprise me, but my party and I personally will have no part of this sellout.

**Mrs MacKinnon:** On a point of personal privilege, Mr Speaker: The member for Essex South said, and I paraphrase here, "Members of the government do not understand the plight of farmers." I disagree. I understand farming from a personal experience. I understand farming from working on the agriculture finance review committee. I understand farming very well.

**The Speaker:** Would the member for Essex South take his seat please. To the member for Lambton, you do not have a point of privilege. I do appreciate the feeling which you have for the issue that was raised.

#### ENERGY CONSERVATION

**Mr Jordan:** On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: Yesterday, when I asked the Minister of Energy a question regarding the \$7-million, two-lightbulb campaign, in his reply he referred to myself and the people of Lanark-Renfrew as dimwits because we cannot see giving \$6 away to get back \$1. I would ask the minister to please withdraw that unparliamentary remark.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** If I could have the attention of the House for a moment please. To the member for Lanark-Renfrew, who quite properly notified me in advance, at the beginning of today's routine proceedings, that he would

rise on this particular point of privilege, I had an opportunity to review Hansard and I must tell the member that indeed, had I heard the comment that was made at the time when it was made or if the member for Lanark-Renfrew had risen on a point of order at the time, I would have asked the Minister of Energy to withdraw that personal comment.

It is our standing practice that points of order must be raised at the time when inappropriate language is used. That is in fact what should have happened at the time. I certainly would ask the Minister of Energy if in future he would be a bit more cautious about the language, the personal comments, which are directed across the House.

#### WRITTEN QUESTIONS

**Mr Jackson:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Under standing order 95(d)—you will recall this is the standing order which deals with response time for Orders and Notices questions—briefly I want to suggest to you that since the election this government has persistently and consistently made it more difficult for members of this House on the opposition benches to obtain necessary information in a timely and accurate fashion so we can undertake our duties as members of this House in a variety of circumstances.

I wish the Speaker to be aware, and he will be aware, of standing order 95, which states, "The minister shall answer such written questions within 14 calendar days." Having stated that, Mr Speaker, I wish you to review order paper questions 435 and 436 standing in my name, which deal with a very simple request for information about the total number of commercial and non-profit day care centres that have been forced to close in this province since September 1990.

That request was tabled in this House on June 25, 1991. We have gone through the estimates process. We have gone through budget reviews. We have gone through a series of activities where this information has not been shared with all members of this House. I respectfully request, with the crisis facing day care, that this government should honour the standing orders—

**The Speaker:** Would the member take his seat, please. The member indeed has what I believe to be a valid point of order and I will review the circumstances as he has described them.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** Mr Speaker, I would like to request unanimous consent to introduce two special guests with us here in this assembly today.

**The Speaker:** Do we have unanimous consent?

Agreed to.

#### LUCILLE ROUSSEAU AND OLIVE ATCHINSON

**Hon Ms Lankin:** Thank you very much, and I thank the members opposite for their agreement to an unusual request from a minister of the crown, but I was unaware that these people would be joining us in the assembly here today. I want to take just a very quick moment to say a welcome to Mrs Lucille Rousseau and Mrs Olive Atchinson, who are visiting homemakers and who are celebrating today 30 years of commitment to caring and support for



people choosing to remain in their homes. Perhaps they could just stand so we could recognize them.

I had the opportunity just minutes before question period began to meet these two wonderful women and the honour of presenting them with flowers in celebration of their anniversary of 30 years of long, hard hours of work and support to the community. I truly offer to them, on behalf of all the members of this assembly and the people of Ontario, our congratulations and our thanks.

Joining them today are Mrs Jean Young, the president of the Ontario Association of Visiting Homemaker Services, Mrs Ann Hargest, the executive director from the Ottawa area, and Marg Beatty, the executive director of the Ontario association. We certainly welcome them here, and again to the two women who are celebrating this important event I offer our sincere congratulations and thanks.

**Mr Mancini:** On behalf of the Liberal caucus, I would like to extend our personal greetings and our personal congratulations to the ladies visiting us today for their 30 years of dedication and service to their community. We wish them many more years of health and happiness.

**Mr Jackson:** Certainly on behalf of our caucus, and indeed therefore on behalf of all members of this House, we would like to send our personal congratulations to Lucille and Olive. For any member who has had occasion to visit the homes where visiting homemakers have had a presence and an inspiration and a comforting hand, it is clear that this is one of the most essential community-based services we have as a linkage to the frail elderly and to those people whose circumstances force them to live the life of a shut-in.

I would like to say, though, that both Lucille and Olive certainly represent an entire generation. For the past 30 years, they have given of their humanity and their compassion and their service. But like the generation they represent, they too some day soon perhaps will have to rely on government to continue that level of support that allowed them to participate in their community, because they themselves will become the users of the service and they will expect that we in government will ensure that this service continues.

When we look to the long-term care reform document, as we looked in fact to the care givers we talk about in that document, we hope it will be a priority for all members of this House and they can receive in return the same compassion they have given out for 30 years. We all pay tribute to you. Welcome to Queen's Park.

#### MEMBER'S MAILING

**The Speaker:** Before commencing with oral questions, at the request of the honourable member for York Centre, who raised a question of privilege on Monday last, I have had an opportunity to review the document he forwarded to me and can find no basis for a prima facie case of privilege.

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#### ORAL QUESTIONS

##### PURCHASE OF VIDEO EQUIPMENT

**Mr Ramsay:** Yesterday, after the Provincial Auditor's report, the Premier was very adamant in a statement he made that "There will be no abuse of the public purse in any way, shape or form." We certainly want to take the Premier at his word and therefore I have the following question.

The Premier is aware that when his government took office, his ministers and parliamentary assistants took over offices that were fully furnished, fully functional and equipped with the requisite number of fax machines, telephones and television sets. As the Premier is also aware, in June of this year, through an order paper question, we asked all the ministers and parliamentary assistants what personal office purchases of electronic equipment they made. Almost all the ministers have given their responses, and unfortunately we are very disappointed with those responses. We have found that since October 1, 1990, ministers have spent \$25,000 on extra electronic equipment, including 25 new television sets and 14 new videocassette recorders.

Can the Premier tell this House and the taxpayers of Ontario if he is in agreement with these purchases by ministers? Can he also tell this House why, with his greatly increased staff, he himself has not answered this question? The Premier and the Minister of Correctional Services have yet to answer this question after it has been on the order paper for five months.

**Hon Mr Rae:** With respect to the second question, I will obviously take it as notice. I am happy to look into it.

I would say to the honourable member that when we arrived in office there was all kinds of equipment that was not there, to be perfectly blunt. I will have to look into the particular question the member has asked, but overall, I would say to the member, who is obviously the chef du jour, that there is a need for all of us to exercise restraint with respect to the way in which offices are handled. By and large, I think that has been the case.

**Mr Ramsay:** It is the first we have heard that the Premier inherited offices that were not fully equipped. I do not understand his outrage yesterday about government expenditure when today he is not really ready to answer that question.

When we look at the specific list of ministerial purchases, there is an interesting one I would like to bring to the attention of the Premier with regard to the Attorney General. The Attorney General ordered two extra television sets for his office. They were not the regular, standard-issue television sets that run for about \$400; these television sets for the Attorney General were worth \$719. We are wondering why the Attorney General needs two extra TV sets and why they cost \$300 more than the other ones.

We would really like to know if the Premier condones these extra expenditures of the Attorney General. Why is he allowing that to happen, particularly in the Ministry of



the Attorney General? That ministry is struggling with court reform and court security and is needing every dollar to provide those services.

**Hon Mr Rae:** When the member refers to the Attorney General, he is obviously referring to him and to members of his staff. It is not at all untoward for there to be television sets in the offices of executive assistants as well as members and ministers, with respect to being able to watch the House and follow the proceedings in the House. That is a perfectly ordinary and standard thing to do and that is the way it has been proceeding.

**Mr Ramsay:** I guess the question is, what is the television threshold for the Premier? How many TV sets are okay? He fired a deputy minister for having eight or nine in his office this year. Now the Attorney General has two more than the original allocation.

Interjections.

**Mr Ramsay:** Would the government like to listen to this point? I would like to inform the Premier of another example of his government's waste. As we speak, \$260,000 of highly sophisticated video equipment sits in the north wing of this building in room 207. This has been collecting dust since March 28 of this year. It has been sitting unopened in boxes for seven months. I have the invoice for this equipment. It is \$263,000 worth of equipment. The problem is that the original supplier will not take this back. What does the Premier intend to do with this equipment? Why is it sitting there? Why have we expended \$260,000 on equipment nobody is using?

**Hon Mr Rae:** There are various caucus budgets with respect to video equipment. I am sure the Liberal caucus and, I would think, the Conservative caucus have such budgets with respect to video equipment. If the member wants us to have a general debate about those expenditures and who has what and where it all is, I would be more than happy to participate in that.

**Mr Ramsay:** All I can say is yes, we have similar equipment, but we use our equipment; it is not sitting in boxes collecting dust.

#### LABOUR LEGISLATION

**Mr Ramsay:** I have a question for the Minister of Labour. Unfortunately last week we received more bad economic news in the province. We know UTDC's Kingston truck plant is going to be closing in early 1992, throwing 100 unionized workers out of work. As well, aircraft maker McDonnell Douglas in Toronto may have to lay off up to 1,200 people next year. And we know the 5,000 workers at de Havilland wonder every day if they are going to have jobs in the future.

In the middle of these bleak economic times, the Minister of Labour intends to ram down the throats of the workers and business in Ontario changes to the Labour Relations Act which have, as he knows, business wondering whether it has a future in this province.

The government's inability to control the deficit and deal with the economy, which is why we designated today opposition day on the economy, has everybody in the province worried. Even the workers who are supposedly

the big beneficiaries of these amendments are concerned their companies might pick up and go to the United States. Business is worried and the minister's polls show that workers are also worried. Given the poor economic times in Ontario, why bring in now these amendments to the Labour Relations Act?

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** It is very clear and easy: It is simply because we want to improve the climate between labour and management in Ontario.

**Mr Ramsay:** This is the answer we repeatedly get from the Minister of Labour. The minister has said more unionization is going to bring a high wage and high-skilled jobs and create a high degree of competitiveness in Ontario, but his deputy minister has said he does not think there is going to be increased unionization because of these amendments. In Ontario today, industry is concerned about the potential impact of this legislation, especially in our current harsh economic times. As the minister must know, there was less foreign investment coming into Canada and into Ontario in September, as investors are now starting to think twice about investing in this jurisdiction.

These changes are not going to create any new jobs, and they are not going to save any of the existing ones. Certainly that must be our prime concern. No more workers are going to join unions, according to the Deputy Minister of Labour, and employers are thinking twice about investing here. How will these changes address everybody's concerns about how we can become more competitive in Ontario as we face a new global economy?

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** I think the answer to that is fairly obvious, too. We simply have to pull together, not only management but labour in this province, if we are going to see an improvement in our economic situation.

1420

**Mr Ramsay:** I agree with the response of the minister. I wish that was what was happening and I ask him that we do that: start to pull together. These changes are not going to do that.

The minister frequently refers to the Quebec situation. Similar legislation went into Quebec. Since 1983, when that legislation was last amended, twice as many workers in Quebec have gone on strike as in Ontario.

The Premier talks about this consultation, this partnership, yet he told the United Steelworkers of America recently that he was determined to push these amendments through. How can we have this consultation when the Premier says it is going through and yet the minister talks about partnership? How can we have this partnership when it is the time to bring in business, management and labour to say, "Let's sit down and talk about redeveloping the Ontario economy together," and not just to ram amendments down people's throats?

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** It seems to me there was a time when this member thought it was useful to involve or consult with workers on decisions that might affect them.

#### LANDFILL SITES

**Mr Harris:** I have a question for the Minister of the Environment. The Interim Waste Authority has been



developing a long list of potential sites for GTA garbage for some time now. According to the minister's schedule, the study schedule, the document release dates, it was to be November for the identification of candidate areas and the final long list of sites. The Interim Waste Authority has indicated that it is waiting until after Bill 143 is passed before it meets this timetable of releasing the list of the potential sites.

Given that Bill 143 gives the minister the power to short-circuit the environmental consultation process, could she explain to me why she has asked the Interim Waste Authority to postpone releasing the list of potential landfill sites until after Bill 143 has been passed?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** There are two parts to the reason the list has not been released on the date when our initial predictions had hoped it would be. One was that in the extensive consultation which has taken place around the criteria that will govern the site search—the environmental criteria, the kinds of lands where the Interim Waste Authority would not want to see a waste site—all of the more extensive consultation around those criteria than has ever taken place before under a waste management master plan, we got a great deal of feedback from the people who participated in those discussions in the meetings which were held throughout the greater Toronto area. It is our intention to respond to that feedback and to look at those criteria in the light of that consultation and of the comments we got. Then the long list of sites will be prepared on the basis of the final criteria as opposed to the draft criteria which were put out initially.

**Mr Harris:** I would really like to understand what the minister is saying. It has certainly been indicated to us that they were not going to release the candidate areas and the final list of sites until after Bill 143, the minister's bill to limit public input, was passed. If the minister is telling us that is not the case, I would like her to be very clear on that so I can go back and report to the Interim Waste Authority: "No, passing Bill 143, limiting public input, is not the reason. If you have your site list ready, if you are on the timetable, or as soon as you have them ready, regardless of whether 143 is passed, you can go ahead and release those sites." Is that what the minister is telling this House? If she is not telling us that, could she explain why she wants the list hidden from public view before we pass the bill that limits their right to input?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** As the member well knows, Bill 143 contains a number of sections. One of those is the search for long-term disposal sites for the GTA, and that search is proceeding in accordance with the Environmental Assessment Act. The establishment of the process for the determination of those sites depends on the passage of the legislation, which will identify the criteria and the basis and the site search plan. There is no list at this point. The criteria were out for consultation. We are responding to that consultation and we have the legislation that establishes the site search process. When the legislation has been passed we will proceed to the next stage, which is the establishment of the long-term list. It is very clear, it is

very simple and it is entirely in accordance with everything I have said since November 1990.

**Mr Harris:** There are a couple of things I would like to know. Municipal councils which have just been elected are having their formation meetings, as the minister very well knows. Yet she wants us to pass Bill 143, limiting their right for input and limiting the right of the residents of Metropolitan Toronto for public input, for hearings, limiting all their rights under the Environmental Assessment Act. Those are the powers contained in Bill 143. She wants us to whip this through, get all this passed, get everybody muzzled and give her all the power before she is going to meet this timetable of releasing the sites.

I believe the long lists of sites are ready, prepared, detailed and ready to be released. I am asking the minister to give the public of Metropolitan Toronto the right to know what those potential sites are before she muzzles it with the passage of Bill 143.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** Let me once again tell the member what is in Bill 143. There is a process in Bill 143 that gets us through the immediate short-run problem of not having capacity for waste. The member is quite right that there is no opportunity for an environmental assessment hearing in that.

The second part of the legislation establishes the process for the long-term site search in accordance with the Environmental Assessment Act. When that is passed, we will then proceed to the next stage, which is the identification of the long-term sites.

There is also within the legislation the legislative basis for the regulations around waste reduction, reuse and recycling. Those regulations are already out for discussion, for consultation, but before those regulations can be promulgated we need the passage of Bill 143.

I know it may be complicated, but there are four parts to the legislation. The member does himself and the public of this province a disservice by attempting to confuse the four.

**Mr Harris:** There is nothing in Bill 143 that should stop this process continuing that she released earlier in the year and there is nothing to stop the release of the identification of the sites before she muzzles the people.

#### STUDENT BUSING

**Mr Harris:** My second question is to the Minister of Education. Yesterday, the Provincial Auditor revealed that "Combining bus routes for the public and separate boards can result in the elimination of buses or substitution of more suitable bus sizes, resulting in significant cost savings." Would the minister tell us whether he intends to follow through with the auditor's recommendations?

**Hon Mr Silipo:** Yes, I do. I think busing is one of a number of questions where there can be a lot more co-operation between school boards than there has been in the past. I know there are some areas of the province where that co-operation exists now and where, as a result of that, cost savings have been achieved. I would be very interested in looking at the recommendations from the auditor



as well as practices in place now across the province that can help us to deal with this issue more effectively.

1430

**Mr Harris:** Great answer; the same one I got a year ago when the auditor released the same information. Obviously nothing has happened in that year.

My colleague the member for Simcoe West tells me that in his riding, school buses could travel the equivalent of nearly twice around the equator every day. That is in his riding alone. Last year the auditor revealed that York region could save \$1 million in transportation costs. That is just one board out of 168.

Will the minister tell us why, one year and another auditor's report later, the government has failed to look at, and in fact insist on, the sharing of services between coterminous school boards?

**Hon Mr Silipo:** I am not sure what the question was in the supplementary, but let me say to the member that I intend to look at this issue very seriously. I have already indicated in my discussions so far with representatives of trustees' organizations from both the public and the Catholic schools that this is an area where I not only want but would expect some co-operation. Quite frankly, I think that will come. I can assure the member that this is an area I am very interested in pursuing, and I hope that by the time the auditor's report of next year comes around, we will actually see some real differences in this area.

**Mr Harris:** I would like to believe that. I wanted to believe it last year when I got the same answers from the then Minister of Education.

We are spending nearing \$13 billion this year on education. The auditor has once again identified cost-saving measures across the province that could save us tens of millions of dollars. Every time we look at a board, we identify money that could be better spent on actually teaching our children.

Let me ask the minister this—last year after the auditor's report, I asked this as well; now I am asking once again. In order to ensure that we are getting the best possible education for all these tax dollars, will the minister introduce mandatory external audits of school boards?

**Hon Mr Silipo:** I can tell the member that in my other capacity, as Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet, we are actually looking at the whole question of how audits are being done in the broader public sector that comes under our responsibility. So rather than say yes or no to the question, I will say to him that this is an area we are looking at. We are obviously interested in ensuring that public money is well spent. That should happen as much as possible through co-operation, but if it means we need to be clearer and tighter in the rules we establish, I think we are quite prepared to do that.

#### PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

**Mr Bradley:** I have a question for the Premier. In years gone by, when the Premier's views on political ethics were significantly different than they are today, he considered the commissioning and purchasing of public opinion polls—polls paid for, by the way, by the taxpayers of this

province—to be a cynical manipulation of the political process. Would the Premier inform the House whether his government is today and since being in office commissioning and purchasing public opinion polls?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Yes.

**Mr Bradley:** The NDP, as members of this House will know, always had instant, perfect answers to every issue in the days when it had no responsibility for anything. Now that the NDP is the government, it turns out that the ship of state is being guided not by some kind of firm hand from the Premier or members of the government but rather by whatever puffs of today's wind catch its sails.

How much money is being spent on telling the government what it thinks and therefore not being spent on providing services to the people of this province, and why is the Premier keeping the results of these polls, paid for by Ontario taxpayers, secret and privy only to members of the NDP?

**Hon Mr Rae:** When I answered the first question, I said yes, because in the normal course of events there is a number of ministries which conduct opinion research of a variety of kinds, as the Leader of the Opposition well knows.

I can only say to the member that the information is there, it is important for governments to have a sense of the direction of public opinion on a variety of subjects, and I think it is what every modern organization does. I would also suggest to the member that political parties do it. We did it as a political party when we were in opposition. I suspect the Liberals are doing it in opposition as well.

#### CONSULTATION COMMITTEE

**Mr Harris:** My question is of the government whip, the Minister without Portfolio, chairman of the Consultation Central Co-ordinating Committee, or CCCP, I guess, as it is now referred to.

I would like to ask about the secret memo that was released by the Leader of the Opposition earlier this week. Page 2 says a training session will be held on November 27 and 28—that is today and tomorrow—for constituency assistants. I have contacted Kempenfelt Conference Centre near Barrie, where the NDP constituency assistants are spending today and tomorrow. They are there. Kempenfelt charges \$109 per person per night, plus costs for meeting rooms, etc, and food.

I wonder if the minister would tell us how many constituency assistants are attending. Could she tell us if the original purpose is still how they and their non-partisan salaries are supposed to make the government look good? I wonder if she could tell us who is paying the costs of this and what the total cost of this exercise is.

**Hon Mrs Coppen:** Mr Speaker, I will refer it to the House leader.

Interjections.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** All members of the Legislature and their constituency offices have budgets. Those budgets for the constituency offices include the operation of the constituency offices and obviously also in-service training for the staff who work in those constituency offices.



We are not doing anything unusual at all. We want to provide good service to our constituents, and one of the ways of providing that good service is to have in-service training for our constituency assistants.

**Mr Harris:** First of all, let me say I am disappointed that the chairman of the committee recommending this strategy really did not know the answer or what was going on.

Second, since it is the government House leader co-ordinating this political strategy with taxpayers' dollars, I would like to say that yesterday when the Premier was referred this question, we were absolutely assured by the Premier that contrary to the original intent, once the exposure came, there would be no more politicizing of this. This was nothing any more. Taxpayers' dollars would not be used to make the NDP look good. In fact, he was going to depoliticize and make this CCCP committee non-partisan.

If this is the case, could the minister tell me why the constituency assistants of the Liberal members and the Conservative members were not invited to participate in this non-partisan workshop as to how they could better serve their constituents?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I think the first point that is important for the leader of the third party to understand is that he knows as well as I do the rules of this place. Our whip, as a minister without portfolio, does not have line responsibilities for a ministry and therefore the questions the leader of the third party has asked of the whip and the comments he made are terribly unfair and unacceptable in this place.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order.

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**Hon Mr Cooke:** Members of the Legislature have a budget associated with their constituency office and a budget for their staffing here at Queen's Park. We are all allocated exactly the same amount of money. Central budgets for caucuses are allocated on the basis of a formula negotiated by the three parties with the former government in order to be fair and so that all of us can have the proper services and backup services we require.

If the opposition parties want to provide in-service training for their constituency assistants, they are quite able to do that. That is why they have a budget, and that is why we have a budget.

**Mr Ruprecht:** On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: I think the Premier should consider withdrawing the limo from that minister until she is ready to answer the questions.

**The Speaker:** The member does not have a point of privilege.

**Hon Mrs Coppen:** On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: I would just like to inform the member that I do not have a limo.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order.

#### ONTARIO ROUND TABLE ON ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY

**Mr Wiseman:** My question is to the minister responsible for native affairs. I have read recently that the Native Circle from the Ontario Round Table on Environment and Economy has reported that its recommendations have stirred some sparks from the stakeholders in this consultation process. Specifically, the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters has indicated its concern over the recommendations regarding total aboriginal management of the fishery resources in Ontario. A number of my constituents have raised this with me, and I would like to know what the government's position is with regard to this recommendation and if this is government policy.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** I do not have a limo either.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** I would like to point out to the member that the Native Circle report is a draft report. It is being circulated to aboriginal communities across the province for consultation.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order. The member for St George-St David.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** I was referring to the Native Circle report to the Round Table on Environment and Economy. That is a draft report which is being circulated to the native communities for comment. The final report will not be submitted to the roundtable, I believe, until January. It is a very important draft report. It contains 70 recommendations on a wide range of economic and environmental issues such as forestry, parks, land claims, trapping, game farming, agriculture, urban development and commerce as they affect aboriginal people. But it is indeed a draft; it is not government policy.

**Mr Wiseman:** I wonder if the minister could tell me and the House who is on this committee so that we know in the future where the information is coming from.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** The roundtable, as all members will know, was established in 1988 by the previous government to look at sustainable development for Ontario. The Native Circle is a very important part of that roundtable. It is one of six task forces that report to the roundtable, which is chaired now by my colleague the Minister of the Environment.

The members of the Native Circle are Louis (Smokey) Bruyere, native consultant; Sue Anderson, the chair of the Native Women's Association environmental committee; Coreen Cachagee, chief of the Chapleau Cree; Robert Cormier, a native entrepreneur from Sault Ste Marie; Dean Jacobs from the Walpole Island heritage centre; Randy Kapashesit, chief of Mocrebevec in northern Ontario; Fred Plain, a well-known elder from southern Ontario around Sarnia; Margaret Sutherland, an environmental consultant, and Mark Krasnick, secretary for the Ontario native affairs secretariat.



## PAY EQUITY

**Ms Poole:** My question is for the Premier, if I could have the Premier's attention. This is a householder put out by the Premier. At least I assume it is; it has his picture on it. It has his constituency address, his Queen's Park address and the emblem of Ontario, and it has a mailback to Queen's Park.

I know the Premier considers his credibility to be extremely important to the people of this province. People have to trust their Premier. Therefore, it is very important that, when he speaks or when he writes or when he causes something to be written in his name, it is accurate. I am sure the Premier would not want to mislead his constituents, to whom this brochure was delivered.

I will quote from this householder: "We have extended pay equity to cover 420,000 women who work in jobs that until now did not qualify for pay equity increases." That is in the past tense. How can the Premier account for this terrible mistake, this inaccurate information, which is in his householder?

**Hon Mr Rae:** The government's announcements in this regard have been made very clearly by us. It is a matter that the government has announced as a matter of policy and it is policy that is going to be fully implemented.

**Ms Poole:** Maybe I can help the Premier out and straighten out the facts. In December his government announced it was going to extend pay equity to 420,000 workers, primarily child care workers. He said he was going to bring in legislation in the spring. The Premier may have forgotten that he did not deliver on this promise. In October, I asked his Minister of Labour when he was going to deliver and he refused to give us a date. The Premier has not extended pay equity and this is not the truth.

While we are on the subject, not only has the Premier not delivered on pay equity, but he did not deliver on the \$30-million down payment on pay equity he promised child care workers in January. What about the \$20 million he promised to women's shelters in the spring? When is that going to be delivered? They have not seen a dime. What about the 30,000 nursing home residents, 70% of whom are women? When can they expect the money the Premier promised them? What about support and custody? Why has that been delayed to the spring?

**The Speaker:** Could the member complete her supplementary, please.

**Ms Poole:** I will now place my question. The Premier has talked a big storm when it comes to making promises, making big, splashy announcements in the newspapers, but then he does not deliver. When is the Premier going to deliver on these promises?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I can only say to the member that the government's commitments with respect to pay equity, the ones that are specifically referred to in the householder the member is referring to, are commitments that are of great importance to this government and of great importance to me personally. The government is moving ahead in all these areas and ministers will be making statements over

the next while clearly indicating the decisions that the government has already made and fully intends to implement.  
1450

## CHILD CARE CENTRES

**Mr Jackson:** I have a question for the Minister of Community and Social Services. When she was the Minister of Education for the previous year in this province, did she know it was her mandate that there would be no new construction of classrooms while there existed elsewhere in the community vacant classroom spaces? Yet now when she has become the Minister of Community and Social Services, why is she spending millions of taxpayers' dollars to construct new day care centre spaces when there are thousands of vacant spaces in each of the communities she is building in?

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** I must admit that the generality of the question makes it rather difficult to answer. I would have to be very clear with the member that if he is referring to the child care spaces that are part of the mandate of the Ministry of Education in terms of capital funding, we have a commitment to communities and this will go forward.

If he is talking about new, non-profit child care centres in areas where area offices have approved the construction of those centres, where communities have demanded those spaces and where non-profit corporations exist to offer them, I would say to him he is quite right; our government has been very clear about its preference for non-profit child care.

Unfortunately, a lot of the empty spaces he refers to are also in non-profit child care centres where municipalities have lost the ability to take up the subsidized spaces which we have offered or where individuals have lost their jobs and are no longer eligible for subsidized spaces. We are very well aware that there needs to be a reorganization of how child care is delivered and it is going to be necessary for us to work with every community to ensure that existing non-profit child care is used first.

**Mr Jackson:** It is apparent that all government contradictions are difficult to answer and this question is no exception for this minister.

The minister indicated in her response that municipalities had been demanding that she construct these new spaces. That simply is not true. They have been demanding that the minister provide the subsidized spaces for them because they have sufficient vacant spaces. I will give the minister the statistics in York region. The minister built 377 brand-new spaces in York region. There are 1,800 families on waiting lists for subsidized spaces and there are 1,000 vacant spaces in that community where she is building.

I would like to remind the minister of a statement she made on October 19, 1990, in the London Free Press when she was first elected. She said that although the NDP opposes private day care, the provincial government will not ignore its concerns. People believed the minister and took her at her word.

Why then would she now ignore 7,000 women day care workers who are waiting for her to reverse her position on



discriminating against them in private centres? Why would she ignore the Treasurer who has specifically told her and every member of the cabinet to get better value for the dollar?

**The Speaker:** Would the member conclude his question, please.

**Mr Jackson:** Why would she ignore the Premier, who has said he wants to work with the private sector and not to shut it out? Finally, according to a Gallup poll that was released today, public opinion supports them and 68% of parents are saying, "We want this government to work co-operatively with the municipal, the non-profit and the for-profit sectors of day care in this province." Why is the minister ignoring all these people with her policies on day care?

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** We are not ignoring all these people. In fact, as the member may be well aware, even before I came into this ministry I had had extensive discussions with all sectors of the child care community, because of course, as Minister of Education, I was also involved in terms of the availability of child care services.

This government is united. The Treasurer and the Premier and I and all of us are united, and have been for ever, in our support of the use of public money for the non-profit sector. We have not changed that policy. Nothing I will do will change that policy. The member will find that what we will do is work to ensure that the existing child care centres that now enjoy the support of public money—we certainly do not intend to put them out of business, as I think he said, but we are quite concerned that they not proliferate. We are quite concerned that we not support additional centres that are not now receiving public money.

#### CLOSING OF TREE NURSERIES

**Mr Mills:** My question is to the Minister of Natural Resources. In Durham East, the riding is peppered with little hamlets and villages. One of those little hamlets is Orono, and that is where I live. In that hamlet we have a provincial tree nursery, and that tree nursery has been threatened with closure. It is the only homegrown industry we have left there. The furniture factory is closed; the main street is in dire straits because people have lost their jobs. We need that nursery to keep on. Can the minister tell me what he is going to do about Orono?

**Hon Mr Wildman:** The member for Durham East has raised a very important question. He will know that the 10 bare root nursery stocks that we have in the province are currently operating at only 65% capacity because of the changes in silviculture and the demand for container stock. He will also be aware of the comments made just a moment ago by the member opposite of the need for us to ensure that we are efficient and effective in the use of public funds. He will know this is a very difficult matter in dealing with the needs of the employees in the communities where they live.

I know the member has raised this matter with me, as the member for Kenora has raised the issue of the Dryden nursery in the House and the member for Rainy River has

also raised that with me. In my own constituency we have the nursery at Thessalon. We are having to consider how we can rationalize the number of nurseries we have and the whole nursery program in light of the pressures we are all facing in this current fiscal situation.

**Mr Mills:** I know and I can appreciate the very grave situation the minister finds himself in. My concern, however, is for the people of Orono. What I would like to know is what I can tell the folks back in Orono tonight so they can sleep better, because they are worried.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** This is a very, very important question for the people of Orono and for the member here, and if the members opposite do not think it is very important, they should discuss the situation at Dryden with the member for Kenora. Then they would understand how important this is to these small communities. I know the opposition members are not interested in the situation because they do not want to hear the answer.

The member can tell his constituents that no decision has been made. We are considering all the various options, but we hope to make a decision as quickly as possible because we do not want to keep the communities and the people working at the nurseries in limbo. We are very aware of the seriousness with which this decision must be made, both for Orono and the others involved. I should tell members, though, that in the short term the people of Orono and the nursery there do not have to be concerned because we have a number of seedlings that are already being produced that must be produced for this year, so any decisions that will be made will not take immediate effect. We hope to make a decision as soon as possible so that everyone involved will know how we are going to rationalize the need as well as the capacity to produce.

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#### REGULATION OF MORTGAGE BROKERS

**Mr Chiarelli:** My question is to the Minister of Financial Institutions. Yesterday's Provincial Auditor's report cited that the ministry was not effectively monitoring mortgage brokers. Members will recall that on the very first day of this Parliament, November 22, 1990, to be exact, I tabled legislation in this House, Bill 3, specifically designed to better control mortgage brokers and financial planning firms. This bill received favourable responses from professionals, investors and consumers alike. Six months ago in this House I again pleaded with the minister to urgently control huge mortgage broker losses. Yet he has done nothing, despite close to \$1 billion in consumer and investor losses over the last three years.

The minister has had legislation in front of him for over a year and questions have been raised in the House. How many more millions of dollars must be lost before the minister will act?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** The member is correct that he has raised this issue a number of times. He is also correct that the former government drafted legislation to amend the Mortgage Brokers Act in 1988. It never proceeded in two and a half years to pass that legislation, and that is largely the case because that legislation was not adequate to deal



with the problems that have evolved in the mortgage brokers section.

We are presently reviewing the Mortgage Brokers Act with the intent to bring in legislative changes that will in fact provide the protections the people of Ontario require.

In the meantime, since the time the auditor made his report and observed our operations in the Ministry of Financial Institutions, we have better than doubled the staff who are operating the regulatory and monitoring roles in terms of mortgage brokers. The member should note that the vast majority of losses to which he has referred occurred under the Liberal administration and not since this government came to power.

**Mr Chiarelli:** This minister, who has been very mealy-mouthed and pussyfooting on just about every issue, has not introduced one single—

**The Speaker:** I ask the member to reconsider his descriptive language and perhaps select a different word.

**Mr Chiarelli:** Mr Speaker, mealy-mouthed or pussyfooting, which one is unparliamentary?

**The Speaker:** Would the member rephrase his question.

**Mr Chiarelli:** The consumers and investors of Ontario rely on this minister to protect them. He has not introduced a bill or an amendment in this House—his ministry has not—since this government has taken over.

Today's Ottawa Citizen brings up yet another OPP investigation involving a mortgage broker collapse, with \$10 million in possible investor losses. The issue has reached crisis proportions. Yet the problem is not a new one. The minister has been in government for 15 months now. Why is it that he has been unable to announce any legislation whatsoever? What is the problem? I simply want the minister to assure this House that he will introduce legislation to control mortgage brokers and financial planning firms before more frauds are perpetrated on the people of Ontario.

**Hon Mr Charlton:** This minister has been in government as a member of the cabinet for eight months. This minister will do in one year what the Liberal government did not do in five. The member for Ottawa West stood in this House just three weeks ago advocating that this government immediately concede to the federal government and its financial reform process, in spite of the fact that the reform is going to cause regulatory problems in terms of our ability to protect the consumers in this province.

#### POLICE SERVICES

**Mr Runciman:** I have a question for the Solicitor General. In weeks past, and even this week when he was responding to a question from the member for Renfrew North, he stood in his place and assured the members of the Legislature and the public at large that the quality and level of service with respect to the OPP is fine and that the public of Ontario have nothing to be concerned about.

We have a press release issued today by the Ontario Provincial Police Association, 4,500 strong. They say, and I put it on the record, "Faced with budget cuts, a hiring freeze and redeployment of personnel, non-police and pro-

active duties, the association feels the safety and wellbeing of Ontario's public is in great jeopardy."

Could the minister tell us today who the public is to believe, this minister or 4,500 policemen and police-women across this province?

**Hon Mr Pilkey:** I have met with the OPPA, reviewed the concerns it had, and did so many weeks ago. If the member read the press clippings as a result of that meeting, he would see the officials of the OPPA indicated that this minister had real concern and that they believed I was going to address in a very direct way the problems they indicated. It is in fact my intention to do that.

It is true that the government does face some critical fiscal restraints and difficulties. However, it will be the intention of the OPP, the OPPA and this government to try to create a circumstance where the type of protection and safety of the public that has been provided in the past will be provided well into the future.

**Mr Runciman:** I do not know what confidence the policemen and policewomen can have with respect to this gentleman, because he gets up in this House week after week, day after day, and says there is no problem, that the service and quality of service are fine. That is the response he gave this week to a question from the member for Renfrew North.

We know the budget was cut. We know there are drastic service reductions across this province. Part of the Highway 401 corridor in my area of eastern Ontario is not covered for significant periods during the early morning hours. The member for Simcoe West indicated no police service in significant hours. The member for Dufferin-Peel talked about police officers having to use their own cars to respond to emergency calls. There is a real problem out there. The minister does not seem to want to recognize it.

We hear rhetoric day after day. Let's see some action from the minister finally. When is he going to act and take some measures that will have an impact on this situation?

**Hon Mr Pilkey:** The member raises issues and questions out of this year's estimates, not the estimates that have not even arrived here yet. The OPP has had difficulty in meeting the budget estimates it had provided and which this government passed last year. I believe a lot of these concerns emanate from that.

In terms of the projections or concerns about a more deleterious type of service in the future, it is that situation I have been addressing. I do hope we are able to provide a situation in the upcoming budget, through the Treasurer and this government, that will not see many of these concerns the member raises become a reality.

1510

#### CREDIT UNIONS

**Mr Hayes:** My question is to the Minister of Financial Institutions. I am a staunch supporter of the credit union system, both personally and as parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Agriculture and Food. I believe that legislation should be changed to allow credit unions to play a greater role in financial lending to farmers. It was therefore with some worry that I read in the Provincial Auditor's



report that problems persist in resolving industry deficits, which currently amount to approximately \$100 million.

As a resident of a rural community whose members rely heavily on credit unions, as most rural areas do, I am anxious to know what the minister is doing to ensure that this figure is reduced without economic hardship to the customers of the credit union system in the rural community.

**Hon Mr Charlton:** The concerns raised by the auditor I think would raise some serious concerns out there. I should point out to the member that the concerns the auditor raised resulted from a study conducted by my ministry that identified particular problems in the credit union movement. It is our view that those problems have largely been resolved, that there is not presently any credit union in the province in serious difficulty around bad loans. In fact, a program has been put in place to totally pay off the deficits over the next six years. Each of the credit unions in the province is presently paying into that program, and the deficits will all be handled by the credit unions themselves.

**The Speaker:** Motions?

**Mr Scott:** Mr Speaker, I would ask for unanimous consent to introduce the motion referred to yesterday respecting the honourable member for Lincoln.

**The Speaker:** Do we have unanimous consent?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** No.

**Mr Scott:** The government House leader says no. I guess I cannot introduce it if the government stands in the way.

## REPORTS BY COMMITTEES

### STANDING COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Mr Runciman from the standing committee on government agencies presented the committee's 19th report and moved its adoption.

**The Speaker:** Pursuant to standing order 104(g)(11), the report is deemed to be adopted by the House.

### STANDING COMMITTEE ON REGULATIONS AND PRIVATE BILLS

Mr White from the standing committee on regulations and private bills presented the committee's report and moved its adoption:

Your committee begs to report the following bills without amendment:

Bill Pr81, An Act respecting the Town of Whitchurch-Stouffville;

Bill Pr85, An Act respecting the City of Toronto.

Your committee begs to report the following bills, as amended:

Bill Pr53, An Act respecting the City of Hamilton;

Bill Pr99, An Act respecting the City of Windsor.

Motion agreed to.

## INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

### FEDERATED WOMEN'S INSTITUTES OF ONTARIO, BAY OF QUINTE BRANCH ACT, 1991

Mr O'Neil moved first reading of Bill Pr109, An Act to revive Federated Women's Institutes of Ontario, Bay of Quinte Branch.

Motion agreed to.

### AMENDMENTS TO THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION ACT

### MODIFICATIONS À LA LOI SUR LA PROTECTION DE L'ENVIRONNEMENT

Mr McClelland moved first reading of Bill 161, Amendments to the Environmental Protection Act / Modifications apportées à la Loi sur la protection de l'environnement.

Motion agreed to.

**Mr McClelland:** By way of a brief explanation, the purpose of this bill is to provide legislative authority to move under the Environmental Protection Act to have regulations in place that would speak to waste reduction. It is the position of our party that the bill in this form, which substantially reflects other legislation but doubtless cannot pass in its present form in the House, is valuable and would serve a positive purpose for Ontario and its people as well as providing the Minister of the Environment with clear legislative authority to move ahead with packaging laws and regulations. That is the purpose of the bill.

## QUESTION PERIOD

**Mr Sterling:** Before we move to orders of the day, I want to ask a question on standing orders 32(a) and 32(f). Those deal with the oral question period and the right of the opposition to ask ministers of the crown questions in this Legislature, which I feel is at the very root of our parliamentary procedures.

Standing order 32(f) says, "A minister to whom an oral question is directed may refer the question to another minister who is responsible for the subject matter to which the question relates."

Today during question period a question was asked of the Minister without Portfolio, the chief government whip, who then referred the question to the Minister of Municipal Affairs on a matter that clearly, in my view, was within the ambit of the Minister without Portfolio. I had the impression that the referral was given to the Minister of Municipal Affairs because the Minister without Portfolio was unprepared to answer the question.

I am not anxious today to hear the solution or the ruling or whatever you might determine to do with the question, Mr Speaker, but is it your view that because a minister does not have on-line duties, he or she is not responsible to answer questions in the House? Second, can a minister use standing order 32(f) to refer the question to any other minister in the House he or she chooses? I read the rules in a more strict manner. Perhaps the right of referral should only be given to another minister who is in fact responsible for that area.

**The Speaker:** I appreciate the member for Carleton raising this matter. There are two parts to his request. On



the second part, it is quite clear that a minister has the right to refer questions to any other minister. It may indeed be the practice to refer the question to a related area; none the less, a minister can refer a question.

The first question, however, is one which deserves some further deliberation as it might be found that if a minister does not have a portfolio and does not have any cabinet responsibilities, it is not proper to address a question to that individual. I will take what you have raised under advisement and I will report back to you as soon as possible.

1520

## MOTIONS

### COMMITTEE SUBSTITUTIONS

Mr Cooke moved that the following substitutions be made to the membership of the committees of the House:

On the standing committee on estimates, Mr Micalash for Mr McGuinty;

On the standing committee on finance and economic affairs, Mr Mahoney for Mrs Sullivan;

On the standing committee on general government, Mr McClelland for Mr Mancini, Ms Poole for Mr Scott;

On the standing committee on government agencies, Mr Elston for Mr Bradley;

On the standing committee on the Ombudsman, Mr Scott for Mrs Fawcett;

On the standing committee on public accounts, Mr Cordiano for Mr Bradley, Mr Offer for Ms Poole;

On the standing committee on regulations and private bills, Mr Beer for Mr Micalash;

On the standing committee on resources development, Mr McGuinty for Mr Offer;

On the standing committee on social development, Mrs Fawcett for Mr Beer, Mr Sola for Mr Cordiano, Mrs Sullivan for Mrs McLeod.

Motion agreed to.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY

### OPPOSITION DAY

#### ONTARIO ECONOMY

Mr Bradley moved opposition day motion 2:

That, in the opinion of this House, since the government has assumed power, the province's unemployment rate has reached 9.6%, more than 286,000 Ontario workers have lost their jobs, more than one million people in Ontario are on welfare, the government has predicted that Ontario's economy will shrink by 3.3%, the deficit will reach \$9.7 billion this year, and even with these predictions, the Treasurer has miscalculated twice, been forced to delay spending and ask for more federal money; therefore, this House calls upon the Treasurer to introduce a comprehensive plan for economic renewal which will get the province's economy moving again.

**Mr Bradley:** We are calling upon the Premier to take immediate steps to jump-start Ontario's ailing economy. Anyone who has observed the circumstances facing this province, particularly while the Premier was travelling

about Europe the past couple of weeks and not in the Legislative Assembly and not in many of the communities which have been hit hard by the tough economic times in this province, would come to the conclusion that the plans which have been formulated by this government, if indeed they are plans, to deal with the Ontario economy have been certainly at the very least unsuccessful and probably at best disastrous.

We must believe the entire government will take responsibility for this, from the Premier down. Even though they have made mistakes in the past and even though the Treasurer has twice miscalculated on his predictions for the economy in this province, it is our view that he should start again, gather together his best advisers, get advice from outside the government, speak to the people in Treasury and develop a new plan of action to get the Ontario economy moving once again.

It is quite obvious to all members of this House that we are not out of the recession, the recession is going to be with us for some period of time and it is going to take some direct government action and encouragement of investment in this province not only in terms of new investment, which obviously we must have to get the wheels of the economy moving again, but in terms of making an effort to retain the investment which is here already.

Those of us in the official opposition will be outlining our views on this important subject this afternoon. We hope we can have a very useful debate that will contribute in a positive sense to getting the Ontario economy moving once again.

**Mr Sterling:** I had not expected the Leader of the Opposition to have so little to say. Perhaps my remarks will further amplify why I fully understand that, because when one reads the motion brought forward this afternoon by the interim leader of the official opposition, one hardly knows where to start. Clichés like you really should not throw stones if you live in glass houses or the proverbial ostrich with its head in the sand abound. Even biblical sayings like "Judge not that ye be not judged" come to mind. Most fitting in this case is the pot calling the kettle black.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I appreciate that one.

**Mr Sterling:** I knew the Treasurer would appreciate those remarks.

We have an opportunity to debate this motion this afternoon, which basically states some unarguable facts, a litany of one-liners that each tell a horror story of human tragedy. The motion calls for the Treasurer "to introduce a comprehensive plan for economic renewal which will get the province's economy moving again." There is really no debate on that. The facts speak for themselves, and no one should debate the need for a plan for economic renewal.

This motion, however, certainly begs some questions, like why the opposition is interested in reviewing the dismal record of the former Liberal government. If one examines the premise of this motion put forward by the member for St Catharines, it is mostly based on the failures of his very own party. The former Liberal government, in which the member was an influential cabinet minister, can be



held responsible, at least in a very large part, for each and every one of the stated facts that preface his motion.

For instance, it states, "The province's unemployment rate has reached 9.6%." We warned the Liberal government about strangling businesses in Ontario. We warned them that businesses would have to reduce the size of their staff if the government was intent on proceeding with an employment tax, the commercial concentration tax in the greater Toronto area, the tire tax, increasing gasoline taxes and other taxes that increased revenues by 132% in the five-year reign of the formal Liberal government.

The Liberals never seemed to get around to asking the question, and now unfortunately neither does the New Democratic Party, of why. Why would anyone want to invest money in a business venture here in Ontario in the present climate? Why would anyone want to become an employer in this province? New labour legislation put forward by the New Democratic Party is suggesting that we strengthen the power of unions and override the rights of employers. What happened to the earlier promises of consultation with business and listening to the people who do not use the well but create the well at the primary level?

The next statement in the Liberal motion is, "More than 286,000 Ontario workers have lost their jobs." That unemployment started during the last Liberal government. As we all know, unemployment goes much deeper than just the loss of a job, for it means the loss of identity, the loss of self-esteem and the loss of dreams and hopes for the future of that individual. Plants are closing and retail stores are going under. From all reports, it is likely that many of these could be permanent job losses.

Our leader asked a question many times during the last election: Why is Ontario the highest-taxed jurisdiction in all of North America, what did the Liberals do with all this money and why did they not prepare for a rainy day?

The next statement is, "More than one million people in Ontario are on welfare." That is one tenth of our population. One tenth of our people are on social assistance. They are on welfare because the system has failed them. The government has failed by not providing the climate in which business and enterprise could flourish and provide good jobs for the people of Ontario. Thousands of Ontarians now on social assistance are able to work and very much want to work, yet employers cannot afford to hire them. By linking social assistance directly to employment, as recommended in the SARC report, Queen's Park could effectively create a multibillion-dollar pool of money to put people back to work at virtually no cost to the taxpayer.

"The government has predicted that Ontario's economy will shrink by 3.3%" this year. We warned the former Liberal government repeatedly throughout the years from 1985 to 1990. We are now warning the present NDP government that our economy is going to suffer and shrink if it continually increases taxation and continues to give in to the demands of organized labour, making Ontario less attractive to investors and entrepreneurs.

"The deficit will reach \$9.7 billion this year." We should really clarify this and say that, if we are lucky, the deficit will be held at \$9.7 billion. The Liberals went on a

spending spree of unprecedented proportions during the years they governed. They broadened and elevated the expenditure base to a point where it could not be sustained in the absence of an economic boom, except through either new taxes or huge deficits. It appears that might be the Liberal way.

They were true to form in following the federal Liberal Party between 1975 and 1984, because during that period of time the federal Liberal Party took the federal deficit from approximately \$2 billion to some \$36 billion annually in 1984, leaving the 1984 Mulroney government with a \$200-billion debt 10 years later. That is what they started with and that is what we do not want to start with when we are voted into power here in 1995.

1530

In some ways, I sympathize with the government of today in that not only did it inherit a difficult financial situation, it also inherited a philosophy of "Spend your way to prosperity." Whether they will admit it or not, it should be obvious to the members of this new administration that it will not work. That brings us to the next statement in this motion today, "Even with these predictions, the Treasurer has miscalculated twice, been forced to delay spending and ask for more federal money."

In the five years the Liberal Party governed this province, there was never an attempt to look at the future and put forward a plan of vision that the people could adopt, have faith in and work towards. Likewise, today's NDP government has not put forward that same vision. Oh, it has put forward a vision. We saw it in the last election. It was a document called *An Agenda for People*, but once they took the reins of government, they abandoned this piece of paper as worthless and threw it aside.

I am proud of our party, the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party, in that we are a step ahead of the other two parties in this Legislature. My leader and our party have put forward a plan, a vision for the future, in *New Directions: A Blueprint for Economic Renewal and Prosperity* in Ontario. This paper tries to address some of our economic problems. It is not perfect. It is meant to be a discussion paper, and we hope to issue volumes 2 and 3 as we are able to develop them over the coming years.

We believe that renewing the economy is the first step towards resolution of social problems, because without a strong economic base there are no jobs, no investment and no tax base to fund social programs. We are concerned about the future of this province and have demonstrated that by looking forward with a comprehensive plan, we can indeed provide a vision for the people of Ontario.

We understand that our problems in resolving social ills are directly linked to a weak economy. When there is no opportunity for employment or prosperity, people cannot contribute to their society and, instead, add their weight to the social burden carried by the rest of the population. On the other hand, when people have jobs and the confidence to invest in the economy, the size of the social burden is immensely reduced. The fewer people who need help, the more we can help.

I know from experience that when the NDP government reviews the statements put forward by the member



for St Catharines today its immediate response will be, as usual, "It's the federal government's fault." The Premier and his ministers love to heap blame on the federal government in order to divert the responsibility from themselves. I want to remind members of this House that the federal government has presented us perhaps not with popular policies but with fairly clear directions and long-term policies. They have contained their spending to a much better degree than we have in this province. They are addressing the deficit. They seem to have a view towards the future. We may not like the GST, and some people do not like free trade, but it is not likely that any party, regardless of political stripe, will change these things if given the opportunity.

In contrast, the leader of the federal Liberal Party has appeared on many occasions to have nothing but apple pie on his chin. He offers platitudes and, like the leader of the third party of the House of Commons, continues to look backwards and dwells on things that basically cannot be changed.

Although the opposition motion which we are discussing today calls for a comprehensive plan for economic renewal, we have not yet seen them come forward with one when they were in government or now in opposition. Maybe they ought to listen to their own advisers. At last weekend's national Liberal convention, United States economist and writer Lester Thurow said a whole bunch when he said, "The role of government is to represent the future to the present." I think that includes a comprehensive plan for economic renewal, something that offers direction, offers a vision, something that gives us hope, something that gives investors and entrepreneurs confidence in our province.

If I may be permitted a closing cliché, not my own but from a journalist reporting on last week's Liberal convention, "The Liberal Party has been driving via a rear-view mirror." I want to thank members very much for the opportunity to debate this afternoon, but the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party would prefer to look forward, not backward, and we are doing that with our new comprehensive plan for economic renewal, New Directions. We have put it down on the table. We challenge the other parties in this Legislature to put forward their thoughts so that the people of Ontario can reflect on their vision for the future.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I appreciate the opportunity to join in this debate this afternoon on the motion put forth by the leader of the official opposition. In his very brief opening comments—and they were very brief; I know he is going to save his substantial remarks for the windup of the debate later on this afternoon—even in those few short remarks he contradicted himself once. He talked about the Premier jaunting around Europe and in the very next sentence said, "What we've got to do is fight for more investment in this province."

He cannot have it both ways. Is he serious that we should be trying to attract new investment that creates jobs and new wealth in this province or is he not? If he is just using rhetoric, fine, let's get that on the record. But if he is serious about it, then that means we have to talk to investors in other parts of the world. Every other government

leader does it. Is he suggesting that this government, the most industrialized province in Canada, ignore potential investors in the rest of the world? I think that would be irresponsible, and for the member for St Catharines to imply that the Premier was on a jaunt is really unfair. He worked extremely hard in talking to people both in terms of industrial investors and also some potential capital investors from other parts of the world. That is what came from the member for St Catharines, affectionately known as the eco-terrorist member of cabinet when he was the Minister of the Environment. I say that with affection, not with any sense of harm.

Built into the question, though, is the implication that government can solve all the problems. That is simply not the case. It never was the case and it is less the case today than it was in days gone by. That simply is not on.

The Progressive Conservative critic, the member for Carleton, had some very positive remarks to make and I appreciated what he had to say. In particular, he referred to the Progressive Conservative document for economic renewal. I cannot remember the exact name of it.

**Mr Turnbull:** New Directions.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** New Directions. That, I felt, was a very positive approach by the Progressive Conservative opposition to enter the debate on the problems facing this province. I think they understand that I do not agree with the solutions they bring forward, but that is not the point. It was a very positive approach to the problems of this province and a helpful document as well. That is something the official opposition has not yet done and I look forward to it doing something along those lines as well.

I would say to the critic, the person who really should be the leader of the third party, that when he talks about the federal debt and deficit, he is quite right. They inherited a very large debt, just as we inherited something we were not expecting. But at the present time the federal government is spending roughly 34 cents of every revenue dollar on servicing that public debt. In this province, even at the end of four years with the deficits we are adding to the cumulative debt of Ontario, we will be paying a little over 12 cents on the revenue dollar in servicing that debt.

1540

**Mr Turnbull:** The Conservatives are going in the right direction, though.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I am not bashing the federal government. The member should not overreact. I am just saying we do not want to get into that same fiscal trap where we are spending a third of our revenue dollars on servicing the debt. We are very serious about that. The federal government is really in a fiscal trap at this point and we are very serious about not getting into that same trap.

When I look at the actual motion, I ask members to think about this: "Since the government has assumed power, the province's unemployment rate has reached 9.6%." Absolutely correct. It dipped down to 9.2% one month and came back up to 9.6%. That was a disquieting jump in the unemployment rate.

"More than 286,000 Ontario workers have lost their jobs." Absolutely correct. We might quibble about the



number a bit, but it is over 260,000, for sure. Ontario has 38% of the labour force of this country and 80% of the layoffs in the last 18 months.

"More than one million people in Ontario" are on some form of social assistance. That is correct. "The government has predicted that Ontario's economy will shrink by 3.3%." Correct. "The deficit will reach \$9.7 billion this year." Correct. "Even with these predictions, the Treasurer has miscalculated twice, been forced to delay spending and ask for more federal money." Partly correct.

Those are six points in the resolution. Any time the Liberal opposition gets five out of six on a test like this, I want to vote for it. I want to serve notice that we intend to vote for this resolution this afternoon, because if it is right that many times, five out of six—as a matter of fact, it is partially right on number six when it says we have been forced to delay spending. That is correct. We have cut spending and we have delayed some spending. Absolutely correct.

"And ask for more federal money"—well, that is only partially correct. What we are demanding is what we are entitled to, because of the drop in income taxes the federal government collects for us as part of the stabilization arrangements between the federal government and the provinces. So that is partly correct, although it is not as though we are saying, "Oh please, give us some money." It is because we are entitled to that money. That is playing a little loose with the facts.

For the member for St Catharines to say the Treasurer has miscalculated twice is a bit unfair and is the only thing that gave me pause for thought about supporting the resolution. When I think of somebody from the Liberal caucus accusing us of miscalculating, that is really hard to take. When the Liberals were in office a little over a year ago, either they miscalculated or—

**Mr Hope:** Don't say it.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** Okay, they miscalculated. I am convinced the Liberals miscalculated as well when they said, going into the election campaign in the summer of 1990 and during the campaign of 1990, "There's going to be a surplus in the province of Ontario." What did the surplus turn out to be? A \$3-billion deficit. That was when the recession had barely started.

I can accept criticism from the Liberal opposition, but for them to say we miscalculated twice and make that part of a resolution for an opposition day is a bit strange and is really leading with your chin. I think the leader's caucus colleagues should have told him, "Look, you can get away with this resolution, but you'd better take out the part that says the Treasurer of the day miscalculated," because nobody miscalculated more than the Liberals did when they were in government. Nobody on the face of the earth miscalculated more than they did.

I do not want to dwell on that, other than to say that we do indeed intend to vote for this resolution. It is a very factual resolution except for a couple of minor things at the end about miscalculation, and as long as we all understand and put that in perspective, then we have no problem on this side voting for something that lays out the economic

woes of the province. It is absolutely correct. How could one deny what is in this resolution? It is absolutely correct.

It does call for "the Treasurer to introduce a comprehensive plan for economic renewal which will get the province's economy moving again." That seems to me to be a very positive suggestion and one on which we have an obligation to move, to take action. I want to assure members that we intend to do that. We intend to do what we can to get the economy moving again, and I think there are a couple of components to the way in which we are going to do that.

Before we break for Christmas, I want to table and make available to everyone what the economic outlook is. Following that, we want to engage in a more open budgetary process than has ever been done in this province. I do not say this in a critical way. I think the times have changed and we simply need to do that. We want to lay before the members and anyone else out there the severity of the problem. That will not be done until January because of assembling all the numbers and getting it put together in a proper package and in a form that is, if I could use the term, user-friendly so that people can debate during the pre-budget consultation the problems we face.

I think as well we want to have a different kind of pre-budget consultation. Last year, having just formed the government, we went through the exercise that had been done in years gone by. It really was more of an act of self-indulgence than it was a challenge. Groups would come in and tell us what they wanted and then they would leave. The next group would come in and tell us what it wanted, and it might be in complete opposition to what the previous group had said. Then another group would come in and say what it wanted from us. I thought that was a bit sterile and certainly did not challenge the people who were coming in. It really was, as I say, an act of self-indulgence. I enjoyed listening to them and met a lot of people I had never met before, and I think it was a good exercise. I am not bemoaning the fact we did it last year, but I think it is time for a change because times have changed, so we want to have a completely different kind of pre-budget consultation. We will see what the reaction is, but I think it is a positive thing.

We have as a government five key principles involved in achieving long-lasting economic renewal, and I emphasize the term "long-lasting" because the days of the quick fix are gone. Simply finding money for a quick job creation program is not going to solve the long-run structural problems of this province.

Last winter, when we saw the severity of the recession, we put in place a job creation strategy, an anti-recession package, as we called it, and we spent about \$700 million provincially; with the contribution of local government, whether school boards or municipalities or hospitals, it came close to \$1 billion, I would think. That will all be spent and those jobs will be created, and it will be somewhere between 14,000 and 20,000 jobs, we think 14,000 direct jobs and possible spinoffs of more as a result of that program. I think it was the right thing to do, having just come to government and wanting to put in place something that signalled we were not just lying down in the face



of this very severe recession, that we wanted to do something about it.

1550

So I am glad we did that, but that anti-recession package does not help us restructure the economy of the province. What it did was take off the shelf capital works projects that had been there for some time. They were going to have to be done. This was a case of moving them up and doing them in the depths of the worst recession this province has experienced since the Great Depression back in the 1930s. I think it was the right thing to do, despite the fact that we got some criticism that we spent that \$700 million, which of course directly increased the deficit.

We would have had a deficit of \$9 billion instead of \$9.7 billion if we had sat on our hands and not done anything at all to combat the recession. It would have been a lower deficit, that is true, but I think there would have been more unemployment out there, which in turn would have drawn on our social assistance moneys as well. So it was a mixed bag, what we did. It was something we had to do, though, and I think to have just sat and done nothing would have been inappropriate.

However, that is not the long-run solution. What we have to move to now is a strategy for long-term economic renewal, because there is absolutely no question that this province is being restructured underneath us. If we do not understand that and cope with that, it is at the peril of all of us that we ignore it.

One number I use over and over again is that in the recession 10 years ago, which was fairly severe as well, 24% of all job losses were deemed to be permanent. The balance were temporary job losses as a result of the recession. This time, two thirds—not 24% but 65%—of all job losses are deemed to be permanent. That tells members how profound and staggering the restructuring is that is going on underneath us. We had better understand that. That, if nothing else, tells us that quick fixes will not solve the problem and also that governments cannot solve the problem.

In a very short, cyclical recession, governments can do something such as the anti-recession package and so forth, and other governments have done it as well. But when restructuring is so profound, that kind of action for combating it simply will not work. We have to somehow get on track with a different kind of economic renewal package.

For us, economic renewal means raising the living standards and improving the working conditions of the people of the province. We cannot do that if we insist that workers earn less money, if we accept that workers must live in poorer working conditions or in a degraded environment or that there be restrictions on collective bargaining. I do not think that is the way in which we improve the lot of people in this province.

Our role as government, regardless of which government is over here, is to encourage change and to do what we can to make that happen—to make sure that this change occurs, that everyone benefits from it, and that while we are going through a difficult period, the burden is shared fairly as well. This is going to be an extremely difficult couple of years ahead of us. If we do not fight

very hard to make sure the burden of that struggle is shared, then we create divisions in society that are very undesirable and we end up with enormous gaps between the haves and the have-nots in our society. We all know other societies, some not far from here, where that has happened. I believe that is counterproductive and I think most members of this assembly, in their heart of hearts, would agree with that.

That means there are going to have to be some very tough decisions made in the next couple of years as to what we spend money on and what kinds of taxes we levy in the province. That has to be done very carefully, because while we may be coming out of the recession, we are not out of it yet and it is going to be a slow recovery. We are going to have difficulty coping with the expenditures that are already built into our budgets and into all our programs across the province. It is going to be very difficult just to cope with that.

As I indicated a couple of weeks ago, income tax revenues that have been collected by the federal government on behalf of the province are going to affect our revenue base next year by somewhere between \$1 billion and \$2 billion. That is how volatile those numbers are. That is one reason I have asked the federal Minister of Finance to deal with that issue at our next meeting of all the ministers and to try and create some kind of federal-provincial task force to deal with forecasting, because it hurts us all when the forecasting is off as badly as it has been. This is not just this year; it has been off by \$1 billion in years gone by, too. To my chagrin, it was always on the upside for the other governments. With us, it is on the downside. That is not the fault of the federal government. They did not reduce it arbitrarily. That was simply the money that was not collected.

Nobody believed that it was happening that way. A week before I made the announcement about the income tax shortfall, Statscan was still forecasting a 7.5% increase in personal incomes in this country. At the same time, we have this enormous shortfall in income taxes collected. There is a real dilemma and a real contradiction between some of the numbers being forecast. That is really quite worrisome. I hope to raise that. I will be meeting with Mr Mazankowski tomorrow, as a matter of fact. We will be talking about some of these issues.

Another aspect of economic renewal is going to be the partnership that has developed between employers and employees. That is important if we are going to increase productivity. I know there has been a lot of talk, particularly by the third party, that our proposed changes to the Labour Relations Act will be counterproductive in this regard. I do not believe that. I expect the employers to resist this change but, at the same time, I do not believe it is counterproductive. If anything, I believe that in the long run it will be more productive and will provide a more stable industrial relations environment. Certainly the experience in Quebec, when it made these kinds of changes, was not that it caused disruptions at all; as a matter of fact, I think the opposite was the case.

In terms of having a larger percentage of the workforce organized into unions, I look at other countries. The one



that comes to mind immediately is Germany, which has a significantly higher proportion of its workforce organized into unions than we do here and yet is one of the highest value added, high-wage, most productive economies we have seen for some time.

We should put it in perspective. We are not in an era where the economies that thrive will be the ones that have the lowest wages. They will be the ones that are most productive, with the most educated and best-trained workforces and the best infrastructure, in whatever jurisdiction. We are determined to make sure that happens, but it will not happen automatically and it will not happen by simply taking away the collective bargaining rights of working people.

We want to encourage more work in the higher value added goods and services sectors. That is absolutely critical. To do that we are going to need a highly skilled and educated workforce. That does not come cheaply either. But to abandon that simply would not solve the problem. It would make the problem worse.

We are going to do some innovative things with skills training, through the Ontario training and adjustment boards we are going to be setting up. More details will be coming.

We are going to try as best we can to protect and improve our social programs. That is an extremely difficult thing to do in times like this when we have revenue and expenditure problems. I happen to believe we have to use the skills and talents of all the people. When we talk about programs such as employment equity, that is to encourage the maximum potential of all people in our society, not just the people who have traditionally had the opportunities to move ahead in the workplace. We want to make sure that happens. We will all gain by that. We will all be advantaged by that.

Those are some of the principles we believe are the components of economic renewal. We have already done work in some areas. We have announced an Ontario investment and worker ownership program which will encourage workers to invest in the economy. That makes the economy more productive and experience elsewhere says that is certainly the case. It is also a source of new capital for the business community.

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We want to protect workers in difficult times. We have already announced an increase in the minimum wage. Before people start foaming at the mouth about the increase in the minimum wage, let me tell members that increasing the minimum wage to \$6 an hour returns the purchasing power of people at the minimum wage to what it was 15 years ago.

That is not an outrageous increase in the minimum wage. That is how badly former governments have allowed the minimum wage to erode. We think that is fundamentally wrong and we are simply taking the minimum wage back up. We did not make it an enormous increase. Taking it up to \$6 was certainly, to me, the least we could do. Very often these are women and minorities who are working at this level of pay. We think we had an obligation to do that and I am very pleased we did.

We brought into place the employee wage protection fund which protects workers who, for no fault of their own, are not paid moneys that are owed to them by their employer. That is what it does. It seems to me that too was the least we could do.

We have the office of labour adjustment to the Ministry of Labour as well to assist with workplace adjustment committees.

Of course, I mentioned employment equity because it is important that all citizens have a chance to participate in and contribute to the Ontario economy.

We have announced a \$1.6-billion training agreement with Ottawa, which will go some way to developing a new system of training, which almost everyone acknowledges needs to be done. We need to bring some coherence to training in this province, and it is necessary in other jurisdictions too. We want to work with the federal government, the business community and the labour movement to make sure that training reflects the needs of various communities, not just a centrally directed kind of training.

Of course, we want to create and maintain jobs as much as we can in this province.

Those are some remarks. I trust that my colleagues will not have too much difficulty in supporting the resolution brought forth by the leader of the official opposition because, as I said, any time the member for St Catharines gets five out of six right, I am on his side and I want to vote for him.

**Mr Phillips:** I am pleased to join in the debate just to reflect a bit on some comments made by some of the other members already.

There was a comment made about the Premier's trip to Europe. One has no difficulty with his going to Europe. Our question is this: He is off in July, off in September, off in August, January and February; why not go then? The only reason we could see for going in the last two weeks was to somehow or other cement some deal on de Havilland. If that were the reason, we could certainly support his trip. But within hours of his arriving back, it was clear that nothing happened on de Havilland. The one possibility was that he got a quick no on it. So I would have no difficulty with the Premier travelling.

A second comment I would make is that I think the Provincial Auditor has done all of us a service by commenting on the surpluses. The Treasurer does not do himself a service, frankly—I have a lot of respect for the Treasurer—in attempting to perhaps be unfair, to use a term, on the deficit. The auditor says this: "Ontario has had only one surplus in the last 20 years." That was the year ended March 31, 1990. That was the final year in which the Liberal government had control of the budget.

In the five years, every single year when we were in power, the deficit was reduced and we had the only surplus in 20 years. This is what the auditor says about the forecast. Indeed, he says—remembering again that the Treasurer was responsible for the budget for the majority of the year; I think he will acknowledge that—"The 1990 budget which was tabled...forecast a surplus."

He says there were three major factors contributing to the variance, one being the recession, which cut revenue



by \$1 billion, "which was obviously not foreseen at the time of the budget." That is what the auditor says. Then there were special payments made in the budget that the Treasurer made, as it says here, for another \$1 billion. Those were payments that did not have to be made in that fiscal year. The teachers' pension fund payments certainly did not have to be made in that fiscal year. Then he goes on to say that of the remaining \$1 billion expenditures, the major contributing factor was the increase in social assistance payments.

So the auditor has done our work for us and said there were three components to the \$3-billion deficit: \$1 billion because of revenue shortfalls, major payments in social assistance and \$1 billion in expenditures the Treasurer decided to make last year.

I repeat: The only surplus in 20 years, as the auditor says, was in the final year of the Liberal regime. The auditor has spelled out clearly the reasons for the \$3-billion deficit the Treasurer refers to. We have an independent auditor who has now spelled it out well for us.

I will go on to my leader's motion on our concerns about the economy. There is no question that the economy is in significant difficulty. Our criticism of the government is that we do not believe we can name one major, significant thing the NDP has done in the 14 months it has been in government to get the economy rolling. Certainly the Treasurer just outlined some of the job concerns. Unemployment is running at 9.9%.

I look down the various factors of how we are going to recover from the economy. In the major employment sectors, we have difficulty in the manufacturing sector, which is down significantly and I do not think there is any indication yet that this sector is picking up. Members will realize the agricultural community is in some difficulty. Jobs are declining there. Jobs are declining in the resource sector. Transportation is down, I think, the most of any, and we know that sector continues to be in difficulty. Construction continues to struggle, particularly in the industrial and commercial sectors. The financial sector is declining. The service sector—and this includes hospitals, school boards, colleges and universities—is declining as well.

Where are the jobs going to come from? Right now we are at 9.6% unemployment. I do not see any sector where we can look for significant job growth over the next little while.

To get rolling, the economy is going to need some confidence in the government's fiscal plan. The problem is that this year's deficit is at \$9.7 billion. Next year's deficit, as the Treasurer acknowledges, looks like it could be as much as \$10 billion or \$11 billion. In the following two years, the deficits will run at \$8 billion to \$9 billion.

The investment community, for those who are looking to invest either dollar capital or intellectual capital, says, "Listen, four years of significant fiscal woes...." By the way, all those deficits assume significant new taxes. That is our second concern. The first concern is, where are the jobs going to come from? The second concern is that the fiscal management of the province is, at very best, questionable.

It was just today that I was looking at the Toronto Star. It says:

"Bankruptcies zoom to monthly record. Consumer bankruptcies in October totalled 5,740; business bankruptcies 1,156. This is a record, up 16.4% from the same month in 1990.

"Among major cities, Toronto continued to show major growth in the number of residents collecting UI over the 12-month period."

It goes on to talk about bankruptcies and unemployment.

While the Treasurer will say that the recession looks like it is over and the economy is picking up, there are a lot of signals out there suggesting that the economy continues to struggle.

I guess it was back in April that we had a similar debate and we were urging the government to introduce a program for economic renewal. I said at the time that I thought it would only be a matter of weeks, certainly months at the latest, before the Premier and Treasurer would come to this House with a program for jobs. I fully expected that we would have seen, well before now, the Treasurer and the Premier announcing some kind of program to get the economy rolling, to create jobs. We have seen virtually nothing.

The Treasurer has said he wants to make the budget process more open. I am frankly sceptical of that. I took him at his word. Some of the members opposite were on that committee that spent the summer listening to budget comments. Frankly, it was essentially a worthless exercise. We had groups organized to come. Wherever we were, it was the same presentation. Rather than an opportunity for the public to participate, it was a stage-managed process. One of the members opposite chose to express a point of view on budget matters and voted against a budget bill he felt was perhaps not in the best interests of constituents. Talk about openness: He was then taken off the committee. That was the last we saw of the committee.

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It was ironic in the extreme that it was last Thursday, November 21, when the new Chairman was nominated, and it was the ex-Chairman's final day. But the next day, in this open process, the Treasurer sent a letter to the Chairman, the member for Lincoln, asking him to open up the budget process. Someone simply forgot to tell the Treasurer that there had been a coup and the Chairman was gone.

The reason I raise all this is that in the opposition, as we attempt to be helpful and constructive in opening the process up and contributing, we get taken a little bit for suckers. The budget process was supposed to be open over the hearings, but then we found the Premier's office busily phoning all the various places we were going and saying, "Get down there and tell them you like the budget." We thought it was going to be open. The Chairman of the standing committee on finance and economic affairs happened to vote against one bill and he is gone. He is not even Chairman; he is off the committee now. We, as opposition, would like to be helpful, we would like to contribute to the budget process, but I am a little more cynical



now about that invitation than I might have been a year ago.

I want to talk now about an economic renewal plan. Surely the members opposite can accept that we should be turning our full attention to this. In fact, I took the Premier at his word. We came back after the summer break on September 23. We were not back in the House 15 minutes when the Premier got up and said: "Economic renewal is our number one priority. You will be hearing, over the next few weeks, our plan." Essentially we are still waiting for it.

The components of the economic renewal plan appear to be these, and the Treasurer outlined them. First, I will characterize them as plans that will not be implemented, at the very best, for several months. Second, I would say to the House they are as likely to be divisive as helpful. Third, they offer no hope at all to the 500,000 people in this province who are unemployed and who want to work. None of them will come into play for at least six months. We are going to go through one of the toughest winters without any sense of hope on the part of the people of Ontario.

The elements the Treasurer has outlined in his economic renewal plan include worker ownership. There is some merit in parts of that, but I said to the Treasurer when he introduced it that it is odd only unions are able to participate in this. In other provinces that have similar venture capital, other employee groups can. At the time, the Treasurer said, "No, they cannot do that; other provinces do not have it." Other provinces do have it.

The second part of the economic renewal plan, I suspect, will be announced tomorrow; if not tomorrow, certainly next week. That is going to be the training component. If there is one area I think all of us can agree on, certainly that is the need to help develop the skill level, to help in the retraining area and to help ensure there is a match between the requirements of the workplace and the skills of the individuals.

We will be looking carefully at that plan as it is announced, particularly in what I call the governance area, because I suspect this plan will have a budget of perhaps \$700 million to \$1 billion and I hope that in the governance, the management of this plan, it is seen as a partnership among all the parties and not simply organized labour and business.

The Labour Relations Act, I guarantee all of us, whether we like it or not, is going to start a firestorm out there and, just at the time when we want to get the economy rolling, as I have said before, the two major groups that are going to help to put out the fire are going to be in a battle. That just does not make sense.

To conclude, I would say to the government that it must get on with putting forward an economic recovery plan. They cannot wait for the six to eight months of this plan, and the plan they have proposed will not work. We need from the government a new economic plan, one it will announce before Christmas, to get things rolling, or else we are going to have a long, difficult winter for the 500,000 people who would like to work but cannot find jobs right now.

**Mr Carr:** I am pleased to enter the debate this afternoon and add a few points I hope will be helpful to the discussions. I think all sides agree on one thing, as I look at this Liberal motion. Certainly Ontario is definitely in trouble. Our economy is being battered by high taxation, high unemployment and low productivity. As we sit here today, our social structures are being stretched to the limit because of soaring costs for health, education and welfare, and some of the other problems that are facing us, the issues of crime and poverty, seem to be responding faster than we can compete and keep up with them.

In spite of all this, as we all know—and we should take a little bit of time to count our blessings—we in this province still have one of the highest standards of living of any of the people on this planet, but our time is very limited. As these pressures continue to grow, many of the social programs we care about are in jeopardy. All the things we care about, the health care, the education, the environment, the good roads, all the things we cherish in this province do not depend upon the compassion of government; they do, however, depend on having a healthy and prosperous economy to support them.

As I sit here and look at this economy that historically has had 40% of the jobs and 50% of the manufacturing capacity and ask, "How did it happen. Why are we in this situation?" I think the answer is very clear. Governments at all levels and of all political stripes have been overtaxing, overspending, overgoverning, overregulating and being oversimplistic in their approach to public policy for far too long. Quite frankly, what we have done is sacrificed long-term fiscal and economic planning to political expediency.

One of the problems we have, as we look at it since 1985, is that during the period of growth where we had the largest growth of any of the industrialized world with the exception of Japan, we had 50 tax increases—50 tax increases since 1985, with the bulk of them coming between 1987 and 1990.

In 1985 this province had a 10% cost advantage versus Quebec and was very competitive, in a Conference Board of Canada report, versus Germany and the United States and Japan. Now as we sit here today, after five years of the programs and the spendings of the Liberal and the NDP governments, we sit in the most highly taxed province in Canada, the most highly taxed jurisdiction in all North America. The problem has been very simple. After 1985 in this province, we began taxing and spending like there was no tomorrow, and now, unfortunately, tomorrow has arrived.

It has been referred to, and I want to touch very briefly on it in my moments that are left, because I would like to leave some time for my colleague the member for Etobicoke West, that we have put together what is called *New Directions: A Blueprint for Economic Renewal and Prosperity in Ontario*.

I had the pleasure of being up in Thunder Bay yesterday to speak to a Rotary Club luncheon and spoke about this, and a lot of groups, people of all political stripes, came up and said: "We're very pleased. We finally have a political party that is attempting to do something in a non-partisan manner."



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I say to the members opposite and to the members of the Liberal Party and to the members of the public that if they would like a copy in a non-partisan manner they can call my office, Oakville South, and I would be pleased to get them a copy. As we say in this document, it is not a political document. Our economic problems are far too pressing to play political games. Some of the ideas in here may be perceived as Conservative ideas, but they are based more on reality than they are political philosophies.

I will say that a letter that is at the beginning of this by the leader of our party, the member for Nipissing, says it best: "It is my sincere hope that the other politicians and interest groups can put aside their partisan feelings, step back from their political agendas and join with us in the search for the new directions which will lead us to a more stable and prosperous society."

There are some programs in here that we have talked about. If members look through the index, we talked about the taxation matters; we talked about the wage subsidies to link social assistance programs to jobs; we talked about jobs retraining, training and apprenticeship programs; a moratorium on the minimum wage increase; what we would do with the Labour Relations Act, and some of the things we would be talking about in terms of the budget process which, as all parties have agreed to here today, has been a disaster.

We talked about some of the programs, and I was fortunate enough to introduce the sunset clause and the private member's bill which would have had a board or a commission review any spending program over the last period of its mandate to see if it could be streamlined or improved or it would be terminated. We talked about many ideas in here that hopefully will get us on the road back to prosperity. I would encourage all members and the Treasurer, who has said he is pleased that a political party is doing that, to see me for a copy.

I will say very clearly that the problems are very simple. I have in my hands a copy of a document from the Canadian Federation of Independent Business. They say the problems facing this province are directly as a result of this Premier and this New Democratic government. When we look at it, quite frankly the total tax burden and the total regulations in this province are making it uncompetitive.

What we are hoping to do is to offer some concrete proposals to reduce some of the costs so that we can give some opportunity for tax relief. There is one fundamental principle that I think is clear now more than it has ever been in our nation's history: If we cannot compete we are going to lose markets, and when we lose markets people lose jobs. It will not matter what political party is in at any particular time. If we are unable to compete, this province will be in serious trouble.

We put some of these ideas together. That has been confirmed by the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology. They did a survey of businesses asking, "What are some of the problems out there?" I received a kind reply from the minister saying that the big problem that has been identified is taxes at all levels. The businesses and industry in this province are saying the federal tax system, the pro-

vincial tax system, the municipal charges and taxes are strangling this province.

I say to the members opposite and to all the politicians and to all the groups that we need to come together because, as this government has found out, the money does not fall from the sky. All those programs that we care about are in jeopardy if we do not have the economy to support them.

In closing, I would like to say that over the last five years we have faced many problems in this province. The tax situation is driving businesses out in record numbers. It is my hope and my intention that we will be able to come together in a non-partisan manner to reduce the spending in this province so that we can provide opportunity for the province to get back to being one of the most prosperous and one of the best places in the world to live.

That is a commitment members have from the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario. I hope all members of the public and all members of this Legislature will work together so that we can head in a new direction and restore economic renewal and prosperity in Ontario.

**Mr Jamison:** It is a pleasure to speak to this motion today. There seems to be some debate, depending on which side of the floor you are coming from, on how economic renewal should take place. Some say everything should be cut and the people best able to lead the economy and the wealthiest in our society should take charge and the others fend for themselves.

I believe there is quite a difference of opinion on where our economy should be going and how we should move to get it there. But I believe you cannot lose sight of the social impacts in this province today that have people suffering quite severely. At the same time you have a segment of people, a segment of this House, who would rather see those people suffer more at the expense of their own wellbeing for those who already have.

I would like to turn to the economic agenda of this government. This government has a priority of economic renewal. In doing this, the government needs and wants the support of business and labour. Our objectives are straightforward. We all want prosperity; there is no one in this House who does not want prosperity. That prosperity must be sustained, the needs of all players in our economy must be met, considered and represented in a very balanced way. That means not just the quantity but the quality of economic growth is of great importance to the future of this government and this province.

Broadly defined, our strategy is to seek to co-operate with the business community in pursuit of our mutual goals of increased productivity, adaption and innovation of advanced technologies, enhancement of workers' skills, innovation of the workplace—innovation in organizing the workplace and production and process that goes on there. Tomorrow will belong to those businesses which build on a foundation of technological innovation, a highly skilled workforce and high value-added products.

To achieve this we must co-ordinate all the resources at our disposal. We must pull together business, labour, community groups, environmentalists and development specialists and have them work in co-operation with one



another, build that air of co-operation. We should recognize the advantages we already have in our infrastructure and in our skilled workforce. But work needs to be done, and the Treasurer spoke about a major investment in that area. Now we must make the resources work for us and improve on those resources.

Renewing our economy must be the central focus of our work as a province. Our goals are simple and straightforward: jobs, training and investment. Canada's economy dramatically underinvests in training and research and development. Workers can buy into change when they see the opportunities for retraining and lifelong access to education. We are proposing a partnership for training with Ottawa and the funds have started to flow. Canadian workers are willing to make sacrifices when they know they are being treated fairly.

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Power and responsibility go together. Increase trust, create mutual self-confidence, stop the sense that every dispute is about survival itself. These are all ways to promote stability and a better industrial relations climate. Investment capital must be innovative and timely. We heard the Treasurer speak to that. The organization of government must be mobilized in a more creative way to deal with the challenge of economic renewal.

We will continue to work to effect change in federal policies, especially in the area of exchange rates, which seem to be hurting many of our industries today. When I meet with them as parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, that is a pivotal concern of theirs.

At the same time, we are determined to ensure fair access for our products to the US market. All of us in this House are aware of the restrictions that have been arbitrarily placed on many of our goods in what is supposed to be a free trade atmosphere. We understand that the deal was certainly a flawed one.

In many ways the small business community is going to lead the way out of this recession. The figures really speak for themselves. Since 1987 small business has generated 75% of all the new jobs in Ontario. A full 33% of the province's labour force is employed by firms with fewer than 100 employees.

As the Premier announced on August 9, I have been asked to take on special responsibilities for small business. As the Premier stated, the economic situation makes it essential that government and small business work effectively together. I take that challenge up as a very serious one.

I would like to go on from here to just round out my remarks by saying that economic renewal means raising living standards and improving working conditions. The days of the dollar-an-hour wage and the five-cent cigar are gone. Some people would like to see them back, but they are not coming back, as far as this government is concerned.

The Ontario government believes that the ultimate goal of economic renewal should be to improve the quality of life for the people of this province. We cannot improve the quality of life by forcing workers to accept lower wages,

poorer working conditions, a degraded environment and restrictions on collective bargaining. Instead, we must improve productivity and our standard of living by aiming at a high-wage, innovative and high-quality-oriented economy. That is the vision this government has for the future of Ontario. We need co-operation to get there.

I would like to say at this point that the level and degree of rhetoric from the opposition benches over trying to accomplish that is incredible at times. The task in front of us is a large one. This government is prepared and ready to take on that challenge, with the co-operation of every sector of our society, and we will succeed.

**Mr Brown:** I rise today to speak briefly about the state of the northern economy and the uncertainty and devastation invading and intruding into the lives of people who live in the north.

I want to set for the House the backdrop, the situation. We have experienced over 2,700 layoffs in the forestry sector. We have experienced 4,000 layoffs in the mining sector. We have seen the layoffs ripple through the entire northern economy, causing layoffs in the related and subsidiary industries and the service sectors. We have seen the unemployment rate skyrocket and the general welfare case load increase by 40%. Nine mines have closed. Close to 60 sawmilling operations have closed. The pulp and paper industry is in great difficulty. There is close to a 20% increase in bankruptcies. Small business startups are at one third of the rate in southern Ontario. The number of prospectors has decreased by about 20%. In short, times are not good in the north. In fact, I would suggest, and my constituents tell me, that we are not just in a recession, we are in a depression.

Against this backdrop, what has the NDP government done, and, more important, what does it plan to do? It tells us the anti-recession fund will restart the northern economy. In fact, the anti-recession fund is largely smoke and mirrors. The total anti-recession fund is \$700 million; \$700 million of supposedly additional capital dollars. My friend the Treasurer, the member for Nickel Belt, has told us that this government is going to cut \$600 million to \$700 million in capital expenditures from the provincial budget this year. You do not have to be a mental giant or an accountant to figure that out. What this government has done is nothing. The net result is zero. What this government has done is substituted a convoluted, perhaps politically expedient way of providing moneys to our communities.

The money has not been targeted to the areas that need it the most. It has been a kind of shotgun approach to the north, mostly dependent upon who had a project that was ready to go. It had nothing to do with an agenda. It had nothing to do with a plan. It had everything to do with who could do it now. Well, communities appreciated it. The communities in my riding that have received funding appreciated it. But many of the communities are asking if it would not have been better for priorities to be pursued, for there to be a plan, for there to be long-term jobs created.

I do not know, and perhaps the minister can tell us, how many long-term, permanent jobs are going to come out of the anti-recession fund and how many permanent



jobs are not going to occur because of the budget cuts to the normal capital expenditure of this province. I would suggest that we are going to lose more jobs than we are going to gain in terms of permanent, good, well-paying jobs when we substitute an ad hoc program for a serious look at the priorities of this province.

We have to ask, where is the plan? Where are we going from here? We have to ask what the NDP government, the socialist government, is doing to create employment in northern Ontario, to make us industrially capable of moving into the 21st century. I think northerners will find that a policy of high energy prices, of increasing the price of moving our goods to market, of increasing the price of having our mines and our pulp and paper industry being able to compete—their electricity prices will go up by 44% over three years because the price of gas is going up. The taxes on gas this year are going to increase by 30% for an area that depends more on energy than any other part of the province because of distance, the nature of our industries and of course our climate. So that very important energy component is making us uncompetitive. We are wondering what an NDP government that promised equalization of these prices is doing to further our competitiveness.

My whip is telling me that I have only a minute left. No, he says it is even less than that. In short, I just want to quote the words of Canadian Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers president Rick Briggs: "I think it is time that the NDP stopped apologizing for getting elected and started getting on with their mandate."

1640

**Mr Stockwell:** First, I think it is important that the numbers and the items listed in the orders of the day by the opposition be highlighted quickly: The unemployment rate has reached 9.6%, more than 286,000 Ontarians have lost their jobs, more than a million people in Ontario are on welfare, the government has predicted Ontario's economy will shrink by 3.3% and the deficit will reach \$9.7 billion—and even with these predictions, the Treasurer has miscalculated twice since his budget and has been forced to delay spending and ask for more federal money.

This is a rather damning list for a government that is only in its 15th or 16th month. It is discouraging for the people of Ontario, and I am certain it has to be very discouraging for people who are in this government caucus. The predictions, the promises and the issues they outlined during their election have simply fallen by the wayside. It is "abandon ship" when it comes to the issues they ran their election on. They are faced with a very difficult time. Clearly it is a very difficult time to be a socialist in government, because all the needs, all the indicators and all the economic strategies dictate a ship to be guided in one particular fashion: reductions, restraint and re-organization. Socialists have a very difficult time dealing with those issues in the best of times, let alone in a recessionary period like today.

We sit on this side of the House and we are made promises about economic plans for renewal. I ask the members opposite, where are their economic plans for renewal? Where were these plans that were promised to this

House oh so many months ago by the Premier? We have not got them, because they simply do not know what to do.

It is very clear in my mind that they have a very difficult time understanding what to do with their Treasurer. I like the Treasurer very much on a personal basis, but he has recklessly helped ruin this economy in Ontario. They will stand in their places and defend the decisions they make, but the indicators do not bear out their policy, their positions and their statements. They are suggesting that they are doing the best for the economy, yet we have unemployment rates and job losses and people on welfare like we have never, ever seen before. The question that needs to be asked of this government, and the reason this issue was brought forward today by the official opposition, is what do they plan to do about it?

What plans we have seen come forward from this government include a new labour law, a law that will do nothing but drive more businesses out of this province; a piece of legislation where they will not even examine the impact on job creation. We know full well they will not examine the impact, because there is no job creation. We have unemployment reaching unprecedented heights, and they are introducing labour laws that will drive more businesses out of this province. They should explain why their government considers this a priority when the people of this province consider job losses the greatest priority. There is no explanation.

I am certain we will have members stand up across the floor and mouth the party line and tell us what a wonderful job they are doing. The difficulty everyone in this province faces is that after they have made these speeches, these numbers do not change. There are still nearly 10% of the people unemployed and a million people on welfare.

The numbers do not change because there is no leadership being offered at Queen's Park today. The leadership we hear about is an approach that maybe some union can get tax breaks or benefits from the taxpayers to buy out insolvent companies. Who came up with that brainwave? This is going to jump-start the economy, to have unions buy out insolvent companies with taxpayers paying the bill? That is so hopeless, it is hard to believe they classify this as some process to jump-start the economy. The way to jump-start the economy is to build in some surety for the investors, the entrepreneurs, the creators of wealth so they may reinvest in the province.

The same thing gets shouted back for 15 months. They yell about free trade. They yell about the high dollar. They yell about all these programs that are driving them into the ground. For once, the ladies and gentlemen opposite should take responsibility for their actions. They are a government. It is time they stood up and said, "Here's what we plan to do to get us out of this economic spiral." They do not. They simply shout back a bit of rhetoric marked down by some backroom NDPer that is going to solve this crisis. We hear, "GST, free trade, the high dollar." My friends should do something besides parroting some union boss down on Bay Street.

**Mr Hope:** Bay Street?



**Mr Stockwell:** Those are the only people who can afford to work on Bay Street today. Unions are the only ones that can afford the rents any more. All the businesses are closing and moving. Bay Street is going to be the biggest union organizing hall in Canada, because all the private investors, all the wealth creators are moving. Why are they moving? Because we have 9.6% unemployment, 286,000 workers who have lost their jobs, a million on welfare and a 3.3% reduction in the economy in this province.

If there are no real ideas coming forward from opposite me in this House, then why do they not grasp some being offered from this side? Why do they not take some of the ideas that have been put forward in our policy directive, New Directions? Why can they not at least examine these alternatives and maybe implement them?

The government must admit one thing. Their ideas and their 15 months have basically been a failure for economic revival. They must admit that. The numbers indicate it. There are more people out of work in this province than since the Depression. There is a shrinking in the economy that we have never seen before. I am not making these numbers up. These are the numbers that come before this House. What do we do? We are going to have to live with this government for three years. They should adopt some concepts we are putting forward from across this House.

Their labour law is not going to produce one job. If they think it is, let them tell me how it is going to produce jobs. If they are telling me this new Labour Relations Act is going to produce jobs, let them explain how and show me. They refuse to do even that. Why? Because it does not produce any work. The people in this province are begging for work and this government is driving businesses out of this province.

Free trade is another one they always chime in about. We have businesses in this province moving to Quebec and Manitoba. What the hell does free trade have to do with that? Nothing. Why? Because there is economic hope in those provinces. Those provinces are trying to attract industry; they are not driving it out.

Business people come to meet with me in my office. They tell me their concerns and I express them in this House. They have concerns about the labour regulations. They have concerns about the \$9.7-billion deficit. They have concerns about the shrinking employment opportunities. All I get back from the government is, "GST, free trade and the high dollar." That is not an answer; that is an excuse. The government was not elected to make excuses; it was elected to govern. They should start governing.

1650

**Hon Miss Martel:** The Treasurer took a great deal of our time on this side, so I will do the best I can in the short time I have. But I do want to say in response to the last member's comments that he should come to my part of the world and find out about the effects of the high value of the Canadian dollar, because it is killing industry in northern Ontario. It is nothing more or less than the high value of the Canadian dollar which has affected our traditional industries and wiped out jobs all over the place. He should

come to our part of the world and see what it is like and see the impact of federal monetary policies.

There are couple of things I want to go back to, and one is the five principles the Treasurer outlined in his discussion here today. I want to talk about how, in the last year in northern Ontario, some of the things we have been doing have fitted into those policies and how we hope the work we do will continue to fit into those.

Specifically on the first comment the Treasurer made, "Economic renewal means raising living standards and improving working conditions," I want to tell some of the things we have done in the north in the last year. The Ministry of Northern Development and Mines put about \$40.8 million in terms of anti-recession funding into the north: 60 localities and 90 native communities received funding. I say to the member for Algoma-Manitoulin, as I said to him in the standing committee on estimates, that 80% of the funding under our ministry was allocated to those communities by August. We have already created 3,000 person-years of work.

Our money has been allocated; our communities have benefited in northern Ontario. There is no doubt about that in my mind. That went into community infrastructure, which we believe is going to be absolutely essential. As northern Ontario pulls out of the recession, those communities will have the basic infrastructure in place. They will be able to attract and retain people. We think the local purchase of goods and services and the local employment that has created has been absolutely phenomenal and very helpful in northern Ontario in the last year.

Carrying on from that, \$210 million of that \$700 million went to northern Ontario. A full 30% of the anti-recession funding went to a portion of the province that has been very hard-hit by the recession and very hard-hit by ill-thought-out federal monetary policies. In total, we had money that went into waterfront development, schools, roads, recreational facilities, correctional centres, day cares, shelters and group homes. I know those are things the Tories do not care about, but they are certainly important in my part of the world, and that is why we funded those kinds of things. That has been a tremendous benefit to the people of northern Ontario. When I travel—and I do travel in the part of the world I represent—they are nothing but very grateful that this money has come back to be used in their communities for their local people for local purchase of goods and services.

A second program we introduced, because we saw a very desperate need for it when we came to power and there are many small communities in northern Ontario that cannot raise the necessary funding to put in place municipal infrastructure, was a new program called the small communities improvement program. We put about \$1.5 million in place that allows communities with less than a population of 2,000 and all of the native northern bands to apply. That money is used for minor capital improvements in terms of municipal infrastructure—again, libraries, day cares, community centres, all important kinds of things the Tories do not care about. I understand that.

But in this year we have allocated about \$1.5 million to 38 communities, all of which had, again, local purchases



of goods and services this summer and this winter and local people being put to work. I know the Tories do not care about putting local people to work, but we do, and that is why we did it. We are very pleased with this program; it is a phenomenal success. We have waiting lists, but we will put it in as a permanent program within our ministry because we know there is a need and because we know it fits into our overall economic renewal strategy in terms of providing local employment and making sure the economic infrastructure is in place in small communities in our province.

I wish the private sector would join us. In some of these cases they did and in other cases they did not. So we have picked up the shortfall and we are putting in place what the private sector, in some cases, has not wanted to do.

In Elliot Lake—I am glad the member for Algoma-Manitoulin is here—we put \$15 million into that community, again as an effort to try to diversify an economy that has to move away from mining, that needs another structure in place and another kind of economy in order to survive in the long term. The \$15 million that went into that community went into infrastructure: the airport, the drug and alcohol treatment centre, the retirement living program, all important programs for people in those communities. All of those people in the communities will benefit from drug and alcohol treatment that will occur in northern Ontario, not across the border. Again, a lot of local people are put to work and a lot of local goods and services purchases are being made.

In terms of the northern Ontario development agreement, I want to point out that with regard to helping working conditions in northern Ontario, the mining sector in particular, a big portion of the money that has been put aside in the agreement will be allowed so that industry can come and work with government to develop pilot projects in order to improve health and safety in the mining sector in Ontario, look at new ways to meet environmental controls and new ways to increase productivity. We are very pleased that we will put proposals out. The mining industry has also agreed it is an important program, because it will be able to come and look at new programs to increase productivity and ensure health and safety in the mining sector and look at ways in which we can deal with environmental problems in some of that industry.

Two more points, if I might: The sawmill industry has been particularly battered by the federal government, by the softwood lumber tax and the very high rate of the Canadian dollar, so that it cannot export its goods. They have been very hard hit in this last year. We responded by providing about \$14 million to 12 sawmill communities that were utterly dependent on that particular industry, in order that we could both lever money from the bank and provide money ourselves so that people in those communities could continue to work and to look at new product lines over and above the traditional US market they have been selling into.

A number of those companies will now look at what else they can produce in those sawmill communities. They will now look at a different market, mostly European, in

order to change the pattern of their sales and to ensure that we have a long-term viability of those sawmills, not just one that has been dependent on the US market. We are very pleased to participate in that.

Finally, in terms of the Northern Ontario Heritage Fund Corp, which is directly mandated to deal with the development and expansion of small business in northern Ontario, I can tell members that in the last year, from October when I became minister until the end of September, we allocated over \$62 million from that fund. That was the entire \$30 million which we were given under statute in this year, and it picked up all the money that was left in excess and not spent in the first two years the program was developed.

In terms of responding to northern need, in terms of responding to northern business need, in terms of responding to northern communities that have been hard hit by the recession this year, I think we have a very good track record and one I am proud of as Minister of Northern Development and Mines.

Following up on the other four principles the Premier talked about, the government's role in economic renewal is to both encourage and manage change. There is no doubt that in the part of the world I am from, there has been tremendous change in the last year. I hasten to add that the restructuring, particularly in the forestry industry, is not over yet and we will see some more difficult times this winter. But in communities like Elliot Lake, Kapuskasing and Atikokan, the government has worked with business, the unions and community leaders to manage the change in those communities and in their traditional industries as best we could. No Tory or Liberal government would have done what we did in Kapuskasing; of that I am absolutely convinced. Nor would they have done what we did in Elliot Lake; I am absolutely convinced of that. I am very pleased that in each of those communities—

Interjections.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Order, please. The honourable member for Sudbury East has the floor and interjections are out of order.

**Hon Miss Martel:** I want to say that it has been a very profitable experience for our ministry, because we have worked directly in each of those communities with all the people who had a direct interest in maintaining employment and ensuring that all the people in the community had the best opportunities for employment. As a government, we were able to work with them directly through many hours of negotiation and work. There was a great deal of hardship on some days, but at the end of the day there were very successful changes in those communities. We will ensure that there will be long-term economies and diversification in those economies, particularly in Elliot Lake, which is a move away from what we have traditionally known in northern Ontario.

We intend to continue that work. In Sault Ste Marie, in particular with respect to Algoma Steel, we are now working very directly with the community, the banks, the Steelworkers and the company in order to look for positive solutions in that case. We will not walk away from those



communities. I can tell members that in Sault Ste Marie, the federal government sure as hell did walk away from that community. It would not even give that community money in order to stave off the banks and allow negotiations to continue. That is the kind of commitment the Tories have to workers in Ontario.

One more thing in terms of mining: We are trying to create partnerships between the mining industry and native communities in particular, because there has been a great deal of fear and uncertainty between those two communities for a number of years. The ministry has developed a road show where we go into native communities in particular and start to explain to them what the mining industry is all about, what mining really means, how it can be a good development tool for their communities and how we can transfer expertise and skills to them to develop the resources on their own reserve lands. We are having great success in dealing with a number of communities.

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We have encouraged the Ontario Mining Association and the prospectors and developers to have their own negotiations and discussions with first nations in particular, and those discussions are beginning. They have been very fruitful to date and are beginning to undermine some of the fear and suspicion that has existed between mining companies in the province and the first nations. We are working as best we can in the Mines side of my ministry to facilitate that dialogue and discussions.

The third principle: Partnerships between employers and workers are important for productivity. Again, I want to focus on the worker ownership legislation that will be critical in Kapuskasing and Sault Ste Marie. It is very forward-looking on the part of this government that we believe enough in workers that we will allow them to run their own plants. I know that is very difficult for other parties to deal with, but I can certainly say we are proud, as a social democratic government, that we believe in workers enough to know they can run companies in their communities. They can be profitable, they can make a contribution and I will be very pleased to support that legislation when we move it through this House.

There is no doubt that traditionally in northern Ontario no government has looked at value added in either the forestry or the mining sectors. The interesting thing is that we really have to look at value added in both traditional mining sectors if we are going to move away from a traditional dependence which we have always lived on in northern Ontario, and that traditional dependence has certainly increased the dramatic and very negative effects we have felt during this recession because we have not made that move away from those traditional industries or looked at how we can have value added in those traditional industries.

Therefore, we will have two discussions going on in my ministry. The Ontario Mining Association, the unions involved in mining and, on the forestry side, the sawmills, pulp and paper companies, people involved in waferboard and the respective unions have agreed that they will deal with us in terms of value added in both the mining and

forestry sectors. We are looking forward to kicking those off at the beginning of the new year.

Again, my colleague the Minister of Natural Resources talked about the forest industry action group and the chair, who was announced yesterday. That group, which I met with recently, will be looking at value added, particularly in the forestry sector. I can say that through the heritage fund as well we are looking at approving a plan which will allow for export marketing of our wood products into a European market, which we have to get into because we cannot continue the traditional links we have with the United States and deal with the Canadian dollar problem as we have in the last number of months. We are promoting that through the heritage fund.

A couple of companies are interested in exporting their wood products to Europe and we think that would be a tremendous benefit to the people of Ontario in terms of expanding our markets and our production.

Finally, in terms of ensuring the protection and improvement of social programs, I want to point out two things: During the anti-recession funding, particularly in northern Ontario, we spent a great deal of money to train native alcohol and drug treatment workers who can work in their local communities because we recognize the problem there. Most important, this year is our winter roads program, an ongoing program in the ministry which allows access by road into native communities over the winter. We will move millions of dollars worth of goods into those native communities this year, particularly in construction, so that next spring they will be able to use a lot of the money that came through the Ontario native affairs secretariat this year to develop housing on reserves, in six bands in particular.

I want to say that I am proud of our record over the last year. It is a record my colleagues have been very supportive of. There is no doubt that the restructuring in the forestry industry in northern Ontario in particular is not over. That is why we are very encouraged by the work that will be done to create the forestry team. The Ministry of Northern Development and Mines will be very encouraged to participate in that and will want to do that.

I can tell you that what we have learned in terms of economic renewal—and it has been very important to us in the last year—is that it is only going to come if there is a partnership among labour, business, municipalities and this government. In the communities I have worked in during the last year and in the communities I represent, that has been very much the pattern of what our ministry has been involved in and we will continue to do that. Thank you.

**Mr McGuinty:** The member for Sudbury speaks with conviction. I think it is important to recognize though that speaking with conviction does not always make one right. On that basis, I am going to proceed with some comments.

A number of people have asked me why is it that this government is having problems dealing with the economy. I think it is important to understand the baggage this party came to power with. This New Democratic Party is one which for decades has bashed business, landlords and the rich. All those, interestingly enough, were referred to in the Agenda for People. They actually used terms like “the



rich," as if somehow by virtue of being rich you are evil. They attacked landlords as well, as if somehow by virtue of being a landlord, there is something wrong with that, and as if somehow by being involved in business, there is something inherently wrong with that.

I think it is important to recognize that in order to bring a fair approach to government you cannot advance the cause of any particular interest group. You cannot advance the cause, for instance, of tenants. You cannot advance the cause of labour.

Interjections.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Order, please. The member for Sudbury East, you have your chance to debate. The member for Etobicoke West, I would ask you to be patient.

**Mr McGuinty:** I think it is important the government understand that the only cause it is supposed to be advancing day in and day out is the public interest. When you advance the cause of the public interest, it requires that you treat landlords, tenants, labour, business, environmentalists and developers fairly. There is an obligation to respect their rights and to ensure that the public interest at all times comes first and foremost.

I want to take the time to address the fundamental problem, of course, which began at the outset when the Treasurer introduced his first budget. That deficit of \$9.7 billion hangs around our necks like a millstone. The Treasurer and this party have staked their political reputations on maintaining this deficit at that \$9.7-billion level, as if somehow that were something to be proud of. That size of deficit is completely out of step with modern economics and modern thinking in regard to these matters. It is out of step with the initiatives that have been taken by other provinces and by the federal government.

There may have been a time when that kind of deficit was acceptable, but certainly from speaking to the people in my riding of Ottawa South it is no longer acceptable. I can recall during the campaign speaking with an elderly lady at the door. She said to me, "Why is it that if governments don't have money, they spend it anyway, but if I don't have money, I don't spend it?" The analogy is not perfect, but there is a tremendous kernel of wisdom there that we should not overlook. Sometimes we lose sight of those things in this House, in this rarefied atmosphere where we discuss these things in the abstract.

I am not inferring in any way that in any particular context we do not have an obligation to look out for those who are incapable of looking out for themselves. I am not saying that at all. That obligation remains, notwithstanding the economic times. But there comes a time, of course, when a government is going to be faced, as this one is, with difficult decisions that are going to demand leadership. Those kinds of decisions are going to cause some pain at least in the short term in order to achieve longer term benefits. This government, when presented with the circumstances of this recession, took the easy way out. It piled on the debt. It gave certain privileged employees hefty raises. In short, what this government has done is aggravate a serious problem.

I want to briefly refer to the matter of Ontario Hydro. You cannot talk about the health of our economy without talking about Hydro, because it plays such an integral role, as it has historically, in the vitality of our economy.

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I think the most important symptom which tells us about the health of Hydro is the indication by the minister and the chair of Hydro that we are going to have 44% rate increases over the next three years. That is a staggering increase. I think that is fairly obvious to anyone who examines it. Obviously over the next three years no one in this province to my knowledge is going to receive a raise that will be of that size. As a result, that kind of increase is going to have a tremendous impact throughout society. We are all paying for hydro in one way or the other, even when buying a chocolate bar. As I was saying to a group the other day, the manufacturing costs of a chocolate bar incorporate some element of power costs.

My whip is telling me, as graciously as he can, that my time is up.

**Mr Hope:** One of the important parts is that there is only a short period of time left, as we heard the energy of the north going through. One thing I would like to keep in mind is the issue of social justice. It has to be. If we listen to the Tories and the Liberals, we get the idea that in order to have a balanced budget, social justice is at the sacrifice of the individuals in our communities.

One of the important things as we talk about amendments to the Labour Relations Act and the increases that were announced in the budget to people on social assistance is better utilization. We were listening to the opposition and its criticism about making \$17.50 an hour on social assistance. That is a far cry from what is actually going on. That just tells us that a lot of the members opposite are not listening to the concerns of their communities.

One of the things in order to keep social justice in place is to look at what has happened to a lot of our workforce and to make sure we are using the proper foresight of where we are going. This economy was in a downturn a long time ago, but other governments never paid attention to the initiatives of the working people. This government has and will continue to. As the upcoming time allows, we will see a lot of changes take place in order for us to be competitive in this world marketplace.

Competitiveness is not a matter of wages that are way below the standard of living. It is a matter of improved wages, high wages, and at the same time producing a high-quality, high-value product in the competitive global market. We will do that in partnership.

**Mr Offer:** I am pleased to join in this debate, which I believe is addressing a most serious issue. Many members have already spoken about many aspects of the issue and the lack of this government providing some economic renewal for the province. One of the things that always troubles me when we talk about this is that people think it has to be spurred on by the recession which the province has gone through and continues to go through. The fact of the matter is that this is an issue which has to be addressed.



There was the need and a responsibility on the part of the government to promote an economic renewal. With or without a recession, the economic structure of the global marketplace was changing. Tariffs were falling. There was changing ground underneath. There was indeed a responsibility on the part of the government to meet what was happening not only in Ontario and all the other provinces in this country, but in all jurisdictions in the world. Tariffs are falling. There are new competitive mandates which have to be met. The government in this province has, day in and day out, failed to meet the demands of the day.

We have heard members on the government side speak about how much their government is doing, something about some five-part plan. I have before me a document put out not by the opposition or indeed the third party, but by the Ministry of Labour. It is put out by the government Ministry of Labour. What does it talk about? It talks about what we are going through in this province, pages and pages of people who have been laid off from work. It talks not about some amorphous five-point plan which nobody in this document put out by the Ministry of Labour has yet to see, but about employees, people affected, establishments closed or partially closed. It talks about names of businesses which, because of the inaction by the government, because they have been unable to meet the challenges of the day, are now either partially closed or have in fact closed.

Let's talk about some of those numbers. I will not talk about the names of the companies. We are talking about some real people: 79 people, 93 people, 14, 382, 9, 100, all of which add up to many thousands of people. What are we looking at? Are we looking at the employment or the unemployment in the last five years? Are we looking at the numbers for the last three years? Are we looking at the numbers in the last two years? No. This is the report for September 1991.

When members of the government stand in their places and speak about all the wonderful things they are doing, I can tell them the people who are contained in their own report would take strong issue with them. These are people who have been out of work, many for the first time in their lives, who look towards the government and say: "What plan have you put forward? How are we going to be able to meet the competitive mandate of the 1990s and beyond?"

What they are finding, as the back page says, is nothing. The government is doing nothing to meet the responsibility it should have met. This is not a matter which has come up in just the last month. It is a matter which has been before us in the last year and a half. The government has not met the issues of the day, and for that people are out of work for the first time in their lives, their options for job employment strongly reduced. This government must start to take action and stop looking at other people to blame. They have a responsibility. They should start acting now.

**Mrs Sullivan:** To a certain extent, I regret that I have to participate in this debate, because I believe that if the government had managed our fiscal and economic policies in a more precise and businesslike way, the debate would not be necessary at all. We know that business confidence

is at the lowest ebb in the province's history, that capital investment has dried up, that heavy debt over the long and short term is a presage of higher taxes and that services are in a fast decline.

One of the things that is clear is that the government has no handle on its economic policies, on economic issues or decisions, that should affect the future and in fact the delivery of health care services. One of the things we also know is that a strong economic climate and a viable wealth creation system ensure the social system that Canadians have come to depend on, and indeed by which they define themselves.

But people throughout Ontario are concerned about the stability of the health care system and other social networks, because of the arbitrary slash-and-burn policies that this government has put in place. Those policies are clearly necessitated by their own panicky response to budget surprises and bad planning. People fear this government is well on the road to creating a two-tier system of health care. What those who work in the health care system tell me is that the slash-and-burn policies, the arbitrary cuts, will not provide the saving the government needs, because it is not approaching health care and the management of health care in an appropriate way.

I think everyone agrees, whether they are institutions, whether they are agencies, whether they are consumers, that managing costs in the health care system while ensuring appropriate delivery of services that are equitable and to which people have access is a key challenge. But the approach of this government to managing costs in such a way that people will continue to be served has been marked by amateurism, by a lack of clear expression of what it is trying to do and its refusal to involve people who have the expertise in the field to participate.

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The Minister of Health has said that there is a \$5-billion waste level in the health care system. If she believes that, then she has the responsibility to say where it is and how she will fix it and according to what standards health care will be delivered. What procedures that doctors, using their professional judgement, believe are necessary for patient care does the minister believe are wasteful? What drugs does she believe senior citizens should pay for? She has indicated that may well be on the table. What standards will she put in place in our institutions to ensure that health care services remain viable and that needed services are provided? What quotas will she put into place for transplants, for surgeries? What standards for bed closings in our hospitals?

We know that by March 1992 more than 3,000—in fact, 3,292—beds in hospitals will be closed and 4,328 jobs will be lost. In Metro, 2,900 of 15,000 acute care beds will be closed. The minister must approve, under Ministry of Health policy, each and every bed closing. But one of the things people in the hospital field are seeing is no businesslike guidelines, no businesslike approaches to these issues. Hospital administrators and boards have no guidelines and standards from the minister about where she will require cuts.



How many patient days per 1,000 of population will the minister require hospitals to provide? What average length of stay is her standard? The minister has said that hospitals must be businesslike, but I want to tell members that the minister has not been businesslike in her approach to hospitals.

There are \$112 million in allocations for growth, equity and life support which should have been allocated by now which have not been made, have not been announced: \$24 million for pay equity adjustments, 50% of what hospitals need, have been announced, but the guidelines for flowing those funds have not even been defined.

I want to give another example of the kind of bad planning and unbusinesslike approach and amateurishness in this government's approach to the management of taxpayer dollars. Some time ago a 5% cutback in fees to Ontario laboratories was announced as a cost-saving measure. No one in the field understood how the government chose that arbitrary number nor what cost saving it was trying to achieve.

If the government really wanted cost saving and to maintain the high quality of tests, surely it should have taken the time to discuss with those who were working in the field with the expertise to determine where indeed cost saving could be made. Perhaps sharing a percentage of the increase of utilization would have been useful. Perhaps a cap on payments would have been viable. But an arbitrary chop, with no discussion or expertise drawn on, means the government will not get what it wants.

Frankly, that kind of arbitrary decision has been made in virtually every sector of health care without consultation with those who have expertise. It is very clear mismanagement and no saving will accrue. Businesslike decisions are not being made. What we are going to be seeing is the deterioration in quality, access, efficiency and universality of health care services, and that is very much a part of the management approach of this government.

**Mr Harris:** I am pleased to have the opportunity today to share a few thoughts with the Legislature on the opposition day motion. The motion is one that I will support, because I believe this government is moving dramatically in the wrong direction. I note, and I will not dwell on it, but I do want to note at the beginning that they are moving in basically the same direction as the former government.

I find the motion from the Liberal Party, from the member for St Catharines as leader of that party today, a little strange in that what it is saying to the government is, "Don't do like we did for the last five or six years." I agree with them. I accept in good faith their admission of six years of absolutely disastrous government for this province under the leadership of David Peterson and many of them who are still in this Legislature.

When they talk about the deficit reaching \$9.7 billion, never have I criticized the New Democratic Party for the total amount of that deficit. Nor have I criticized the New Democratic Party for all but \$1 billion of the taxation levels that we have in this province that have made us the highest-taxed jurisdiction not only in Canada but indeed in North America.

We will support the resolution, and I said I would not dwell on it. I hope now that there is virtually unanimous recognition from all those Liberals who will stand up and support this resolution today; that they will admit that in fact this province is in very serious shape; that our unemployment rate, relative to the rest of Canada, accelerated to a level far in excess of what it has ever been in the history of the province; that 286,000 Ontario workers have lost their jobs and it has been taxation policies and others the Liberals brought in that have led to many of those job losses; that more than one million people on welfare in this province can be directly attributed to the massive overspending of the Liberal administration from 1985 to 1990, of the misguided policies and directions, the layer upon layer of new bureaucratic costs that have been passed on to our employers, large and small, in this province that have been a significant cause of them being uncompetitive. I suggest to the Liberal Party that it be very cognizant of that in the future.

As I noted to the Treasurer earlier in this debate, I ask the Liberal Party, in the absence of anything of its own in the way of an alternative to its misguided direction of the last five years—and now my criticism of the New Democratic Party is that it is still heading in that direction, but it is in fast forward in that direction, and of course this is further compounding the situation that we inherited in this province in 1990.

I say to the Liberal Party that we have presented A Blueprint for Economic Renewal and Prosperity in Ontario: New Directions. The New Directions document is one that acknowledges a direction that has not been healthy for this province for the last 10 years. Some can argue with me and say it was only eight or maybe it was 12, but we present this in a very non-partisan way, in a non-partisan spirit, to suggest that here is how we have gone wrong over this period of time.

For some reason or other we changed from self-reliance, from being competitive, from rewarding initiative to suggesting and thinking that government can somehow or other be all things to all people and that a government will tax more money away from companies, from individuals and will decide how it should be spent. It has been in the name of fairness or compassion or that somehow or other government can do this more efficiently and have it spent more correctly than individuals themselves can. What a disastrous thought. It is called socialism to varying degrees, and we have seen how the greater the degree of socialism adopted by any country, any government around the world, the more disastrous it has been.

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So we have a mini-disaster here in Ontario. It has not entirely been brought on by this government. It has been a movement in the last 10 years or so. We have seen government spending go from \$17.8 billion to \$53 billion from 1981 to 1991. Government spending has tripled in the last 10 years, from 1981 to 1991. The inflation index for that period of time has gone up about 80%, so if we were spending today what we were spending at the levels of 1981 in today's dollars, we would be spending somewhere around \$28 billion. Members may say that there are more



people in this province today. They are quite right. If we adjust for that, we would be spending about \$33 billion, but we are spending \$53 billion.

This is why we in our party feel so strongly that a new direction is needed and why we feel so strongly that we are heading in the wrong direction, that most of this new spending has been introduced in the name of compassion. "We're going to tax it and we're going to spend it better than you" for sharing of the wealth, if you like, for sharing of prosperity. We have done this at such a level that we are threatening prosperity itself. That is why 286,000 jobs are out of this province and that is why unemployment rates are at the level they are.

We have overextended, even if one believes government can share the wealth better than individuals. We have intervened in the marketplace so dramatically in so many areas that the marketplace is not working very well in our province. I say there are some difficulties in Canada, but we have been the province that has moved more than any other province towards this massive intervention, in the highest taxation and the increasing degree of socialism, and we in turn are the province suffering the most during this particular downturn from all across Canada.

If you stop and think about it, if we could go back to 1981 and look at the situation there, was it perfect? Of course not. Were there problems? Yes, indeed, there were. There will always be problems. We are, after all, human beings. I do not know a political system or a grouping of more than one where there is total unanimity on every issue and where there will not be some difficulties in society.

In 1981, there were fewer people needing food banks, there was more and better-quality accessible health care to more Ontarians than there is today, there were fewer line-ups, there were fewer waiting lists, there were fewer people waiting for subsidized housing, there were fewer people requiring welfare, there were fewer people needing assistance from government.

We have tripled spending in this period of time, but have we solved the problems we set out to solve? I suggest we have not, and that is why a new direction is required. That is why the direction this government is taking is so disastrous. If they had only learned from the lessons of what happened before they took office. The people of this province knew a new direction was required and they thought this government would provide it, but it has not. They are on the same direction, only worse. They have been a great disappointment to me.

**An hon member:** That does not surprise me.

**Mr Harris:** That does not surprise the member, but the government has indeed been a great disappointment to the people of this province. The more it taxes, the more it intervenes and the more it tries to have government involvement, the more disastrous it is and the more unfair it seems and the more people we have on waiting lists and more people looking for food banks. Lineups for subsidized housing are longer. The waiting lists for surgery are longer. We have 4,000 or 5,000 fewer hospital beds today than we did in 1981.

If they could go back to 1981 and spend at the 1981 levels—they cannot, but I think it would be helpful to look at it—if they were spending at \$33 billion, what could they do with the \$20 billion? For one thing, they could balance the budget with \$10 billion, they could cut taxes by \$5 billion and still have \$5 billion to improve upon the programs that were being delivered in 1981. Understand that I am talking about 1991 dollars. I am talking about the level of government involvement in 1981 and transferring it to 1991, and I am adjusting for the increase in population we have had over that period of time.

We cannot go back, but surely we can learn from what all three parties have collectively done, all of us as legislators at all levels of government, but my look has been only at provincial government figures. Surely we can learn from that and say we are going in the wrong direction and need to move in a new direction if we truly care about having universal access. That is what our party is fighting for in New Directions. We are fighting to restore universal access to one of the best health care systems in the world. We do not think our health care system is as good or as accessible today as it was even one year ago, let alone two years ago. We are fighting to restore universal access.

New Directions is a document we have put out. If we could get the government to bring it forward on the agenda, discuss it and look at it, we think—in fact, we know—that if we work together with the resources available to us, even with the reduced taxation level, we could have more universal accessibility to health care in this province, more universal accessibility to affordable housing, more universal accessibility to food, more universal accessibility to a quality of life I believe we all want for Ontarians.

Not only have we been misguided in these plans, as we have had government say it can do all these things and had socialism take over, but we see the tremendous unfairness that evolves in the distribution of it. Under socialism, when there is a shortage of housing, as there always is, who gets the nice apartment? Not the poor, not those without influence, not those without contacts, not those without money. That is why I believe we have more on the outside today with a socialism approach to housing.

We put our dollars into helping builders—select builders, the non-profit ones, those who get the inside track, and select non-profit groups. There is so much profit in non-profit that it is an absolute disgrace. Who has the inside track? Who knows who? This is what is happening. Those who do not have friends in high places—it is not money, of course, that produces this type of influence—and those who are the weakest swimmers, which is an analogy I use, do not get in the lifeboat. It is the strongest swimmers who get in these lifeboats that government keeps insisting on building instead of teaching people how to swim.

We feel very strongly that a new direction is required from government in this province. We have never felt so confident that government is moving in the wrong direction. This government has been such a disappointment because the people expected a change. They expected a new direction. I think there is bitter disappointment among many of the 24% across this province who felt strongly



enough that the New Democratic Party would provide this change that they would vote for it at the polls across the province.

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I guess those who are in the know and who have the influence, the big labour unions—I was looking at the new directions of the Ontario Federation of Labour today—are not disappointed, because they are on the inside. They have the influence. When there is big profit in many non-profit things, here is where the big profit goes, to those in the know. Perhaps 10% of the population is in the know now, but the other 10% who came forward and felt strongly enough that they would provide a new direction and vote for them in the last campaign—and they do appreciate that 76% of the people did not think that enough to go and vote for them in the last campaign—are very disappointed.

I am going to support this resolution because it is along the lines of what we have called for in our non-confidence motion to be debated next week. This motion, I believe, is very supportive of calling for a new direction. I believe the Liberal Party has missed the mark, as I said at the start, in two areas. They have not given the government the new direction. I think opposition parties in the past were able to get elected perhaps by default, by being very critical and pointing out all the things the government was doing wrong. But I am convinced that in the future, to get elected, people are going to look for something to vote for. I do not think they will see many more elections in this next little period of time that will be elections by default, the way the government was elected.

I suggest to the government and the Liberal Party that I and my colleagues are prepared to come forward with a new direction. We are prepared to say: "Not only is this what you're doing wrong, and it is dramatically wrong, but here indeed is what you should be doing. Here's a new direction that you should be heading in."

This is not today a confidence vote. This today is a vote that calls on the Treasurer to introduce a comprehensive plan for economic renewal which will get the province's economy moving again. I do not know that there is anything in this that any member of this Legislature could have opposition to. Do they not agree, I say to the members of the New Democratic Party, that it is necessary for the Treasurer to introduce a comprehensive plan for economic renewal? The Treasurer is planning to do that anyway. They know that; I know that. We are a little concerned it will be the same misguided direction, 180 degrees in the wrong direction he has already been going in. But we hope that by being constructive and by presenting New Directions, our document and viable alternatives, indeed the Treasurer will reflect on that as he charts a new course, because the old one is obviously a disaster.

I ask all members of all parties to support this resolution put forward by my colleague the member for St Catharines.

**Mr Bradley:** Thank you very much, Mr Speaker, for the opportunity to conclude, I believe, the debate this afternoon, a debate which revolves around the most important

issue confronting Ontario at this time, and that is the state of the economy in this province.

In years gone by, we were always considered to be perhaps the fortunate part of the country, because when unemployment hit, it was always tougher in different parts of the country. We often thought of the Maritimes as experiencing extreme difficulty in tough economic times in the country, or certain western provinces that relied upon their resources.

What we have in the circumstances today is an Ontario where we are the leaders in terms of the recession and not the leaders in terms of making the economy go. We are no longer, in this particular context of November 1991, the engine which is driving the country.

There are a couple of reasons for this. The first thing we face, of course, is unemployment. Anybody who knows anything about unemployment knows there are statistics which describe unemployment to us. We are aghast at the fact that it hovers around 10%. We look at raw figures and we say it is awful that we are confronting this, but as people who have to deal with individuals in our communities across the province, we know there is a human dimension to unemployment which often is left behind. That story cannot be told in just a few minutes. We have families that break up because of unemployment. We have the breadwinners, whether it happens to be the man or the woman or the man and the woman, perhaps at each other's throats because of the fact that there is not sufficient income coming in to meet individual obligations. We have children who sometimes are subjected to child abuse because parents are at their wits' end over the economic circumstances they face.

Here in Ontario we have a very high unemployment rate. As the Treasurer himself conceded earlier in the day, we have a circumstance where the jobs are disappearing for good. I remember that Gord Wilson came to St Catharines to make a presentation. I thought it had a lot of good suggestions in it at that time. One of the facts he mentioned was that probably double the number of jobs that were lost permanently in the last recession are being lost permanently this time around. It was approximately 25% previously; it is now about 50%. I think the Treasurer suggested even more.

We must recognize that we have to turn the economy around and we have to do so quickly, but we are confronted with a deficit that is very difficult to face. When we look at why business will or will not invest in this province, I think we have to look at the deficit figures for the next few years. We are very concerned about the fact that we have a \$9.73-billion deficit this year. That is enough reason for concern, but I think what concerns those who are potentially thinking of investing in this province even more are the projected figures for 1992-93 of \$8.9 billion; 1993-94, \$8.4 billion, and 1994-95, \$7.8 billion. We recognize that is adding tremendously to the debt load of this province. In the four years for which the NDP is projecting its deficits, the debt of this province is going to increase almost as much as it has since Confederation.

I am a person who likes to be fair. I know we are dealing with larger figures at this time and I do not think



the raw figures themselves are fair to use, but those figures are scaring people from investing in this province.

The second thing that is scaring them is some of the legislation being asked for or proposed by this government. Some of those bills and some of the suggestions are not unreasonable in certain economic times. Perhaps, as some would suggest, there is no good time to introduce this kind of legislation, no easy time. What I am concerned about is that the government will bring forward a number of pieces of legislation that are going to scare off investors. For those who already have their money invested in the province, there is an uneasiness. I do not see a large flight of that capital at this time—there are layoffs, there are closings of plants—but there are a lot of people who are now uneasy about the economy, wondering whether they should keep their money in the province or transfer it to some other jurisdiction, particularly south of the border.

When they are making those kinds of decisions, I hope this government brings about an atmosphere in this province that encourages them to stay. I hope it brings about an atmosphere that encourages people to invest in the future. We have a good workforce in this province. It has been well trained in the past, but the Treasurer himself made a rather interesting observation which I thought was very fair. He said that, whether we like it or not, the economy in this province is being restructured. It seems to me that a strong government interested in encouraging investment will bring about an economic plan that is going to encourage people to put their money into this province and bring about a situation where the taxes that come in are not as a result of new taxes but are revenues that are there because of a buoyant economy. Then we can address many of the problems we have in the province.

The Minister of Community and Social Services would not have to cut off credit counselling services across the province. I have received representations from many, including the labour council in St Catharines, which has urged the minister and local members not to have the funds cut off for a credit counselling service, a particularly essential service in the midst of a recession.

What is required is a stimulated, booming economy to bring in those revenues so the Minister of Health does not have to cut so many beds from the various hospitals, so she does not have to diminish the services that are provided in this province.

I become somewhat concerned when I see the government preoccupied with certain things such as promoting itself. It is not fair to criticize this government alone for it, but I think many people in this province thought Bob Rae and the NDP would be different from other parties. We see a secret political committee set up, using funds from various ministries to promote the government. It says, "To expand the base of support for the government and to promote it." That sounds familiar. It sounds like my previous incarnation as an opposition member. I used to criticize another government for doing that and I see the same things happening to this government, except much more rapidly.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** You never did it.

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**Mr Bradley:** The Treasurer intervenes and I should not allow him to interject.

The point we made is that the Premier and the NDP were going to be different, and I remember the speech on polls. I remember the leader of the official opposition used to say, "That is a cynical manipulation of the political process in Ontario and we do not need polls because we have all the answers." Then I asked him the question in the House today, "Are you conducting public opinion polls using the taxpayers' dollars?" and he had to admit that in fact they are doing so.

I asked the next question, "Are you prepared to share it on a timely basis"—in other words, immediately with everybody else—"or are you going to keep the results for the NDP only?" Remember, this is using taxpayers' funds from various ministries. His answer was that the government is keeping these polls secret.

It is no wonder people become cynical. It is no wonder people say, in a time when we require good economic planning and programs, we have the government involved in cynical political practices. As I have said on many occasions, I even used to believe the NDP was more ethical and moral in politics in years gone by, but I have had my hopes dashed and that illusion destroyed by the Premier and the members of the government.

I was concerned as well because the Treasurer is now talking about new taxes. He finally had to retreat from the tax on auto workers in many parts of the province that he developed, because the opposition asked questions day after day and forced him to retreat. We enlisted the support of the president of the Canadian Auto Workers, fine gentleman that he is, and I know many of the people in St Catharines from Locals 199 and 676 were very concerned about the tax on auto workers.

We are afraid that the Treasurer, when he keeps adjusting his figures, hoping somehow the federal government is going to bail him out—we know that is a forlorn hope—somehow is going to come back with yet another tax on auto workers or some other segment of the economy, attempting to disguise the tax as an environmental tax because he thinks he can sell that as a tax.

What we do not need are more taxes to drive investment out of this province. What we do not need are more taxes to send people over the border to do their shopping. What we do not need are huge deficits in this province. What we need is a well-drafted, well-thought-out economic plan, and I know the Treasurer has had lots of advice this afternoon from those of us in opposition. He has had advice from many people outside his caucus and he has some good people in the caucus who no doubt have privately given him some advice as well to develop the kind of program that is going to encourage, not discourage business from investing in this province. If we have that atmosphere in this province, I assure the Treasurer that we in the opposition will be supportive.

Motion agreed to.

The House adjourned at 1756.



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- Malkowski, Gary** (York East/-Est ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/Adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiles, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
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- Mathysen, Irene** (Middlesex ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment, government whip/Adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement, whip du gouvernement
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- North, Hon/L'hon Peter** (Elgin ND) Minister of Tourism and Recreation/Ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs
- O'Connor, Lawrence** (Durham-York ND) parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/Adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto



- Offer, Steven (Mississauga North/-Nord L)  
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 gouvernement  
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**Rôle de l'Ontario au sein de la Confédération**

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Co-Chair/Coprésident: Noel Duignan

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Clerk/Greffier: Smirle Forsyth



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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

First Session, 35th Parliament

## Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Thursday 28 November 1991

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Première session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

## Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le jeudi 28 novembre 1991

Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers





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Effective with the opening of the Second Session of the 35th Parliament, Hansard issues and pages will once again be numbered on a sessional basis. Hansard numbering therefore will become consistent with Orders and Notices and Votes and Proceedings, and with other parliamentary publications throughout Canada.

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Under the new system, the sequence of numbering started in January 1991 will end with the final House and committee sittings of the present First Session. A new sequence will begin on the opening day of the Second Session, and each succeeding session, which will be issue 1 and begin with page 1. Committee reports likewise will be numbered from the first sitting of each committee in a parliamentary session.

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Il existe un index cumulatif des numéros précédents. Les renseignements qu'il contient sont à votre disposition par téléphone auprès des employés de l'index du Journal des débats au (416) 325-7400.

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Thursday 28 November 1991

The House met at 1000.

Prayers.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY

### PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS

#### STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Mr Mahoney moved resolution 33:

That in the opinion of this House, since every member of provincial Parliament must have a real opportunity to effectively impact on proposed laws and the budget, in order to ensure governing parties remain sensitive to all regions of the province, the government of Ontario should introduce reforms to the laws governing the Legislature to ensure that (a) the defeat of a government bill will not mean the automatic defeat of the government, so that individual members would have more leverage on a government; (b) governments would only be defeated in the Legislature on express votes of confidence or non-confidence; and (c) the budgetary process would be dramatically opened up to greater public input before decisions are finalized, and to move most of the budget-making process out from behind closed doors.

**Mr Mahoney:** I am very pleased to move ballot item 47 and to talk to members of this House and to the public in general about reforms I believe should take place in our parliamentary system.

We all hear from our constituents on a regular basis that they are unhappy with the process they view taking place in this House and in government in general. There is a general malaise in the community, a sense that legislators are not allowed the freedom to perform their duties as perhaps they would see fit. The whole issue of party discipline is coming under a lot of discussion.

Much of this, members will realize, comes out of movements such as the Reform Party, and we hear extremist views calling for things like recall of members of Parliament and members of the Legislature. I am sure members opposite are delighted that a recall procedure is not in place, otherwise there might be a number of current members who would be going back to the polls as a result of the past 15 months in government. Yes, the member for Lincoln can wave goodbye. I am sure he would be leaving, as a matter of fact.

I have not gone that far in this resolution, to suggest that recall is indeed a proper process, because frankly I do not think it is in a system where people are elected in a three-party system. If we were to have recall, I am sure virtually every one of us would face such a motion from the opponents in our ridings.

It does not go that far. It deals, in a very pragmatic sense, with the workings of the government in relation to an MPP. We all know, and I am sure the members opposite would understand from their experience in their first 15 months in office, that the way the system works is that a

minister—or a bureaucrat, in most cases—will come up with a piece of legislation or a particular bill of some type to introduce. If you are lucky, they will take it into your caucus and you will get an opportunity for input. If you do not have that opportunity, they will simply come forward and tell you what they are doing and then it becomes the job of the whip—and I see the chief government whip is here this morning—to get all members whipped into shape so that they come in and vote en masse. So far the record is quite impeccable. Members have been trained quite well to simply put up their hands or stand at attention. We understand that under party discipline that is basically how the system is worked.

I am attempting to put forward something in a non-partisan and non-controversial sense that perhaps locally elected MPPs can grasp as a rallying point. It is very important to understand that this is not to throw some kind of confrontational aspect forward. Let's face it, when a member arrives at Queen's Park and gets on a committee, he or she is told, "Today in committee we are going to deal with the estimates for the Ministry of Community and Social Services." The immediate reaction is, "Estimates means that we are going to deal with the next budget period and what they estimate they will spend." In reality, they wind up dealing with last year's budget. How in the world they ever put the name "estimates" on last year's budget has always been a puzzlement to me.

Members are not really having an impact on the budget and neither are members of the opposition, because the decisions have already been made. Oh, sure, members can put forward suggestions asking that they investigate why this was done or why that was done. My resolution says we should have a process where members of provincial Parliament clearly have an opportunity to examine proposals, true estimates of a particular ministry, where we could perhaps hold some town hall meetings and take those proposals to the people in our community.

Some have said: "You know, you've just got to understand that governments have to make tough decisions and, boy, if we are going to leave it to the whim of the individual member or the opinions of the people out there, a government would never get anything done. Sometimes you've got to bite the bullet and make these tough decisions."

I believe we must change the process to allow for more public input into the budget, the legislative process and new bills and to allow members to speak on behalf of their constituents. We know we are not always going to agree. Who can get a consensus on every issue in a particular constituency? It is very difficult. We will always have, particularly in partisan politics, somebody on one side of the issue and somebody on the other.

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We have no opportunity now, as members of this House, to even try to build a consensus. Either we are



given the budget after it has been developed totally in secret without having any chance for input or we are given legislation and government members are told to carry the can. It does not matter whether they agree with it.

Let's take a look at the committee process. The bills that create the most publicity in our communities, bills like Sunday shopping or public auto insurance, are issues that create a tremendous furor. What does a government do? Governments are all the same in this regard: They draft a piece of legislation and refer it to a legislative committee.

The government members on one side are told: "You will support this bill. Your job is to get it through the committee with as few amendments as possible and back into the Legislature for second, third or final reading and royal assent." The opposition members on the other side of the table are told: "You should oppose this bill. It is your responsibility to put forward amendments, to find loopholes, to embarrass the government if that is doable—to do all those things. Your job is not to allow that bill to go back to the House too quickly." Automatically we have confrontation.

I remember sitting in a committee hearing in Kingston on rent control, Bill 121. The bickering in the committee was so terrible that somebody in the audience shouted out, "Now, children." It really struck home a point, because that is exactly how the committee was acting, like a group of children.

Unless we change the rules around here and put in a system that says you as government, or we as government when we get a chance to change the particular roles, have identified a problem. Let's take Sunday shopping. We have identified this problem. Some people want to shop, some do not. Some people want to work, some do not. Business thinks it is good, labour thinks it is bad. Let's refer this to an all-party committee and ask the committee to write a report, bring it back into the Legislature and report to the minister so the minister could take the views of the public and the individual MPPs in all three parties and write the legislation.

It would not take one day longer. We would still have committee hearings. It would eliminate the confrontation we experience at all levels of parliamentary democracy. It would allow for each MPP to voice his or her concerns over a particular bill. It would allow for members of the public to have real input. Then the bill could be written and introduced back into this place for the kind of particularly partisan debate that takes place and perhaps belongs in this House. I call it inverse legislation. You simply take the legislative process, flip it upside down and say, "We're really going to go out and try to listen to the people."

This resolution says, "in order to ensure governing parties remain sensitive to all regions of the province," and to ensure that MPPs have "a real opportunity to effectively impact on proposed laws and the budget." We can do this kind of thing with the budgetary process. We should let MPPs talk about next year's budget. Let's start in the summer of the preceding year. Let's get the ministries' budgetary process out and have the staff come in. We have committee hearings through the summer, let's assign the standing committee on finance and economic affairs the

task of going over what it is going to do next year. It does not mean the government is required to do what the committee says, but it clearly means that MPPs can say: "We don't think you should do this or that in your budget. We don't think you should follow this or that approach in your legislative agenda. Our committee is recommending that you do the following things." What a refreshing change that would be. What a refreshing change to actually allow members of this House an opportunity for openness.

Let's understand that I clearly add the caveat, to protect the sensitivity of any government, that it will not necessarily mean the defeat of the government. If a member votes against a government bill, it does not mean the defeat of the government; that can only happen on express votes of confidence or non-confidence.

In my remaining 10 seconds, let me ask the ladies and gentlemen for their support of this resolution. Let me suggest to them in an open, friendly, non-partisan way that we need to do reforms in this place and this would be a good place to begin.

**Mr McLean:** I welcome this opportunity to make a few brief comments on this resolution from my colleague the member for Mississauga West. I support this resolution in principle because it is fundamental to the democratic process that each individual member of this House, whether sitting on the government side or the opposition benches, has an opportunity to participate in the policy decisions of the Legislature. The reforms called for by this resolution would make the contribution of all members more meaningful and better equip us to reflect the wishes and the views of our constituents. That is what it is all about, to bring the views of our constituents here and to be able to make sure that, when legislation is being dealt with, those views are part of that legislation.

I think we all agree that the most controversial issues, such as the April 1991 budget with its original \$10-billion deficit or the proposed changes to the Ontario Labour Relations Act that will destroy the unique partnership between labour and business, are dealt with in a partisan manner. The opposition lines up on one side against the government backbenchers. Even though the government members may be opposed to these controversial measures, government members are told to support these measures because the defeat of a government bill will mean the defeat of the government. This government has even gone far enough that when one member voted agin tobacco tax in his riding, he was fired as chairman of the committee, which is totally unacceptable in this day and age.

I believe this resolution will result in some cross-party, issues-based coalitions forming to deal with matters that are really relevant to our constituents and that would result in a true reflection of the views, opinions and concerns of the people who elect us to represent them. These cross-party, issues-based coalitions would dramatically open up the budgetary process to greater public input, rather than hiding the process behind closed doors.

I have had the opportunity to sit on the standing committee on finance and economic affairs. When we are going through the budgetary processes, pretty well the same groups come before that committee every year to



make their presentations. We sit there and we listen and we hear much the same thing year after year. The governments listen but they do not act. I think that process has got to be opened up whereby there are more people being listened to than I have observed being listened to in the last while.

Perhaps if this had been the case back in April, the people of Ontario would not have been confronted with a budget that contains 14 tax increases, a 219% increase in Ontario's deficit and a debt for each man, woman and child in this province of \$5,700. That is the debt of every one. Perhaps if this had been the case back in April, the people of Ontario would not have been smacked in their wallets with a budget that will long be remembered as the beginning of Ontario's slide into the devastating spiral of increasing taxes and decreasing economic activity.

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At this point in the discussion, it should be noted that 88% of those in the riding of Simcoe East who responded to a recent questionnaire of mine indicated that they do not think it was appropriate for the provincial government to double Ontario's debt over four years. That is the long-term, four-year goal of this province. That is what the people are saying.

Perhaps if the government had moved most of the budget-making process out from behind closed doors and sought public input before unveiling the budget last April, it would have gained a great deal of insight into the true views, opinions and concerns of the province. Perhaps if the government had consulted with the people of Ontario, it would have discovered that 88% of the population of this province, not just in the riding of Simcoe East that I represent, do not think it is appropriate for the government to double its debt in four years.

I believe if each member of this Legislature, including the government backbenchers, had a real opportunity to impact on such proposals as the government's move to change the Labour Relations Act, it would ensure the governing party would remain sensitive to all regions of the province and to such diverse groups as representatives of labour and business.

A growing number of workers and businesses in my riding and throughout all Ontario are increasingly worried that the proposed overhaul of Ontario's labour and employment laws will result in the destruction of the unique partnership between labour and business. It is a partnership that is necessary if Ontario is to remain economically healthy and vibrant.

As I pointed out yesterday in the Legislature, the Orillia and District Chamber of Commerce, with approximately 200 businesses and individuals who employ more than 25,000 people, placed a full-page advertisement in the November 23 edition of the Orillia Packet and Times under the heading "Enough is Enough." This ad stated in no uncertain terms that Ontario does not need an overhaul of these laws because existing businesses cannot afford additional costs and restrictions.

If the government had sought input from the public, from the labour movement, from business and from members of this Legislature before setting out to change our

labour laws, it would have discovered that such amendments are not necessary and will further add to the damage already caused by the April budget. They will damage this province's already fragile ability to compete in the world marketplace.

The Minister of Labour or one of his colleagues in the government back benches should have stopped by a recent town hall meeting in Midland—perhaps the member for Muskoka-Georgian Bay's busy schedule did not allow him to be there—which was held to give representatives of labour and business an opportunity to discuss the promotion of competitiveness and prosperity.

The minister or one of his backbenchers would have discovered that labour and business do not want the proposed changes to our labour and employment laws. I have his attention; he is looking. They want unions to be toned down, they want workers to have an opportunity to choose whether or not they want to belong to a union and they want the government to stop forcing industries to leave Ontario because of labour laws.

They also want what I suspect most members of this Legislature want, and that is for the government to scrap the proposed changes to the Labour Relations Act. They do not want the government to give prospective investors one more reason not to invest in Ontario. They want the government to develop proposals that address job creation and attraction. They want proposals that will invite and retain employer investment in Ontario.

As I noted earlier, I support the principle and spirit of this resolution. I believe that had it already been in place before the April budget and before the government announced the changes to its labour laws and employment laws, the people of this province would have ultimately been the winners. They would have been winners because they would have been allowed to participate, along with their elected members, more directly and fully in Ontario's democratic process. I support any measures that open up the democratic process. I support moves that give all members of this House a real opportunity to effectively impact on proposed laws, the budget and issues of certain people in all regions of this province.

I had the opportunity this morning to attend the breakfast for the forestry industry of this province. It so happened that I left home in Orillia at 5 o'clock in the morning and arrived here at 7:30 in time for that very important breakfast. What the forest industry was discussing this morning, and it left a lot of concern with many of the members who took the time to attend with this very important industry in Ontario, was that there are 75,000 jobs there.

They indicated to us the four major concerns they have. The four major concerns have to do with the Ministry of the Environment hearings that take place in the forest industry, the costs of the Workers' Compensation Board, the increased fees and rates and the hydro rates. They indicate that if it is true that hydro is going to increase 14%, many of them will be out of business. The fourth major concern they have has to do with the labour laws. Those are four very important issues to labour in this province.



The minister was there, and he spoke about how the investment taking place in British Columbia and Quebec is far superior to what is taking place here in Ontario by those companies that are in business. It shows me they are afraid to further invest heavily in the forest industry. Why? Because of our hydro rates and because of some of the labour laws they are initiating. It is very clear why this forest industry in Ontario, which provides 75,000 jobs, is—

**The Deputy Speaker:** Order, please. I would suggest that you should speak to the resolution.

**Mr McLean:** I think this has to do with the resolution and I want to carry on with this aspect because this resolution has an awful lot to do with the budgetary process and would dramatically open up greater public input. That is section (c) of the motion I am speaking to when I talk about whether they are investing in Ontario or whether they are investing in Quebec or in British Columbia. These are decisions that are not finalized when we are dealing with the budgetary process in the finance and economic affairs committee.

When we are dealing with that process in the committee, we see that the funding for the non-profit, free credit counselling services, a last-ditch agency for desperate consumers who in good faith want to pay their bills, has been cut from this budgetary process by this government in order to allow those people to pay their own way, which they see as important.

When we look at offloading and downloading when we are talking about the budgetary process, I think this resolution this member has here today to open up the process to allow members to have that free vote they feel would be so important to their constituents—if this motion had been in place when the member for Lincoln had the opportunity to vote for his constituents, there would not have been the problem that was created within his own party.

For many years I have come to this Legislature with the views of the people I represent. I get them every week, and I respect those people's input and I accept it. That is why the people and the public today are so upset with their politicians, because we have a government here that made all kinds of promises. Once they got elected, they came to Queen's Park, formed a government, and all of a sudden they have changed those commitments.

That is what we are talking about, accountability, and that is what members are talking about, accountability to their constituents. That is why we read of other parties in this province and in Canada that are saying: "We want to open up the process. We want our members to be able to vote as their constituents feel they should vote."

This resolution from the member for Mississauga West really does that and I would urge every member in this Legislature to support it. I do not know how any government member here today could not support this resolution. It gives every member of the provincial Parliament an opportunity "to effectively impact on proposed laws and the budget, in order to ensure governing parties remain sensitive to all regions of the province." I think this is a very

important resolution and I commend the member for bringing it forward. I hope that perhaps the member for Lincoln will have an opportunity to speak on it and express his view that a free vote is so important in this Legislature and the reasons it is so important. Too many politicians forget that we are the servants of the people who elect us.

1030

**Hon Mrs Coppen:** I am pleased to rise today to speak on the resolution by the honourable member for Mississauga West. I do not often get a chance to speak in the House because I do not have a portfolio. I do not make ministerial statements or member's statements. I am waiting to hear from the Speaker if I can answer questions in question period. I thank the deputy whip, the member for Kitchener-Wilmot, for squeezing me on to the speakers' list.

I agree with the member for Mississauga West, whose resolution reads that MPPs need "a real opportunity to effectively impact on proposed laws and the budget." The people of Ontario would certainly also agree that they want their elected representatives to speak out for them.

It was because of an interest in shaping public policy that I decided to run for public office in the first place. Now, in my capacity as the MPP for Niagara South, I bring the concerns of my constituents to caucus, cabinet and this House so that we may work to address the issues that concern them.

Weekly, I meet and discuss the area's concerns with individuals, business people and community action groups from Fort Erie, Port Colborne, Wainfleet, Niagara Falls and the smaller communities of Ridgeway, Crystal Beach and Stevensville. Groups from all across Ontario, such as Port Cares, Fort Erie COPE and the Project Share program from Niagara Falls, are all welcome to participate in the government process. These community outreach groups reflect the concerns of all Ontarians and it is my privilege to bring those concerns to this House.

It was a pleasant surprise last September to become a member of the NDP government in Ontario and it is an honour to be the voice of the people of Niagara South in this fine Legislature. I also want to stress the role of MPPs in Her Majesty's loyal opposition. New Democrats have had years and years of opposition and I am proud of that history and the contributions of such people as Mel Swart, Stephen Lewis, Donald MacDonald and Ted Jolliffe as well as the members of our caucus who have served on both sides of this House. I think back to J. S. Woodsworth and his caucus and the enormous influence they had on Canadian history.

All MPPs, regardless of party, have an important influence in the political process. Through the work of individual MPPs in the House, in committees, in our constituencies and in our caucuses, all members, government and opposition, have an opportunity to make a difference. For that reason, I was touched, as were many members in this House, by the remarks of the Lieutenant Governor on Monday when he said to all members, "I just want you to know that if at any time I can speak out in terms of letting the people of this province, of this country,



know how hard elected members pursue their responsibilities and with such excellence, I will do so."

Today's resolution also refers to ensuring that government parties remain sensitive to all regions of the province. Let's just look at the members who sit in the chamber. This is the changing face of government: women, including a record number of women in cabinet; a registered nursing assistant; teachers; lawyers; small business people; grass-roots community activists, and the first-ever elected deaf representative in the world who uses American sign language.

The chamber is starting to reflect the population of the province. It is no longer simply white middle-class men who decide what is best for the rest of the population. I am proud to be part of a government which is not only sensitive but also more reflective of the population of Ontario than any other government to date. We have only to look at the historical pictures in the hallways of this building to see how far we have come.

I also support the part of the resolution by the member for Mississauga West which refers to opening up the process to greater public input. I am proud to be part of a government which opened its doors to those who have traditionally been excluded from the decision-making process.

One of the first things this government announced was the creation of the Fair Tax Commission to look at the entire tax system and make it fairer. The 10 commissioners come from all walks of life and bring with them the perspectives of business, labour, community groups and other organizations. Some are tax specialists, but they all want to create a tax system in Ontario that is fair.

This government's first budget was introduced after extensive consultation with various interest groups, all sectors of society, including communities, labour and business. In some cases, we were hearing from groups that were being heard for the first time. The standing committee on finance and economic affairs held several weeks of pre-budget consultations and recommended that the process be expanded. Our Treasurer has already announced that he will be expanding the pre-budget consultations. The Premier has said that we want to share with the Ontario public as much as possible the information that is going to allow them to see what the choices are and what the consequences will be of the various steps and choices.

The people of Ontario, as well as the members of the newly elected government, were shocked to learn last fall that there was a \$2.5-billion deficit rather than the \$23-million surplus we had been led to believe existed. We do not want to see that repeated. We do not want to see that happen ever again in Ontario.

Other issues we have consulted extensively on include the select committee of Ontario in Confederation, including travel to remote communities all across Ontario and discussions around the social charter, and family support, so that women and children get money which is rightfully due to them. Of support orders filed, 75% are in arrears. Over \$400 million in support payments are unpaid. This is an important part of the fight against the poverty of women and children in Ontario.

We consulted extensively on rent control and introduced legislation which protects tenants from huge in-

creases in rent. This list goes on. We have talked with people in Ontario.

Kapuskasing: After weeks of discussion, the Ontario government, Kimberly-Clark, Tembec, the employees ownership group and Ontario Hydro worked out an agreement together to save as many jobs as possible at Spruce Falls Power and Paper Co. To date, the employees, the community of Kapuskasing and the surrounding area have raised \$15 million. This shows what can be done when people work together.

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Bill 70, the wage protection fund, gives laid-off workers money owed to them. Bill 115, the Sunday shopping legislation, protects retail workers while addressing the concerns we hear from business and municipalities.

There are major consultations in progress presently on reforms to the Labour Relations Act, employment equity, long-term care and several other initiatives made by this government. Again, these are opportunities to hear from individuals and groups that have never been heard from and have never been part of the decision-making process.

A fine example of openness and sensitivity of this government is our appointments process. We have opened up the process and are encouraging greater public participation in agencies, boards and commissions. The record of this government on public input speaks for itself.

In conclusion, I support, in principle, the resolution by the member for Mississauga West. However, I will be voting against it. I think it is up to the governing party, whichever party it may be, to show the political will to remain sensitive to all regions of the province, to allow individual members to have leverage on government and to open up the budgetary process. This government has that political will.

**Ms Poole:** I am very pleased to speak to this resolution by the member for Mississauga West. He has been talking about reform to Parliament for many years and how to make it so that individual members in this Legislature would have more influence and be better able to reflect the views of their constituents. He was fighting this battle long before it became popular or trendy, so I am pleased to support his resolution.

When we were elected to this place, one of our major requirements, at least in my mind, was that we would reflect the views of our constituents, fight their battles and help make their lives better. It may seem idealistic, but that is one of the major reasons I ran for Parliament. What I found when I came here was that this was not the situation. There was very little freedom of individual members in this Legislature to vote their own conscience and to vote according to how their constituents would wish them to vote.

I find it notable that the government whip took almost all the government's time, not allowing its private members to have an opportunity to speak. I know the member for Welland-Thorold would have had many comments to make in this House. He has been deprived because their whip brought out the whip.

She said such things as that their government had made moves to reflect the general makeup of the population in



this House. I say to her that it has to be more than tokenism. Yes, the government has 10 women in its cabinet. We Liberals had six women in our cabinet, but every one of those women had influence and power and could effect changes. I wish I could say the same of those 10 women in the NDP cabinet. Too often the NDP will bump up the numbers simply so it can say it has done this wonderful thing, but what does it really mean? When they say they have opened up the public input and the public process to include those who had been excluded, I say that is nothing but a sham.

I will give members a perfect example. This government spent \$500,000—at least it acknowledged it spent \$500,000; it probably spent much more but hid it through consultant fees and other ways. They acknowledge they spent \$500,000 on distributing a tenant flyer for Bill 4. When this holier-than-thou government took a look at the reactions of tenants—it had polling to do this which it has never shared with the House—the polling showed that tenants had no awareness of this mailout, they were not aware of public hearings and they really did not know what Bill 4 and Bill 121 were all about. The government made a big deal about the fact that it was involving tenants. They have to go beyond this and do it the right way.

To get specifically to the resolution, what the member for Mississauga West has proposed is a way to open the doors for members to exercise more freedom of choice in this Legislature without bringing down the government so that in an incident such as when the member for Lincoln voted against his government last week he would not be punished for doing it. Instead, he should be congratulated for standing up for his constituents and doing what his constituents would have wanted him to do. We have to ensure that members are doing what is right for the people, not what a majority in the cabinet has decreed.

There is a lot of diversity in this province from one end to the other. There are many people in this province who do not share the same ideas as those in other parts. For instance, my colleague the member for Kenora deals with very different problems than I do. I deal with problems such as market value assessment and tenant protection, while issues such as highway transportation and the quality and availability of health care are far more important to his constituents. Let's open up the process so the member for Kenora can vote as he wants to and the member for Eglinton can vote how she wants to, in the best interests of our constituents. This resolution will accomplish that. I firmly support this and think that any free-thinking member of this Legislature cannot fail to do so.

**Mr Kormos:** I have three minutes and 47 seconds. I have been here for a little bit longer than some of my other colleagues in government. I sat among the 19 people when there were only 19 people in opposition, and I have been in a few of these debates during private members' hours wherein there are 50 minutes to be shared among the speakers. I have never in my party experienced an occasion when that time has not been equitably split. However, I am going to extend the member for Lincoln a courtesy that was not extended to either him or me and ensure that he has at least two minutes and 30 seconds. That clearly

does not give him an opportunity to say all he would want to say; it does not give me an opportunity to say all I would want to say.

My position in this regard is probably reasonably well known. I think it is incredibly important that people in this Legislative Assembly recognize their obligations not to those powers within the caucus that put them in or out of a cabinet chair but to the powers that put them in or out of this Legislative Assembly. Those, of course, are the people who live and vote in our respective ridings. The people in those ridings will be far harsher with each and every one of us should we fail to serve them than any whip or House leader or party leader could ever be.

I am in support of this resolution. It is the most modest of proposals. It echoes McGrath, and of course everybody here knows what the McGrath report said. It echoes what was said most recently and most articulately—far be it from me not to plug a book when it is a good one—in *A Capital Scandal* by Fife and Warren, required reading which is available at This Ain't The Rosedale Library on Church Street or down in Welland at Marg McPherson's *For the Love of Books* on King Street. The members should buy it and read it. I surrender the floor because my time is so brief.

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**Mr Mancini:** I rise to support my colleague's resolution. The member for Mississauga West wants to open up the process here in the Legislature. My colleague wants to give authority and responsibility to the members of the Legislative Assembly. I believe that up until a few short years ago most people believed their member of the Legislature did in fact have authority and responsibility.

My experience has shown me that particularly over the past four or five years, and made even more sensitive by the past 16 months, the people in my constituency believe the elected members of the Legislature basically are a bunch of water boys. They believe this for a variety of reasons. They attend meetings in ridings with their members. They present letters and petitions to their members. They present policy papers to their members. Some of them join political parties. Some of them attend political conventions. Some of them pass political resolutions. Some of them belong to associations, organizations, businesses and unions, all of which try to further their own individual interests. It no longer comes to them as a surprise that the members of the Legislature in fact do not have the authority and the responsibility they once believed we had to make an impact or to influence important legislation or the views of the powerful people at the centre of every political party.

I have sat in this Legislature under a Conservative government, I have sat in this Legislature under a Liberal government and I am sitting in this Legislature under a socialist government. Far too many things are the same. In every situation, a small group of people at the centre—how they get there sometimes we do not know—control and direct the complete operations of this Legislature and all its committees.

I was saddened to hear the speech by the government whip. I was saddened for two reasons. First, it was obvious



the speech was prepared for her, which I consider to be fundamentally incorrect when we are speaking on a resolution that talks about giving more authority and responsibility to members of the Legislature. She was reading what was prepared for her.

Second, I was disappointed because she did not fundamentally address the points on this resolution by the member for Mississauga West as to how we could increase the authority and responsibility of the members of the Legislature. That is what I want to do today.

I want to make it very clear and plain for all who are listening in this assembly and for all who are watching that I have not been happy with the way Parliament has been run during my 17 years here. It has been consistent through every office and through every party in power. All that have held office have had the same attitude towards members of the Legislature: We are here to support the power structure that seems to gel in the middle and that seems to want to run everything that affects the members of the Legislature, the Legislative Assembly, the committees and everything we have to do.

I can recall during my early years in Parliament there were a number of reformers in all political parties. We got together and asked what we could do to give members of the Legislature more authority and responsibility so that we could better represent our constituents. That is what it is about.

During campaign time, we all run door to door, street to street, neighbourhood to neighbourhood, township to township, town to town and say, "Send me to Queen's Park and I will speak for you." But after the election is over, we sit idly by and allow the superstructures that have developed here to prevent us from doing that. Anyone who does not want to admit that has no intention of representing the wishes of his or her constituents.

A number of years ago, a group of reformers from all parties—I can remember Mike Breagh, Sam Cureatz, myself and a few others—asked, "What can we do so that we can truly represent our constituents?" We wanted private members' bills, which we have now on Thursdays. However, that system has been perverted by the government whips and the people at the centre of power in all parties. We wanted more responsibility in committee, but now that has been perverted by the government whips and by the people at the centre of power in all parties. We saw what happened to the member for Lincoln when he wanted to speak for his constituents. We saw what happened to the member for Welland-Thorold when he wanted to speak for his constituents. We need fundamental change, because the people are way ahead of Parliament.

**Mr Hansen:** I think I am going to choke in only a minute and 40 seconds the member left me in this speech. I have to say one thing. About a week after I was removed from the standing committee on finance and economic affairs, the member for Mississauga West said in one of his speeches to Port Colborne residents that this is a good idea he has proposed today in this resolution.

I will say with the time I have that I will support this resolution. I think there have to be changes made. The changes did not just happen in England; they were made

because members stood up until the government finally realized there were problems with the process. I think some of these particular ones on the government would be defeated in the Legislature on express votes of confidence and non-confidence. I think we still have to show the government has power on certain bills.

I will support this resolution. I will wait for the day that the opposition parties will stand up and not vote as one party. When we had the Sunday shopping issue, I imagine there were some members on the other side who would have liked to vote for their constituents.

I have to take a look. Here at Queen's Park I have not found one person who sits on this side of the House or that side of the House who voted for me in the last election to send me to Queen's Park. I have told the people in my riding that I will take the message of what they want to Queen's Park, not what Queen's Park demands of my constituents.

**Mr Sola:** Before I start on my speech, I would like to correct the record as to the remarks made by the government whip regarding the deficit. I will quote from the auditor's report on page 15.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Order, please. You must speak to the resolution.

**Mr Sola:** I will try to get that in.

The resolution attempts to remain sensitive to every region of this province: northeastern Ontario, northwestern Ontario, eastern Ontario, the Golden Horseshoe and rural areas. This resolution by the member for Mississauga West, for instance, would allow members of the government to vote against Bill 118 because it would allow those members from rural Ontario and the outlying regions who do not have access to natural gas to vote against the bill because they do not want their constituents to support a conversion for something they do not have access to. They do not want to be subsidizing areas which are richer and which have opportunities they do not.

For instance, it would allow the member for Lincoln to support his constituents without fear of retribution by the government front bench, as happened to him when he was fired from his position as Chair. It would have allowed the member for Welland-Thorold to remain true to his convictions, unlike the NDP government, and continue to promote public auto insurance instead of reneging on that heritage commitment as his NDP government has done.

However, perhaps the designation of express votes of confidence would have created the unusual situation where the member for Welland-Thorold would have been the only one to have remained true to the basic plank of the NDP government, and even the front benches would have been voting themselves out of office.

The defeat of a government bill not automatically meaning the defeat of the government was the original intention of Parliament, if I can recall back to my schooldays. It was only monetary bills and express bills of confidence that would have resulted in the defeat of a government.

I support the member for Mississauga West in his resolution.



1100

**Mr Mahoney:** I would like to thank the members who have spoken in support of this resolution. I appreciate the support of the member for Lincoln and the member for Welland-Thorold particularly. The member for Lincoln said he would like to see the day when the opposition would vote freely. I should tell him this is not about bringing down the opposition. Obviously this is not the problem. The problem is the solidarity and the whipping of government; that is really what the thing speaks to.

Quite frankly, I think the speech by the chief government whip really indicates exactly what the problem is: that the government does not understand the intent and the principle of this resolution which says we are all equal. We all arrived in this place with the support of our constituents. We all campaigned for whatever party and whatever platform on the basis that we as men and women were going to do the best possible job we could on behalf of our constituents. The chief government whip, by saying she supports it in principle but is going to vote against it, clearly demonstrates exactly what the problem is.

I am going to be particularly interested to see how the government members are whipped by the chief government whip. Clearly there are some people with principles like the member for Lincoln and the member for Welland-Thorold who are standing up on behalf of their constituents. Maybe there will be some others who will support this.

Interjection.

**Mr Mahoney:** I sincerely hope that Mr Hope, I hope, will do so as well. It is easy for you to say.

Very definitely, what the chief government whip has laid out is exactly what we have to stop in this place. It is exactly what we have to change, the attitude that the government will do what the government pleases: "We'll man the torpedoes and to hell with what the people out there think. The members will do what we tell them."

I hope members will show some courage, forget the whip and vote for this resolution.

#### SCHOOL BREAKFASTS

Mr Harris moved resolution 6:

That in the opinion of this House, recognizing that one in six children in this province is living in poverty and that the April 1990 Report on Food Banks by the standing committee on social development recommended the creation of school-based meal programs to provide a basic level of nutrition and that the statement to the standing committee on finance and economic affairs by the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario recommends such a program, the government of Ontario, after consultation with educators and in partnership with private sector sponsors, should establish a breakfast program for elementary schoolchildren.

**Mr Harris:** In 1968-69 and 1969-70, two years, I taught school in a senior public school, grade 7 and 8 children. It was not a poor area of the city of North Bay that I was teaching in, and I am going back of course now in excess of 20 years. I was responsible for what we call

lunchroom supervision. All the children at our school ate lunch at school.

I was astounded by two facts: (1) the massive amount of food that was thrown out at the end of the lunch period each day and (2) the number of children, some admittedly from what members would consider poorer families, who either did not have a nutritious meal or who had nothing to eat at lunchtime. At that time, two working parents in each family was not so prevalent and single-parent families were not near the extent which they are today, particularly in many parts of the province.

We set up at that time, in response to these two things, a very simple program. We knew that many times their mothers did not pack exactly the lunch the child wanted. It may have been very nutritious, but it was always somebody else's lunch that was better than the one they had. We set up tables in the lunchroom, and under the auspices of children who were 12, 13 or 14, they could take their lunch and put it on the table. It was an exchange.

Out of that very simple program that cost absolutely nothing—my fellow teachers accused me, a bachelor at the time, of getting a free lunch, which I did many days with the amount of food that was still left over—it was amazing the number of children who ate somebody else's nutritious lunch, compared to their own, just because it was different. It was also significant that there was no embarrassment; there was no stigma attached to those who did not have an adequate lunch, as all children came up and shared this table.

I have since been very concerned about the increasing numbers of children who are not receiving the proper nutrition and the effect that is having, particularly in the early childhood years, on their education. In the past 25 years this thought has stayed with me. I have been very intrigued whenever there is a new study out on the correlation between lack of nutrition and lack of performance in school.

There are more and more studies coming out each day on this that reinforce the fact that there is something wrong with our attitude in Canada, as we look around to other countries of the world where, regardless of political philosophy, there is a philosophy that children ought not to be hungry. There is something very dramatic and very cost-effective and in many cases without cost in taxpayer dollars that we can do to make sure this does not happen, at least for those days when children are in school.

As members know, I get an opportunity once every two years or so to bring forward, through private members' time, a bill or a resolution. I believe this resolution, if it is supported by the Legislature and goes somewhere afterwards, if there is some initiative on the part of the government, for the fewest amount of dollars can have the largest single impact on children who are dropping out of our school system, who are not learning as they should learn, who are our most valuable resource. We are losing dramatically because of a very correctable problem and a simple nutritional problem in school.

I could share with members, and I will a little bit now and later as I sum up, the many studies that have been done that point out that hungry children are hampered in their ability to learn, in their concentration levels. They are



hampered physically and academically in school. Specialists agree that children follow very predictable trends of learning and development in early stages and that the early years in the education system have a profound impact on the child's future development. Failures in the early years have serious detrimental effects on a child's self-perception, and in many cases he or she never recovers. Regardless of the ability they had when they went there, they never recover in the later years.

1110

Conclusively, children who go to class hungry are tired, they are disinterested and they tend to do poorly in school. Other interesting information is that children go to school without breakfast. The resolution that calls for a breakfast program is not limited to breakfast. It is nutrition, because there are many children who might have breakfast but do not have an adequate lunch. There are many children who are hungry at different times.

There are many successful programs that are providing nutrition, not simply through a breakfast program or a lunch program, but on an ongoing basis throughout the day in the classroom or in a central location. There are many running without any cost to government at all, without any taxpayer dollars at all. There are some with minimal startup costs to taxpayers. There are some with a very minimal cost to the taxpayers, with the majority being volunteers, donations and corporate sponsorship.

I attended a meeting yesterday with about 20 people, experts in this field, who run successful programs—some nutrition programs throughout the day, some breakfast programs, some lunch programs—in Toronto through the Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority, the Catholic school system, the public school system, teachers' federations from London and Waterloo. There were a number where we had consensus, but one thing was very clear: It should not be 100% a government initiative. It required the support and the involvement of the school, the community, the teachers, the principal and those in and around that particular school.

This is something the government can do at not a great cost. This is something that, if the Premier would take it on, would very quickly help children and indeed our whole society and its productivity. I have found in talking to a number of corporate sponsors who are involved and potential corporate sponsors that they would jump at the opportunity to help once they have seen the statistics and the facts of the tragic loss, not only to these children as individuals but to our society as a whole.

None of these corporate people I have talked to want any recognition. In fact most of them want to be anonymous so they are not out there with their names as a target and 100 other people will come after them for money. One of the things that was stressed was that there not be corporate involvement for corporate gain; ie, you do not want to get somebody hooked on your brand of soup and have that as the reason why you are donating your brand of soup. I have not sensed that from one single person in the corporate sector I have talked to. In fact it is the exact opposite. They do not want their name particularly associated. They just want to help.

I am asking for support for this resolution today. I am trying to elevate it. It has been talked about many times. David Peterson, the former Premier of the province, outlined it in the last campaign. He scooped me by three days, so we did not continue our announcement in the last campaign. It has been talked about by many members of the Legislature but it falls through the cracks. The Ministry of Education says, "Don't take it out of Education dollars." The Ministry of Health says, "Don't take it out of Health dollars." The Ministry of Community and Social Services says, "Don't take it out of Comsoc dollars."

Indeed, it is one of those where it is easy to say: "We supported the resolution. We can sleep now. We're good Christians, and Christmas means more to us now that we supported this resolution," and a year from now not much more will have happened. I am asking for support today for the resolution. Indeed, I am asking for all of us in our caucuses, in cabinet, to say, "How do we make this a reality so next year we're not in the same position?"

**Mr Martin:** This morning my heart is gladdened as I listen to the member for Nipissing speak about this subject and speak in support of an initiative that I think all of us in this House would be more than willing to support, certainly a principle that should underlie everything we do here. I think government, in its essence, is about making sure the resources that are available to an area, a province, are distributed equitably and in a way that provides opportunity to people, particularly children, to be all they can be.

I was also heartened to hear of the member for Nipissing's personal involvement as a noon-hour aide serving lunch to children. I would like to begin my few comments today with a story of my own. My father was a janitor for a long time in a separate school in a community in northern Ontario. At one point in his tenure as janitor, there was a young boy who came to school each morning without having had breakfast, and on most days not having any lunch with him. My father, being the sensitive, caring man he is, recognized in this boy the things being pointed out today by some of the studies that have been done around poverty and children and children's ability to operate in school if they are hungry. He recognized some of the symptoms and realized that this boy was coming to school hungry, so he would invite him into his janitor's room at lunchtime and share with him his sandwiches and his cookies. They became, through that interaction, very good friends.

The story then jumps ahead about 15 years, with my parents in a huge house they had acquired because they had many children. All of us had gone on to work or school. It was an empty house and they were feeling quite alone in their retirement years. At 1 o'clock in the morning this particular night the phone rang. It was a long-distance call from Calgary, and it was this same young boy my father had shared his sandwiches with calling him to say that today he had got his first job and that he wanted my dad to know.

I suggest to members that there is a connection between this boy's ultimately being successful and contributing and participating constructively in the world he is now living in by having a job, a job he was obviously excited



about, and the fact that somebody noticed he was hungry when he was young and going to school and took the bit of time that was required to feed him.

I guess it is in the light of stories like that, which so many of us could probably tell from our personal experience and the experience of people we have talked with, that we know this resolution brought forth by the member for Nipissing this morning is a good resolution. It is the kind of thing we in this House should perhaps be focusing more attention on and giving more time to and contributing more resources to.

Just recently the Minister of Community and Social Services and myself had a meeting with some folks at a downtown school in Sault Ste Marie. The topic of discussion was the integration of children's mental health services. We had parents, we had teachers, we had officials from school boards at that meeting. The first item on the agenda—we were expecting it might be different—was the issue of children and poverty, and nutrition and food, and the possibility of a breakfast program.

I like this resolution. I like it as a suggestion. I think it speaks to a real need in our province today. Certainly no one in government or on the other side can deny that we do have in front of us a real challenge around the question of poverty, particularly where it affects children.

In a report by the Interfaith Social Assistance Reform Coalition on poverty in Ontario, I think in April 1991, there is a comment made at the very beginning about the issue of poverty: "What is most shocking, however, is that 400,000 children in this province live in poverty and that 25% of the children who are poor in Canada grow up in this province."

With those facts and figures in front of us, I think we really do need to look at ways that we as a community can come together most creatively in front of this question. I refer as well to an article in a magazine put out, I believe, by the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation. It says: "The Ontario New Democratic Party's 1984 report is right. For the poor, education means burdens, not opportunities; imprisonment, not liberty. As child poverty numbers continue to climb in this recession-ridden 1991, the education system must come under greater scrutiny."

1120

The question is, how are we hindering students living in poverty? The answer is a complicated one and is going to require all of us putting aside some of the old blocks that get in the way of our co-operating around something that calls out not only to our minds but to our hearts, as we go back to our constituencies each weekend to meet people who tell us about the effect and the impact this recession is having on them and on their families.

I suggest to members today that the greatest obstacle to this particular resolution coming into reality is one of attitude—our attitude and the attitude of people in general out there in our communities—around the issue of poverty and why people are in poverty. It is also one of misinformation, misunderstanding and philosophical base re the question of why some people find themselves in need of social assistance programs and other people do not. I think we all need to get into a very honest and truthful discussion about

those particular issues, particularly at the grass-roots level in our communities.

I agree with the member for Nipissing that we need to focus on this. I agree that it needs to be a co-operative effort. All the partners who have a vested interest in children in the communities need to be involved. I would suggest to members that my colleagues who will speak to this issue after me will talk to some specific programs in their communities, as there are in mine, where church groups and community groups have come together already to support schools that have recognized hunger as an issue for some of their kids and have begun actually to answer this question.

I will be supporting the resolution today and I will be urging the rest of the House to do so. It is one of the most important things we will face in the next few years in this province.

**Mrs Caplan:** I rise today to participate in this debate with a good degree of sadness. The leader of the third party, the member for Nipissing, has posed a resolution which is not new. There is no new information that has been provided that has not been known for quite some time. Experts agree that providing children with a nutritious breakfast facilitates improved school performance. There is a direct correlation between the two.

We have a patchwork in parts of this province with breakfast programs at this time. I am very aware of that in my own riding of Oriole in the city of North York. There are a number of excellent breakfast programs but, quite honestly, there are not enough of them.

The reason I am quite sad is that I am aware that on August 21, 1990, a breakfast program was announced for this province. The program was to provide \$1.50 per child to defray costs of food. The total program was laid out as a real partnership and as a real opportunity for what I think would have been one of the most significant health promotion and disease prevention programs available in this province. The program was to be funded by the Ministry of Health's health promotion branch and the total cost was estimated at \$18.5 million.

It was part of the Liberal government's commitment to the vision that we had stated so clearly in our throne speeches, and to the health goals for Ontario that were developed by the Premier's Council on Health Strategy. I was very proud to serve as vice-chairman of that very important body. The Premier's Council has continued. We have not heard from the new government whether it has accepted that vision, nor have we heard whether it intends to proceed with those goals. In fact, from the first Minister of Health, the member for Ottawa Centre, we heard that their goals are different.

Let me repeat what the health goals of our government were for Ontario. We said the first goal should be to shift the emphasis to health promotion and disease prevention. The second was to foster strong and supportive families and communities. A breakfast program, the one that was proposed in August 1990, would have gone some way to achieving those first two goals in a real partnership with the community, with the private sector. It was in fact modelled on the very successful breakfast programs that have



been developed, as I said, in a patchwork across this province. For the first time there would have been an opportunity for real partnership in reaching out to meet the needs of children in our province. I think the one thing we can all agree on is that even in times of economic restraint and difficulty, the priority must be for our future and for our children.

The concern I have is that what we have seen from this government is absolutely nothing. The program had been approved by the former Treasurer. The funding was in place and it was there. What we have seen from the NDP government is that it has shredded its own Agenda for People. They have said to the people of this province, "We're not going to do what we said we were going to do." They have said that very clearly time and time again and I for one have said that is a really good thing, because some of the things they promised to do were really dumb. But there were some things we promised to do that they should have done already, and this is one of them. That is why I am sad to rise today to talk about how important it is that we all get together and make sure that children have the opportunity to reach their own potential and do as well as they can in school.

The quote I would like to put on the record is from August 21, 1990: "It's hard to develop a full mind on an empty stomach." I also want members to know, and I think the member for Nipissing would agree, that it is not just poor children who suffer from undernutrition. We do not want to label children who need to have a good, healthy breakfast as only poor children. While we know that is a particular problem for those children who live in poverty—the numbers are growing and it is a real concern to me that we have that awful reality in our province today—there are also children from every socioeconomic stratum who go to school undernourished and who would benefit from the opportunity for a good breakfast as part of the school breakfast program.

We should all be supportive of the notion that all children, regardless of economic background, should have the opportunity to learn and grow and benefit from our public school system, from our educational system. We should collectively agree that one of the ways of letting them do that is to make sure they have the opportunity for a nutritious breakfast. I would state again that this opportunity was announced as part of a comprehensive government program, ready to be implemented and put in place. The funding was there. I do not know what has happened to it. I know it was going to be funded through the health promotion branch of the Ministry of Health. I know the program was going to include the community development opportunity of getting everybody involved to achieve that goal of real partnership.

One of the most successful health promotion programs to date has been run by MTHA breakfast club programs. I recently attended their annual breakfast. That is an opportunity of partnerships where the private sector, the public sector, MTHA, the city of North York and the boards of education participate. On numerous occasions I have worn the apron and have been a celebrity chef. I have seen the happy faces of those children as they came together and

played and had a good, nutritious breakfast. Working with me those mornings have been school principals who tell me of the improved performance of children in the classrooms.

1130

I am sad this morning that, 15 months after the last election, 16 months after this program was announced, 16 months after the dollars were available, this government has done nothing. It could have been implemented, and here we are today debating a resolution by the leader of the third party which, as far as I am concerned, should have been done, could have been done and, sadly I say, would have been done. I cannot understand why it has not been done, because the effects are absolutely clear.

We know what the statistics say. We know that undernourished children score poorly on cognitive, perceptual and psychological tests and show diminished verbal abilities. While poverty increases a child's chance of being undernourished, undernutrition can exist at all socioeconomic levels.

The development of a breakfast program for children in this province is not one that will only combat poverty, although it will take some steps towards making sure children who are victims of poverty have the opportunity for a good meal. I am not saying it is the solution to poverty; it is not, but it is one of the solutions to breaking the poverty cycle, because you would ensure that those children have an opportunity to learn. You would also ensure that those children from other socioeconomic levels, while not living in poverty, have the opportunity to learn to achieve their potential.

I would say to the members of the government caucus, who I am assuming are going to speak in support of this, if they are not going to do what they said they were going to do, how about doing what we said we were going to do? How about putting in place the program that was there, that was designed, that was ready to go? Stop the talk. The time for action is now. The time for action was 15 months ago. The rhetoric, the words of concern, are all very nice, but it is now time to do something. People are telling me, "We're tired of talk, we're tired of consultation, we're ready for action." They have the opportunity to do that; they are the government. I am glad to see that their members of caucus today, during private members' hour, are standing up and saying to their government: "Do it. Do the right thing."

I will be supporting this amendment with the hope that this government will implement the program that was ready to go. I thank you, Mr Speaker, for the opportunity to participate in this important debate.

**Mr Jackson:** I am very pleased to be able to rise in support of my leader, the member for Nipissing, to express support for his resolution today and also to recognize his long-standing concern, as has been expressed in our caucus over the years I have had the privilege of working with him.

On the other hand, I am very disappointed that we have to use private members' time to deal with an issue I believe all members of this House share as a concern, and that is the issue of child poverty and the extended concerns



as they surface about those children who attend school on a daily basis and who attend hungry, who attend undernourished, who attend with a whole battery of social and physiological problems that will result because they are children who arrive at school undernourished and hungry.

Unfortunately we have only been given one hour of the House's time for this important issue, but it would be wrong for us to pursue this in a partisan way. We as a caucus disagree with the various approaches. We disagree, for example, that we would need \$18 million, as was suggested in a proposal by the Liberal Premier in the last election. We might disagree, for example, with the socialists on the issue of rent control when we see more and more of the community having to spend more and more of their limited dollars on housing. We know we disagree on the issue. We would provide a shelter subsidy so that there is enough disposable income for a family so it can acquire those other necessities of life besides a shelter, which seems to be an uncontrollable expense in this province.

I simply want to say that as politicians we should be taking the position that to simply hand out food and to simply extend a hand of charity without in the same breath speaking out and dealing with the issues and attacking the root causes of poverty would be wrong. Failure to do that, in my view, would be to perpetuate the very problem.

I had the privilege of sitting on the standing committee on social development and doing the work on the Report on Food Banks. We listened to various jurisdictions in North America that have entrenched programs with food stamps and what not, and we were strongly cautioned not to get into that. That is why I think, as we move to this issue of breakfast programming, we are hearing from those people in the field who work in this area that we should not turn to government to entrench this as a government program, that in fact we should look towards community-based solutions; we should look to the contribution of the private sector.

I know that sounds like a dirty word to some members of this House, but imagine that this is part of the corporate responsibility within a community, part of a community responsibility to share those resources, that we do not always have to tax persons, take \$10 from them, spend \$3 or \$4 on bureaucracy in Queen's Park and then send \$6 back for them to work with. Let's let our communities deal with these commonsense solutions within the context of their own community.

It is in that context that our leader and our party are presenting this case to address the issue of those children who lack the nourishment and lack the basic sustenance of a breakfast when they start their day in school. My leader, the member for Nipissing, has indicated that these are not just poor children. These are also children who have parents who have to leave at 7:30 in the morning. Both parents are working and there just is not enough time to feed the child.

We have cases where the child's metabolic rate is such that he is just not interested in eating breakfast, but maybe by 10 o'clock it is important that he get some food. We have to listen and make sure we are clear that all children are different, but all children should have a basic right to a

breakfast in the morning because it is so integral to their learning and to their socialization.

We have to make sure that when we deal with this issue we do not stigmatize those children who need it. What is so beautiful about the breakfast program in existence today is that it is treated like a club. Kids bring a quarter. Not all the kids can afford a quarter, but they are asked to bring a quarter and participate in a breakfast club. It is a fun thing to be involved in, and not a case where the child is out in the playground and the bullies are pushing him and saying: "Ah, you're one of those poor kids. You're taking a breakfast in the morning." All children are welcome. All children are asked to participate, to be involved, and it becomes quite a nice activity for all of them. We have to be careful not to stigmatize the program, and that is what my fear is with lots of government funding thrown at a problem like this. Allow volunteers within the community, volunteers in the corporate sector, to participate.

I want to suggest we have to be very careful about how we teach our children the whole concept of charity. I had a revelation recently from my daughter who goes to school. She is in kindergarten. She is told to bring a snack. Last week she said, "Dad, I'd like to bring a snack because one or two of the kids don't bring snacks." At first I was really proud of my daughter that she had embraced this concept she should share. But then I became a little concerned that we are now involved in a bit of a charitable act and in fact what we should be trying to suggest is, what kind of program would allow my daughter not to see the children in her class as different on the basis of income, different on the basis of opportunity and different on the basis of privilege? I appreciated her sense of charity, but by the same token, how are we, as parents and as a government and as a school board, helping her if we are not helping her to understand that?

I am always fond of quoting a Zen proverb which exists in virtually every school in this province: Give a child a fish and he will eat for a day, but if you teach a child to fish, he can eat for a lifetime. I think in that proverb rests the whole point of what we are trying to stress here, that we cannot turn to government for a daily handout of taxpayers' funding. We must teach our community the true nature and the true face of poverty and its effects, and in turn we must involve our community in seeking true solutions so that we can pass on a lifetime of dignity and equal opportunity for our children who are struggling with this issue.

1140

**Mr Hope:** I share some of the concerns the member for Burlington South has just raised, and dealing with the resolution, I must say it is one of very few things I agree about with the member for Nipissing. I agree that the resolution being put forward is one I will be supporting.

As we talk about the children and about healthy minds and healthy bodies, short-term costs, long-term gain as far as our health care systems are concerned and making sure that the young people, the future leaders of Ontario and probably of Canada, are actively involved with healthy minds, these times are very unfortunate, as the member for



Burlington South alluded to, and we must stop the effects that are happening to create poverty in our areas.

One of the unfortunate things I have a hard time understanding is why the member for Nipissing has attacked this government's initiatives in Back on Track, which are helping more people through social assistance, making sure that through a 10% and a 7% increase that they have more income to provide the basic needs of living today.

I wish we could get things very straight on where we are going. But one of the effects it is causing, especially in my riding of Chatham-Kent, where I am really seeing it very much lately—I know there are a number of people here today in the members' gallery. For instance, Ron Tack, who is one of the councillors in Wallaceburg, is very concerned about what is going on in his area in Wallaceburg, which is part of my riding. We have Derry McKeever here, who is president of the labour council and who is very concerned about the job losses and some of the impacts that are causing the devastation of poverty.

I will not keep pointing fingers, but I must allude to the goods and services tax and the high interest rates. Everybody asks us why there are high interest rates. A lot of us working people have to borrow money in order to keep things ahead, and as interest rates go high, our cost per month goes high. The UIC cutbacks were affecting a lot of people in my area.

But I want to get back to the issue the member has put forward here today. I think it is very important that our education system, which plays an important role in the development of our children for the future in this competitive marketplace—we must be a highly competitive, highly skilled labour force into the future, and I think it is important that we start to address those needs in making sure we can be competitive into the future.

I am not saying at all that the parents in my community are neglecting their children. We are not saying that. It is a basic matter of survival, with the increase of costs of housing and rent, and now this government is making a number of initiatives there, but I am sure parents care about their children. The member for Burlington South mentioned his daughter. I have two young children who go to school and they can identify very clearly when somebody is in need of food or is not able to bring a treat. They are there with open arms for these people. But I know the parents in my community, whether they be single or double or both working or whatever it may be, are very concerned about their children's future, which is very important.

But one of the things I want to get out, because I know my friend the member for Guelph wants to talk a bit, is that I had a particular issue in my riding where allergies play a significant role, and what I am very concerned about is that if we start the breakfast programs, we must make sure we identify the children in our school systems who have very severe allergies that could cause death. I had an incident in my community where this happened and it was a simple treat. It was bring-a-treat day and what happened is it caused a fatal devastation to the family. So one of the elements we have to make sure of is that when we bring in something like this, we identify other areas that may be affected.

I will be supporting the resolution of the member for Nipissing. I think it is important. I think we have to go beyond just breakfast; it ought to include lunches. It is very important that we develop healthy minds in order to have healthy bodies and control health care costs and put the perspective back. It is a learning process and we are all going to learn together.

I know the Minister of Community and Social Service, the parliamentary assistant and the ministry are very dedicated to the children of the future and the children of today and making sure we have effective programs that will meet their needs.

**Mr Curling:** I rise today in full support of the honourable member for Nipissing, the leader of the third party, and to echo also the sound words of my colleague the member for Oriole.

As recently as November 23, 1991, young people from Ontario and New York gathered together at a youth conference in Toronto sponsored by the Hunger Project of Canada, of which I happen to be one of the directors, to keep a promise. As members may remember, that was echoed in 1990—I think somewhere around September 29 or 30—when 71 world leaders got together to say that we must address and keep the promise to the children suffering from malnutrition and starvation.

We do not have to go far. Right here in our own country and our own province, there are children who are being neglected or who are not able to get sufficient food in the morning, which is more or less the sustenance of the day.

We are not here today to sing praises or point fingers, but I want to take this opportunity to thank people like the mayor of North York, Mel Lastman, who, when I was the Minister of Housing, approached me to start the breakfast club; Rick Gosling, a bureaucrat who worked hard over the years, and Jean Augustine, who is now with the Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority, who carry on the tradition of the breakfast club, which has shown tremendous results of what is happening.

The wellbeing of our children requires political action at the highest level—as a matter of fact, at all levels. We may come in here today and say we support things in principle. I would like to see that after today we move to some action. I agree with the honourable member for Burlington South who stated that we are going to take one hour of time to move forward with what really should be a government initiative. What we hear is a defence and praise of what the government of the day has done.

Let us recognize the fact that there is a need. It is really appalling to realize that thousands and thousands of our children today who go to school during the day have not had breakfast. We have seen tremendous results from the breakfast club that is now in place. We have gotten reports back from teachers and the board of education about the level of the attention span, which has increased, and marks, which have improved. Therefore, we have gotten their best work.

If we do not protect or encourage our young people, later on in life we will pay for that. Sure, we can find much rhetoric, especially in this House. In all parliaments of the world we find beautiful rhetoric, beautiful words. We just



have to research all the Hansards and find every word to fit very lovely phrases. But it is not phrases, it is not talk we want; it is action. As members have heard me say many times, we must stop talking the talk but we must walk the walk. We have an opportunity today in which we all can get together. I urge the government that we form a committee to address this issue.

Many times we have said this is a non-partisan issue. There are times when we drift into pointing fingers. If we want to point fingers, we should point fingers to children now in the school system who are going without any breakfast. We should point to them and direct our energies and our resources to them. The reward and what we will get from this will be something more beneficial for this province and this country.

I want to thank the honourable member for Nipissing again for bringing this forward. He has my full support on this resolution.

1150

**Mrs Cunningham:** It is with honour that I speak in favour of the resolution this morning that we establish breakfast programs throughout Ontario with the help of the private sector.

I just want to put on the record today a couple of programs that are working, so that when the government takes a look at this, it will have at least a couple of ideas with regard to implementation.

We all know—school boards, teachers and parents across Ontario have told us—that there is a need for breakfast and snack programs. In fact, it has increased this fall. That is what we are hearing. A year ago when we asked for this, we knew there was a need, but the need has increased this fall.

The London Board of Education receives excellent support from the Maycourt Club, which is a women's service club. They do a lot of fund-raising for children's services. It is not just that the school board does this by itself; it relies on service clubs and the private sector to help. There are more than 30 schools involved in London today.

There are also a number of staff members who supplement the program financially and volunteer their time to oversee it. It is a significant commitment from staff and I am sure everyone is very appreciative. At this time, I would like to congratulate the staff in London and around the province who feel it is part of their commitment to their pupils to make sure these kinds of programs happen in school. We have all heard that children who are hungry cannot learn. They strongly believe children have a much better frame of mind and are much more able to learn when they have had a proper meal.

Most of the schools are moving towards a snack program, although they have breakfast programs at this point in time. It is done in a very quiet way so the children who really need the food are not singled out in any way. The London Home and School Association should also be congratulated for its involvement. It makes a donation to the Maycourt Club.

I am already on record talking about the studies that indicate there is a relationship between hunger and the

ability of children to excel at school. Recognizing this problem in Toronto, Ian Sorbie came forward and, working with children, teachers and administrators, established a breakfast program for the children at Roden Junior Public School. Each day 168 children receive a nutritious breakfast at a cost of \$150 a day. He feels this experience can now serve as a model throughout the province.

Establishing a breakfast or snack program for elementary school children in partnership with the private sector is an initiative that my party supports and that many individuals across the province support. It is with pleasure that I have the opportunity to speak this morning in favour of the resolution by the member for Nipissing. I hope we have given the government some precedents upon which it can work to make certain school boards across the province and children who go to school hungry will have an opportunity.

**Mr Fletcher:** I am pleased to rise today in support of the resolution by the member for Nipissing. I think it is about time this Legislature discussed the problem of child poverty. It is not an issue that is brand new; it is an issue that has been around for a while and is something that has to be addressed.

In my own riding of Guelph we have a church group, also supported by teachers and the principal of Tyler School, Mr White. A few years ago, they implemented a breakfast program for the students of that area. At first it did not take off because there was a stigma attached to it. People thought only poor people would go to this and you would be labelled as a poor person. But as the stigma was replaced and people began to realize there is a relationship between nutrition and learning, more and more students began to take advantage of the program, which is supported by the Wellington County Board of Education. It is a program that is working well and supplying a basic need for students.

If I have a concern about this resolution, it is a concern about the private sector's involvement. If the private sector really wishes to help out and reduce child poverty, it should start paying a decent wage to parents and creating jobs instead of leaving the country. It should start looking at its social responsibilities within communities and become good corporate citizens, as we hear they wish to be. I do not think we can always rely on the private sector to be there when we need it.

I agree with the member for Nipissing that the government must do something in order to help with the problem of child poverty and what is going on in the school system. I think it is important that every member in this Legislature supports this resolution and shows concern for what is going on. But I know one of the objectives for the government of this day is to try to reduce the amount of child poverty. The best way to do that is to make sure we have an economic system that can support the populace.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Further debate?

**Mr Curling:** We have 10 seconds.

**Mr Mahoney:** We might as well use it.

**Mrs Cunningham:** In 10 seconds?



**Mr Mahoney:** In 10 seconds, I just want to say I support this resolution. I think we all know that a hungry child will not learn well. This is a step in the right direction.

**Mr Harris:** I thank all those who have taken the time this morning to be here and those who have spoken in support of the resolution.

In summing up, who are the hungry children? Many have talked, and my resolution talks, about those children who are living in some definition of poverty, below a poverty line or where the resources are not as great as they are for others.

That is only one component. Certainly, in surveys that have been done and in experiences where trial programs have been brought forward and in existing programs, low-income families are part of the problem. A part is simply information. What is nutritious? There are many inexpensive alternatives available. Part of the program is the health component, as was mentioned by the member for Oriole, the nutrition component, for both parents and children.

In his study, Dr McIntyre suggests that we should not always equate breakfast with bacon and eggs. In fact, far more nutritious are such lower-cost options as cereals, toast and peanut butter. So part of the program is educational and is aimed at all children in that area. But Dr McIntyre goes on to say that there are many of what he calls the hidden hungry because we do not pick them up under statistics of what we consider children living in poverty—children of shift workers, children who for whatever reason are left to make their own breakfast without a lot of parental involvement in the home, because the parents are out working, and do not make their own breakfasts. These can be children of all income levels.

The children of non-breakfast eaters: There are many people who can well afford breakfast who do not eat breakfast. A 1985 health promotion survey found that 18% of adults do not eat breakfast. Regardless of income or time availability, they just do not eat breakfast. Parents who do not recognize the importance of eating in the morning will not encourage their children to eat breakfast. Children have much smaller stomachs—a pretty obvious statement—and cannot afford to go without a meal the way adults can. They cannot afford to make it up at another meal time. That awareness must be raised.

In order to lose weight, obese children may be encouraged to skip a meal, but children's metabolism is much different. While I do not think this is recommended as a healthy way even for adults to lose weight, for children it is devastating to skip a meal completely. Given the metabolism of many young children, perhaps four, five or six meals a day are better, including some nutritious portion for all of those meals.

That is the first thing I wanted to make sure we understand. We are not just talking about poverty in a breakfast or nutrition program in our schools. If we tripled the amount of money or if employers paid everybody 10 times more money—aside from the fact they are going broke now and how ridiculous that is—that would not solve the problem of nutrition and children in our schools who are not learning as they should, who are experiencing failure at

an early age, a devastating time of their lives, for want of nutrition. It is important we understand that.

**1200**

There are three criteria all the groups I have consulted with feel are important. This is non-political in a philosophical sense. The first criterion is that it must be open to all. It is not a breakfast program or a nutrition program geared to income. When we look at those children who right now are found wanting in the area of nutrition, it is not just those you can set criteria for, whether it is poverty or working mothers and fathers; it must be open to all.

The second criterion they all agreed on was that the community must be involved. It must not be a 100% government initiative or a 100% school initiative. The community itself must be involved, the education involved in that being an important component.

The third criterion is flexibility. The requirements in one school and one neighbourhood might be very different from the requirements in another school and another neighbourhood. The requirements in North Bay might be very different than the requirements in a Cabbagetown or Regent Park school.

Those are the parameters. Those are the criteria. What they all agree on is that we must move on it. It is not particularly expensive but it requires some will. We cannot afford to allow the argument: "Should it be Health or should it be Education? Where are we going to find the money?" It is not a very large sum of money. Spending by this government this year I think is up \$7 billion or \$8 billion. It was similar under other Conservative or Liberal governments. We must find this money.

Finally, I would ask all members who have indicated they will support this to raise in the next caucus meeting: "How are we going to follow up on this, Mr Premier, Mr Leader of the Liberal Party, Mr Leader of the Conservative Party? How are we going to make it happen?"

#### STANDING ORDERS REFORM

The House divided on Mr Mahoney's motion of resolution 33, which was agreed to on the following vote:

#### Ayes—50

Abel, Arnott, Beer, Bradley, Brown, Caplan, Christopherson, Cunningham, Curling, Dadamo, Duignan, Eves, Fawcett, Fletcher, Frankford, Hansen, Harrington, Harris, Hope, Jackson, Jamison, Johnson, Jordan, Kormos, Mahoney, Mancini, Marland, Martin, McClelland, McLean, Morrow, Murdock, S., O'Connor, Offer, O'Neil, H., Owens, Phillips, G., Poirier, Poole, Sola, Sullivan, Sutherland, Tilson, Turnbull, Villeneuve, Ward, M., Wilson, J., Wiseman, Witmer, Wood.

#### Nays—12

Bisson, Carter, Cooper, Haeck, Lessard, Klopp, MacKinnon, Waters, Wessinger, White, Wilson, G., Winninger.

#### SCHOOL BREAKFASTS

**The Deputy Speaker:** Mr Harris has moved resolution 6. Motion agreed to.

The House recessed at 1214.



## AFTERNOON SITTING

The House resumed at 1330.

## MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

## EMPLOYMENT EQUITY

**Mr Curling:** I wanted to comment briefly on something I read in one of our local tabloids, as my friend the Treasurer would say. Responding to reports that some labour leaders are using public money to hire family and friends, former Ontario Federation of Labour president and hiring committee member Cliff Pilkey had this to say: "You want us to hire people off the street, people we don't even know?"

It is precisely this kind of game that has been used for so long to effectively deny employment opportunities to women and visible minorities and others who are outside the network. Obviously, when it comes to employment equity, some of our unions, despite their fine words, have a long way to go when it comes to their own hiring practices.

Finally, speaking for the Chevrolet and other assembly line workers whom I have known, I would like to let the OFL bosses know that these are skilled, intelligent and professional men and women, any one of whom would be as capable as sons and daughters of important labour leaders.

## LABOUR LEGISLATION

**Mr Runciman:** The NDP government is threatening to change labour legislation in this province and it has Ontario businesses scared stiff. I think the comments of Toronto labour lawyer Stewart Saxe are bang on. He says: "The proposed labour legislation favours unions, not workers, and is payment for labour's electoral and financial support of the governing New Democrats. Government is sending a message that Ontario is closed for business."

Mr Saxe is the son-in-law of former NDP member Morton Shulman. That is right, a former NDP member.

Not surprisingly, the Ontario Federation of Labour wants the government to strengthen its proposed strike-breaker law by preventing companies from shifting production to another location during strikes. The truth is that labour bosses want to hold all the cards and do not give a damn about the future of companies which employ their members.

In fact, we have evidence that some of these highly paid labour leaders prefer to keep the big labour bucks in the family. Today's headline reads, "Relatives, Pals 'Pig Out' in Union Jobs." The story describes how nepotism is running rampant at the Workers Health and Safety Centre. The 22-year-old daughter of Gordon Wilson, president of the Ontario Federation of Labour, got a \$57,000-a-year job at the centre. Of course this job was not advertised. I wonder how many union members would have liked to have applied. The union staffers are disgusted and call it scandalous nepotism.

It is time the Premier put a collar on his labour organizer, the member for Hamilton East, by initiating constructive discussion with business. Otherwise the jobs that

he and his union boss buddies want to protect so badly will be gone for ever.

## NATIONAL FARM WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

**Mr Sutherland:** It was my pleasure recently to attend the fifth annual National Farm Women's Conference in London. Speakers included the Minister of Community and Social Services; the member for Essex-Kent, parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Agriculture and Food; the Minister responsible for Constitutional Affairs, the honourable Joe Clark, and the federal Minister responsible for the Status of Women, the honourable Mary Collins.

This was an important and successful conference and I want to congratulate conference chair Donna Lund, a Belmont-area farmer, and two of the many Oxford county organizers, Betty Semeniuk and Elaine Ball, for a great job.

The conference touched on a number of issues important to farm women today. Women have always played a major role on the farm but have seldom been recognized for it in the past. In the latest census, 126,880 women reported agricultural occupations, yet more than half of them were unpaid. The value of their labour is estimated to be worth more than \$1,000 per week. Without their unpaid contributions, Canadian farm families, already facing drastic times, would be in even tougher shape. The majority of these same women hold off-farm jobs as well to help pay for living expenses that cannot be squeezed out of the land due to depressed commodity prices, international trade wars and drought.

The stress experienced by farm families is taking both an emotional and physical toll. I sat in on a session about abuse put on by the Guelph-Wellington Women in Crisis group. As one of only a couple of men in the audience, it was both enlightening and educational. I encourage all members of this House to enter into the discussion of abuse and how we can bring about a solution.

## WETLANDS

**Mr Brown:** Less than one hour ago the Federation of Ontario Naturalists and the Canadian Environmental Law Association released a document which they had obtained in a brown envelope.

**Mrs Caplan:** Call the cops.

**Mr Brown:** Yes, call the cops. This leaked document, entitled Confidential Draft Policy Statement: Wetlands, was produced for the ministries of Municipal Affairs and Natural Resources and is dated April 17. In September of this year the two ministries, under the direction of the Minister of Natural Resources, released for consultation a document called Policy Statement: Wetlands.

Even a quick examination of the documents brings one to a very disturbing conclusion. The first document, the uncirculated, leaked document, is far stronger with regard to wetland habitat conservation than the one put out for consultation. What is surprising is that the Minister of Natural Resources left such an obvious written and spoken



record of his concern for wetlands, and yet allowed a very unprogressive document out for consultation while shelving the document that was closer to his views when in opposition.

The minister appears to be like Mr Bush. Campaigning in 1988, George Bush was for the preservation of wetlands. He is nowhere to be seen on that subject today. I think we should start calling the Minister of Natural Resources George Bush Wildman.

#### NORTH YORK BOARD OF HEALTH

**Mr Harnick:** In 1989 more than 116,000 school-children benefited from North York health department education programs which provide information on substance abuse, tobacco prevention, nutrition, sexuality and decision-making. The department also provided individual assessment, education and referral services to over 13,000 elderly persons and care givers. Furthermore, the department responded to more than 25,000 community requests for environmental inspections. The North York public health department serves 550,000 while providing a vital link between the community and its services and programs.

Since 1967 health units outside of Metropolitan Toronto have received a provincial grant of 75% of their budgets. The North York Board of Health currently receives a provincial grant for 40% of its budget. The province dictates that boards of health perform 22 mandatory health programs, which represent the major portion of general programming for all health units in Ontario, yet the funding ratio between the North York Board of Health and other boards outside Metro is drastically different.

I call upon the Minister of Health to address this funding inequity and provide the North York Board of Health with a similar percentage of funding as the province provides to boards of health outside Metropolitan Toronto.

#### GIFTS THAT GIVE

**Mr G. Wilson:** Last Saturday I had the pleasure of attending Gifts that Give. Gifts that Give is a unique holiday bazaar that this year featured 34 non-profit groups working in the areas of peace, development, the environment and social justice. Hundreds of shoppers spent over \$32,000 to fund worthwhile projects both here at home and abroad.

For example, you could purchase certificates from Kingston Literacy for a family reading kit in the name of a relative or friend or buy a health education package for a whole community from Street Kids International. The variety of gifts was remarkable. You could adopt a whale, plant a tree in Africa, buy an acre of local conservation land or sponsor cataract surgery. More traditional gifts were available in the form of crafts, clothing and household items from many areas of the Third World.

To promote peace and nuclear disarmament, Kingston Operation Dismantle, the organizers of the event, sold coffee mugs and posters, while Canadian Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War offered colourful "Protect the World" T-shirts.

I remember Gifts that Give for the happiness I felt and saw around me. I believe this happiness was an outcome of the spirit of solidarity encouraged by the bazaar, the kind of spirit we like to associate with Christmas. Congratulations to Judith Wyatt and Kingston Operation Dismantle for Gifts that Give, in itself a gift to our community.

1340

#### ENVIRONMENTAL LEGISLATION

**Mr McClelland:** It grieves me to stand in this Legislature day after day after day and express our party's profound disappointment in the Minister of the Environment and this NDP government. They have the audacity to try to push forward such a draconian piece of legislation as Bill 143, their Waste Management Act.

The government introduced Bill 143, which has severe implications for all municipalities, during the municipal election campaign. They attempted to sneak this bill by while most municipal politicians were busy on the campaign trail, hoping they would not notice. My friends opposite should be advised that municipal politicians have noticed. They will not allow this bill to go forward without full consultation and significant amendments.

I do, however, have some very good news for the Minister of the Environment. I have received a memorandum addressed to members of the Toronto council from the works department. In fact, I would be very surprised if the minister herself did not have that memo in her possession. If she does, as I expect she does, she will know that the Metro works department now projects that the lifespan of Keele Valley is well into the year 1999, in fact into mid-1999. The minister must be delighted with this news, since there is now no reason that she and the NDP government cannot keep their campaign promise to have full environmental assessment on the expansion of the Keele Valley site.

She now has up to eight years to complete an environmental assessment. I do not know what excuse she is going to try and dredge up for this one, because there is none. I await with anticipation the minister's announcement of the significant amendments to Bill 143 we are going to see.

#### TERRI-LYNN SHERWOOD

**Mr Eves:** I would like to rise today in recognition of a constituent, a nine-year-old girl who resides in Burk's Falls, in the riding of Parry Sound. Today at lunch she, along with several other Ontarians, received a 1991 fire prevention and public education award for her courageous and decisive action this past March.

The Burk's Falls fire department is also to be congratulated for distributing a pamphlet throughout schools in the area.

This nine-year-old girl had just gone through the public education process in the school system when disaster struck one evening in their family home north of Burk's Falls. Remembering what she had read and what she had been taught, she got the rest of her family members to crawl on their hands and knees to a window on the second floor, whereby they escaped down a TV antenna tower



affixed to their house. Her mother, Mrs Sherwood, had no sooner reached the first floor when the entire second floor of the house, the entire house, in fact, became engulfed in flames.

With Terri-Lynn today is her younger sister, Jessie; Mr Allen, the principal of the school; Mrs Colvin, her teacher, and of course her mother, Mrs Sherwood. I would like to congratulate Terri-Lynn on her very courageous, decisive and lifesaving action, one I think we can all learn from.

#### PARLIAMENTARY ASSISTANTS' COMMITTEE FOR SMALL BUSINESS

**Mr Jamison:** Today I rise to give special notice to the formation of the parliamentary assistants' committee for small business. The Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology today announced the establishment of a committee of parliamentary assistants for small business. The committee will bring forward the concerns of the Ontario business community and advise the government on new ideas and initiatives in support of small business. I have been appointed chair.

"We are strengthening our government's ability to address the needs of this crucial sector of our economy," the minister stated. "This committee is a first step in that direction. It will give us a dedicated link to the small business community in Ontario."

The committee will begin meetings with the small business community and representative associations before the end of the year. The mandate of the committee is to provide and encourage channels for listening to business owners and associations; to ensure that the Ontario government has a positive, co-ordinated approach to small business; to help ensure that the government's agenda is implemented in a manner sensitive to the success and growth of small business in Ontario; to serve as a liaison among key ministers and ministries related to small business and with caucus; to consider the existing programs for small business and ensure that they are effective, accessible and designed to provide maximum benefit; to develop a process for reviewing existing regulation and screening of new legislation to advise the government on new ideas and initiatives and—

**The Speaker:** The time has expired.

#### STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

##### SKILLS TRAINING RÉGIME DE FORMATION

**Hon Mr Allen:** On the first day of this session of the Legislature, this government reiterated its commitments to rebuilding the Ontario economy. This remains our single most important priority.

La relance économique est notre priorité ultime.

Today I am pleased to announce the launch of a key component in our strategy to ensure the prosperity of this province, the restructuring of Ontario's training system. Every day, people and employers in Ontario are making tough transitions. Employers are facing one technological challenge after another. They are under increasing compe-

tition. Workers are making tough moves from schools to work, from job to job and from skill to skill.

To make these transitions successfully, to attract and sustain economic investment essential to our province's prosperity, we must make sure Ontario has highly trained women and men able to respond to the challenges of the modern workplace, more jobs for Ontario and a trained worker for every job.

We cannot achieve this overnight, but we must act now. We must act now to ensure that Ontario's training and adjustment systems promote the lifelong learning that lets people upgrade and learn new skills. But we cannot do this within the current system.

Cela ne peut se réaliser du jour au lendemain. Nous devons agir dès maintenant pour que le régime de formation et d'adaptation de la main d'oeuvre de l'Ontario favorise l'apprentissage permanent, c'est-à-dire, un apprentissage permettant aux personnes d'améliorer leurs aptitudes ou d'en acquérir de nouvelles. Mais cela est impossible avec le régime de formation actuel.

Ontario spends much more on training than any other provincial government in Canada, but despite this tremendous investment, despite the best efforts, our current training system is confusing for employers, workers and the unemployed. We have 10 ministries delivering 48 programs.

Dix ministères offrent 48 programmes de formation.

There is serious and costly duplication and overlapping of programs to deal with and a major gap that we have to close now. That gap is the skills gap, the hole into which laid-off workers or the unemployed are continuing to fall because employers already in Ontario or those wanting to invest here cannot find enough skilled workers for the jobs they have to offer. That gap will continue to loom large and menacing unless we address the fundamental problems within our current training system.

We cannot solve these problems simply by changing program guidelines or even by injecting more money. It is time to do some basic rethinking about the way Ontario makes decisions about training and about labour force development. We have begun that basic rethinking. This morning, as Minister of Skills Development, I announced the first step in the implementation of a new training and adjustment system for our province.

It is our government's intention to establish a new training board for Ontario. This new board will be the key mechanism for encouraging more private sector investment in training and skills upgrading. It will also eliminate the overlap and confusion of the current training system by better co-ordinating programs and services and it will enhance access to training and jobs for all Ontarians.

I also released today a paper entitled Skills to Meet the Challenge: A Training Partnership for Ontario, which is to serve as the framework for the final province-wide consultations on the mandate and structure of this new training board.

Preliminary consultations done by this government, by the previous provincial government and by the federal government all confirm that there is strong agreement on all sides for such fundamental restructuring of our province's training system. There is also strong support for



the establishment of an autonomous agency to implement this restructuring.

While the provincial government will be responsible for seeing that the training board's initiatives respond to government policies and commitments, the new training board we shall establish will be an autonomous agency and it will be led by representatives from business, from labour, from training providers and from community social action groups.

Cet organisme sera dirigé par des représentants des entreprises, des travailleurs et travailleuses, des fournisseurs des programmes de formation et des organismes d'intervention socio-communautaires.

1350

In the past, we have thought of employers and employees as the only labour market partners, and often the partnership did not work too well. We have reached the stage in our development where we have to work together in new ways. In this training structure, business and labour, as the principal labour market partners, will play the lead role and will work in collaboration with training providers and community groups on the board to give direction to the whole project.

We have decided to share the direction of our new training system with these people, not only because they are best placed to identify and respond to training needs but for other reasons also. First, we want to multiply the ways business and labour will work together to develop more co-operative workplaces and more co-determination across the face of the economy. Second, as a government, our single most important priority is the rebuilding of our province's economy.

Our strategy for rebuilding this province's economy is founded, however, on social justice. We want to see all Ontarians creating and sharing in our prosperity, and this new training structure reflects that principle. Up to now, the design and delivery of training has not benefited those who are unemployed and underrepresented in the workplace to the extent that it should. We have not been successful in helping these people make that crucial transition from training to work.

Because these people will also be represented among the leadership of the new training structure, their training and skills upgrading needs will be met. Those entering the workforce for the first time or those re-entering the workforce after a prolonged absence will now find real opportunities for employment through our training system.

But including these people in our training system is not only a question of social justice; it also makes good economic sense. Why? Because it is estimated that by the year 2000, a full 85% of all new entrants to the labour market will be women, racial minorities, people with disabilities and aboriginal people—people underrepresented, underemployed or unemployed at this time. If Ontario is to rebuild its economy, if we are to prosper within the Canadian economy, within the world economy, we must invest in the training and skills upgrading of these people. Social justice demands it; our economic wellbeing depends upon it.

Notre bien-être économique en dépend.

The new training system we are announcing today will be the key mechanism for ensuring Ontario's labour development programs are designed, delivered and assessed in the context of our province's economic and social objectives.

On a local level, the new training system will be supported by a network of local labour market boards jointly designated and funded by provincial and federal governments. Like the new province-wide training system, these local boards will also be steered by the four labour market partners I have referred to. Our government, in co-operation with Employment and Immigration Canada and with the Canadian Labour Force Development Board, will be consulting broadly about these local boards in the coming weeks.

The establishment of the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board marks a major shift in Ontario's traditional approach to decision-making about training and adjustment. Let me emphasize that in making this radical change, our government is recognizing the crucial role of business, labour, training providers and community social action groups. We want and need their knowhow. We need their experience and their skill in identifying and responding to the training needs of the people they represent.

Within this broad partnership, we shall be relying in particular on the leadership of business and labour. I am confident that we shall see developing here the same new spirit of co-operation that this government is encouraging, not only in training and adjustment, but in labour relations and health and safety in order to build a fair and more productive economy.

We as a government shall of course continue to provide broad policy direction to the new training board and ensure that the board's activities support the government's economic and social objectives.

In training, as in so many other areas today, we must think globally and act locally. The importance of training and skills upgrading to Ontario's people and to our mutual economic wellbeing is an issue that crosses all party lines. In that spirit, I would ask all members of the House for their support in reaffirming and making a success of this exciting new approach to training in our province.

Finally, I want to thank all those who, over many months, have laboured so hard on this project. Several ministries have been involved, but I want particularly to thank the Deputy Minister of Skills Development, Thomas Sosa, and his staff; the Deputy Minister of Labour, George Thomson, and his staff, and the new deputy in charge of the whole OTAB project who, with her staff, has put together endless hours and days in order to bring us to this launch of the new Ontario training and adjustment program in Ontario. I just want to note that deputy Naomi Alboim is in the gallery this afternoon with her father, who is visiting from Montreal.

## RESPONSES

### SKILLS TRAINING

**Mr Daigeler:** I think it is very clear that everyone in this House and across the province agrees that training and training reform should be a top priority of government, so



it is good that finally we see the NDP's plans after more than a year's wait.

When the Premier's Council on technology of the Peterson government recommended the establishment of an Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, it cautioned against this new training structure becoming an elaborate bureaucracy that is even more complicated than the one it is designed to replace.

Unfortunately, I feel the minister is well on his way to falling into this trap. His greatest goal seems to be to satisfy NDP support groups, in particular unionized labour. He tries to cover so much training territory and involve so many special interest groups, his reforms will take at least another year just to get off the ground. By the time the OTAB consultation process is finished, the consultation on local councils initiated and completed, the appropriate legislation introduced, discussed and passed in this House, I am sure we will be well into 1993. Of course, in the meantime, thousands of workers will be left out in the cold. There is nothing whatsoever in this announcement to help workers now.

Also, there is a clear trend, the way I read this document, to minimize the importance of business in training decisions. The OTAB governing body will not be bipartite or even tripartite; it will be quarpartite, if we want to call it that: labour, business, the education community and NDP interest groups euphemistically called in this consultation paper "social action organizations."

On reading the document, I am left with a very unpleasant feeling that the minister thinks everyone understands the training needs except business. A third concern I have is the minister's Utopian faith in the success of consensus building. Sure, it is a great idea in theory, but unfortunately life works differently. The Minister of the Environment believes that people will gladly reduce waste. The Minister of Energy believes that people will turn out the lights to save energy. Now the Minister of Skills Development feels that his four partners will magically and quickly agree on training. All he would have to do is sit on the sidelines and applaud. That is a very naïve optimism. This optimism would be amusing if its failure was not so disastrous for the province's economy.

In conclusion, this paper announces no new programs, no new funding, no new ways to finance public training. All it does is begin a consultation on a cumbersome and overly comprehensive management structure for training. In other words, at a time when we have record numbers of unemployed, record numbers of bankruptcies and record numbers of people on welfare, all the minister can come up with is consultation.

1400

**Mr Phillips:** Just to add a couple of thoughts, this is a major part of the government's economic recovery program, and just so everyone is aware, I think the budget of this autonomous agency is likely to be in the \$1-billion to \$2-billion range. Something we will be looking at carefully is what we call the governance of this, who is going to manage it and on what basis, and as we look preliminarily at its governance, we do have some concerns.

As I say, we are turning over to an autonomous body one of the most important economic renewal tools at the government's disposal, we are going to give it a budget of \$1 billion to \$2 billion, and we are going to do that in an environment where we have some major conflict between two of the partners here around the Labour Relations Act. I just think there is a risk that this will bog down and, rather than getting on with the economic recovery, we will embroil ourselves in another battle. We will be watching that carefully.

**Mrs Cunningham:** It was with interest that I listened to the comments of the member for Nepean. I have been in this House since 1988 and I think this proposal is probably about five years overdue at least. I am happy to see that this government has taken a stab at beginning to solve the training problems and the training challenges in this province.

I think the first concern of all of us while we get on with this project is to make certain that we have jobs and that we have work for our people. In spite of the kinds of things I am going to say right now, I think that is our first priority and we cannot forget it.

I would like to say that although it is long overdue, I am pleased that the government at this time has come forth with some long-range plans, many of which, I am sure the minister will be pleased to know, parallel the recommendations we had in *A Blueprint for Economic Renewal and Prosperity in Ontario*. I am glad he perhaps perused this document, and I know he took a look at the Hansards for the last three or four years and tried to fit at least some of our hopes and dreams into this document.

I am not naïve, and I know this is a very ambitious undertaking, not only in the size of the OTAB itself but in the regional boards and the local boards. I am somewhat critical, because I think the education/training community is underrepresented, and I hope that if indeed during the public consultations that is one of the observations, the minister will come back and tell us so and perhaps even change the makeup of the board. But I know we are looking very closely at this process because we want it to work. Therefore, I think the minister should take into consideration the statement about the provincial government being responsible for determining the policy framework.

I would say that he knows the apprenticeship training programs in this province do not work, and we have him on record as talking about the ratios, talking about the long time it takes for apprenticeships to get through the program. If that is the responsibility of the government, we want to see those changes coming to this House immediately so that the board can get on with its work, if it is not indeed policy. I am not quite certain what that means.

As I said before, we are looking at eight labour partners, eight business partners, four social action community groups and two education/training deliverers, and I am concerned about that, because I think we have to buy into the college system. They are the deliverers. I would say that during the consultations we should even be reaching out to the school boards, because in fact they have been partners in training in a very different way just in the last couple of years.



When we take a look at the local concerns, it gives me a great deal of pleasure to see that the Ontario government is working very closely with the Department of Employment and Immigration and the Canadian Labour Force Development Board to develop a proposal on jointly designed and funded local boards.

This is most important, because we gave credit—I think I am right that the minister would agree—to the federal government for advancing millions of training dollars to this province. We want to make certain that we spend them wisely, that we use our resources in a very efficient way and that we take a look at the delivery problems right now when it comes to duplications right across the province, right across the government, right across all three levels of government—school boards, colleges and universities and federal-provincial government programs.

I would also like to talk about the scope. I warn the minister that he has been extremely ambitious on this. As he looks at training programs, from basic literacy to numeracy, he should begin his consultations on his own right now with those areas of government that are appropriate, because I believe we could be solving the problems in literacy. We cannot wait for the consultation program. I know the Minister of Education is interested in this. In order to work together and get those programs off the ground now, where in fact they may not directly relate to training and retraining programs, we need to do more of that right now.

With regard to the labour market problems—I will close on this—we have never in the history of this province needed the labour market partners more to solve our problems. I have spoken on this issue before. My party has spoken on this issue before. If any government should be able to make that work, this government should. I say this publicly on behalf of our party. We are here to help this whole process work. The minister ought to know that if it is not progressing as we want, we will be the first ones to stand and draw it to his attention.

#### VISITORS

**Hon Mr Rae:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I apologize to the member who I know wants to ask a question, but I ask the two opposition leaders if I could add a word on behalf of the province; I am sure others would. The member for Parry Sound singled out Terri-Lynn Sherwood from Burk's Falls, who is a recipient of the Fire Safety Action Award. I know she is in the gallery. She saved her family's life because of her foresightedness and an awareness of the outbreak of a fire. Sophie Brisson from New Liskeard is here as well. I am sure members would want to join the member for Parry Sound and others in congratulating these people. They were already given a Fire Safety Action Award at a luncheon ceremony today, but I know members of the House would want to join us in congratulating our visitors.

#### MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS

**Mr Mancini:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: As House leader for the Liberal caucus I rise on behalf of my colleagues. During this fall session of Parliament, a num-

ber of my colleagues have risen to bring to your attention the fact that the government makes more statements outside the Legislature than it does inside. After members' statements, the government is allowed, by ministry, to make statements in the House, and therefore the opposition parties and the appropriate critics are in fact allowed to respond. This matter has been brought to your attention on a number of occasions because we believe the consistent and numerous announcements made outside the House are in fact a breach of the rules.

Mr Speaker, on one occasion you chastised the government, I believe properly so, and encouraged its members to make more statements inside the House. I believe the government House leader made a commitment that the government would try to make more of its statements inside the House because the people of Ontario need to know—

**The Speaker:** Would the honourable member take his seat for a moment.

**Mr Mancini:** Sir, I am not finished.

**The Speaker:** The honourable House leader will know that indeed this matter has been brought to my attention. There is nothing out of order. I have also, as the House leader correctly stated, presented the opinion that since the business of the province is centred here in the assembly, that is where statements of policy should properly be made. Everything to this point is certainly within the standing orders, and there is in fact nothing out of order.

**Mr Mancini:** Mr Speaker, if you would give me another moment or two to finish, I think you would realize what we have been concerned about—a matter we have raised consistently with you and asked you and the government House leader for help with—is in fact being ignored. I want to bring to your attention that again today two ministers, the Minister of Northern Development and Mines and the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, had the opportunity and time to announce in this building a new program concerning the province's investment in Forintek. I have their announcement with me.

1410

The Minister of Northern Development and Mines is with us in the Legislative Assembly today. She chose not to make this statement in the House where numerous members of our party have an interest in this and want to get either our congratulations to the government or our criticisms of and help to the government on the record.

We have a whole industry, the forestry industry, which is vital to the economic health of this province and we are not given the opportunity to make our case on behalf of that industry. The rules are being flouted.

**The Speaker:** Will the member take his seat. While I appreciate the concerns he expresses, the member will know there is nothing out of order.

**Mrs Caplan:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: The last time this matter was raised by our House leader in the House, the Premier sat in his seat, nodded and said he would direct his House leader and his cabinet ministers to make statements in the House. It seems to me that, having had that kind of commitment from the Premier, you, Mr



Speaker, could speak to him directly. If he is going to give a commitment in this House, it would certainly be a point of order that he should do what he says he is going to do here for all of us.

**The Speaker:** The member for Oriole will know that the Speaker's responsibility is to enforce the standing orders as they are printed, not agreements among House leaders.

## ORAL QUESTIONS

### ONTARIO ECONOMY

**Mr Beer:** My question is to the Premier. Every day we come into this House and face more bad economic news. As welcome perhaps today as the statement around training is, we have to recognize that training without the creation of jobs is as nothing. It is the jobs we require and that is where we expect to see action.

We also recognize that the great concern in the province is the lack of confidence in this Premier and this government in that they will not do anything substantial to really get the economy moving again. Only today we see that bankruptcies have increased: 315 Ontario businesses shut their doors, up 36% from the month before. To date, over 3,000 companies in this province have closed their doors. Standard and Poor's, the New York bond rating agency, has downgraded its assessment of the province's debt.

As was said before, we all believe in a strong social justice system, but we know that depends on the creation of jobs. How will the Premier go about regaining the confidence of business and labour in this province, and is he prepared to come back to this House before Christmas with specific initiatives that are going to lead to the creation of real and meaningful jobs?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I am sure the member would not want to leave the statement on the record where he says that Standard and Poor's has downgraded its assessment of the province. The fact of the matter is that Standard and Poor's has confirmed the credit rating which it made after the last budget of the province, at the same time as it said it is watching us with respect to what happens in the next budget. Therefore, those are the facts of the situation. I am sure the member would want to make that clear in asking his question.

I do not think there is anybody in this House who does not recognize the seriousness and the difficulty of what we are up against. It is certainly something I will be raising tomorrow in my meeting with the Prime Minister, because I really think this is something which takes national initiative and action.

I note with interest that the federal government is prepared to put some extra moneys into the province of Quebec, which it is announcing today. I am sure the honourable member would agree with me that the Prime Minister could do a great deal for national unity by indicating that the kind of money he is putting into the province of Quebec he is also prepared to put into all the other regions and parts of Canada, which are equally hurting and hurting just as badly and seriously as what is taking place—

**The Speaker:** Would the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I say with great directness to the member that we have already announced a number of measures. Of course we will be announcing more, but the major announcement this government makes with respect to job creation is something that is going to come with the next budget.

**Mr Beer:** If the track record of the first budget means anything, we certainly are not going to be looking to the next budget in terms of any jobs being created.

In answering, the Premier managed to skirt around the question by playing with semantics with respect to the Standard and Poor's analysis. Let the Premier look at the newspapers today. He will see exactly what they meant. It is not as strong as it was before and it is still going downhill.

The point to the Premier is that we have said again and again it is a question of confidence. Earlier this month, a group of business people representing various businesses, large and small, came to the Premier with a proposal to bring business, labour and government together around dealing with the key issues facing the economy. As the Premier knows, this was the Project Economic Growth group. They put forward a series of positive, constructive proposals and asked to come together with him and labour to work on them.

This province needs to know what the Premier is prepared to do with the business community and how he is prepared to bring it in. They want to be part of those discussions. What is his response to the proposals they made? Is he prepared today to indicate clearly that he is ready to go forward with business and labour in a comprehensive task force to really address the economic problems we face and not continually put it off on to the federal government? We want to see what the province is prepared to do.

**Hon Mr Rae:** First, the Premier's Council has been established. That is one very important forum where we are bringing together the partners in the economy, the business leaders, people from the labour movement, people from our universities and people from the community. I am quite positive about the suggestions that have been made by a number of business leaders with respect to the need for a more positive relationship between business and labour. That is something we as a government have been trying to foster very much and something we are very supportive of.

There are a number of groups out there which we are now trying to bring together to deal with a number of initiatives—the training initiative, which has been referred to, labour relations reform, worker ownership plans—we plan to bring forward in terms of basic questions around the restructuring of the economy.

I welcome the suggestions from the business leadership. I have met with literally dozens, indeed hundreds, of people from the business community over the last while, trying to improve the climate. We are going to continue to do that.



**Mr Beer:** In effect the Premier's answer indicates just how clearly he has lost control of the situation and is incapable or unable, all of the above, to deal directly with the issue. The proposal that has come from business is that we need a comprehensive approach to these problems. The Premier rhymes off a whole series of issues. What he must recognize is that they are all related. He cannot have the labour relations proposals examined over here and others over there. They are linked. We have seen clear analysis of the labour relations package which shows there will be dramatic loss of jobs and money to the Ontario economy.

Is the Premier prepared to bring together, in response to the Project Economic Growth proposals, a group of business, labour and government to deal specifically with the issues raised in its letter to him of November 1? Is he prepared to commit to that kind of approach to the problems we face and not divide and split all these problems off but come to grips with them in one task force?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I fully share the view the member has expressed that all these issues are related. I argue that other issues are involved. We cannot just ignore the policies of the federal government. If the member talks to people in the paper industry, which I am going to be doing this afternoon, they will say very clearly that the question of the dollar, the question of interest rates and the question of trade policy, which are under the federal jurisdiction, are involved as well. We cannot ignore these things.

I would say to the honourable member my response to the initiative he has described, and other initiatives, because that is not the only one coming forward, is very positive. I guess my short answer would be that of course we want to work with all sectors of the economy in a comprehensive way, and we are determined to do that.

**Mr Beer:** We appreciate the rhetoric, but what we would like to see is some specific action.

1420

#### HEALTH CARE

**Mr Beer:** My second question is also to the Premier. It concerns the continuing musings of the Deputy Minister of Health. While we have concerns about where the economy of this province has been going and is going, we are becoming increasingly concerned about the state of our health care system.

As one reads this interesting interview in the *Globe and Mail* this morning with the Deputy Minister of Health, one is left with the impression that the government is hell-bent on the Americanization of our health care system. The comments by the deputy minister suggest that doctors should look on the cutbacks in services, on the elimination of services from OHIP, as new business opportunities for doctors.

I wonder if the Premier would be prepared to share with this House, if indeed the Deputy Minister of Health has shared it with him or with the Minister of Health, just what is meant by "new business opportunities for doctors." Does it mean we are going to get rid of the practices currently in place, where doctors will be able to extra-bill? Does it mean some people, those with money, will have access to services that those who do not will not have? Just

what is meant by those comments by the Deputy Minister of Health?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I find it ironic in the extreme to be getting a lecture on extra-billing from members of the Liberal Party. Before the honourable member was elected, we spent a decade in this House getting the Liberal Party to change its stance on extra-billing and, in the accord, getting the Liberals to get rid of it. That is one area in which we do not want to hear any lectures from the honourable member.

I would say to the honourable member that the foundation of his question, suggesting that this party, which has had an association with universal medical care for a generation, is interested in the Americanization of the health care system, is absolutely preposterous, and he knows it full well.

**Mr Beer:** I think the answer of the Premier underlines the incredible irony about what is coming out of the Ministry of Health these days concerning the government's policy. It is fascinating to me to note that the Deputy Minister of Health, who is said to hang in his office portraits of T. C. Douglas and Stanley Knowles, is one who is talking about business opportunities for doctors. The very fact that the Premier rises with, as the former member for Haldimand-Norfolk used to say, that haloism all around him with respect to the program of medicare, makes me that much more nervous when I look at the comments that were made.

I want to ask the Premier again. We do not need the rhetoric, we do not need the lecture about where medicare came from and what it was that his party members did years ago. What we want to know is what the Premier is going to do in the future and what the deputy minister meant when he said there were going to be better business opportunities for doctors. If he did not mean that the government is going to put extra-billing back in or if he did not mean that it was going to find other ways to change the health care system we have so those who have money can afford it and those who do not cannot, what is meant by that statement?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I would just say very directly to the honourable member that the direction of the health care system as it has been described by the Minister of Health in this House on many occasions is one that has been profoundly affected by the work of the Premier's Council on Health Strategy, which was started, I remind the member, by his government. It was one of the initiatives of the previous government which I happen to think was very sound.

The clear indications are there that we have to keep our health care costs under control. We cannot continue to see health care budgets going up by 10%, 15% and 20% per year. It is simply not possible for us to do that. In order for us to save medicare, in order for us to save universal access and in order for us to make the system work properly, we have to manage it better. That is what this government is determined to do, to try to manage a system that has not been effectively managed for 20 years.



**Mr Beer:** No one in this House is arguing that we need to manage our health care system better. The issue before us is that the Deputy Minister of Health and the Minister of Health in her statements to the Ontario Hospital Association are talking about the elimination of services.

We want to know whether the government going to be changing the universality of this program. Are they going to be setting out a system that says that if you are a certain age, you cannot have a certain service? Are they going to be playing Big Brother in dictating who can go to the hospital, when and for what kind of service? Whatever happened to the proposals that were being advanced in order to change the way doctors are paid and the way hospitals are organized to provide services? The only thing the government is talking about is eliminating services.

We want to know whether the government is doing that so that doctors have "nice new business opportunities." Are they doing that on the backs of the people who need those services? What is the position of this government with medicare and with the OHIP program that we know in this province?

**Hon Mr Rae:** The simple reality is that in order to save medicare, we have to manage it better. That is the beginning and end of the argument.

#### POLICE SERVICES

**Mr Harris:** My question is to the Solicitor General. Yesterday my colleague the member for Leeds-Grenville told him that the Ontario Provincial Police Association believes that the safety and the wellbeing of the people of Ontario are in jeopardy.

Given that it is quite common knowledge in this recession that crime is on the increase—among other reasons is the recession—and that since April the Solicitor General has had a hiring freeze, could the minister tell us today how many officers have retired since that hiring freeze? Could he tell us how many have been transferred to non-police duties from police duties since that hiring freeze? How many fewer OPP officers policing this province do we have now in the middle of this recession than we had back in April?

**Hon Mr Pilkey:** Certainly I can undertake to get the member these detailed figures, but let me answer his question in a very specific way.

When the 1991-92 estimates were brought forward and filed by the Ministry of the Solicitor General, with consultation with OPP Commissioner Tom O'Grady, there was an estimate of the number of officers who through attrition would no longer remain with the force and the salary accounts were adjusted accordingly.

One of the difficulties that has arisen is that the attrition that was expected and estimated by the commissioner and the ministry did not occur. In other words, more people stayed on with the force. As a result of that and other like circumstances, they were not able and have not been able this fiscal year to meet their budget estimate.

As a result, the commissioner engaged in certain cost-cutting or expenditure control measures all around the fringes, not to impact on public safety or service but to

achieve the budget estimate. There have been no cuts in that budget.

**The Speaker:** Would the minister conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Pilkey:** Is that sufficient? Thank you.

**Mr Harris:** I do not think it is detailed numbers. I would have thought the head of the OPP would know how many fewer officers he has today than April, how much his force is reduced. That is a pretty simple, straightforward question. I do not think he even knows how they allocate officers, but maybe he will surprise me.

I want to go back to that budget the Solicitor General talks about, because the priority which his government gives policing in this province is shameful. Operating expenditures for the OPP, the money that is used to put police officers on the streets, went up 1% last year. The government's overall budget increased more than 13%, more than \$6 billion, yet he found \$6 million, or \$30 million less than inflation, to help fight crime on our streets at a time of growing crime statistics. I believe this is a matter of priority.

As the Solicitor General does not know any of the specifics, where was he when the budget was being developed? Where was he when he should have been advocating for the OPP? Where was he when he should have been at the cabinet table fighting to make sure we could even maintain the level of policing we had in Ontario before the budget was brought in?

1430

**Hon Mr Pilkey:** I think I was over at the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology. Notwithstanding that, as I indicated to the leader of the third party, the estimates brought forward by the Ministry of the Solicitor General with, I believe, the concurrence of Commissioner O'Grady, were approved and deemed to be appropriate to provide the necessary levels of funding and staffing requirements. But with the evolution through the year of that budget, attrition did not take place, many other people have stayed with the force and therefore the estimates were not met. As I indicated in the initial response, it has been an attempt to contain those costs within the approved budget estimates. It was not a result of any carrying on behalf of the minister with respect to the funding received last year by the OPP.

**Mr Harris:** Nearly every member of my caucus has severe police shortages in his or her riding. In Simcoe West, officers were forced to put in place a Band-Aid solution to cover the lack of 24-hour policing. The riding of Wellington is desperately in need of additional service from the Guelph detachment. In Dufferin-Peel, officers are now using their personal vehicles to respond to calls. Our police forces are doing everything they can, but without support from this government the people of Ontario are at risk, and at increasing risk, as every month goes by. How many more calls will go unanswered across this province before the Solicitor General responds to this crisis in policing in our province?

**Hon Mr Pilkey:** I am not aware that any calls are going unanswered. I believe the OPP officers of this



province are a dedicated group of individuals who have served their detachments in this province well. I have indicated the fiscal difficulties the OPP have had with their previously adopted budget and I fully understand the concerns they are expressing relative to the fiscal concerns this province now faces. I can assure the member opposite that I will be very diligent indeed in ensuring that the appropriate funds are there for the OPP officers of this province who serve the public so well.

**Mr Harris:** The minister should try fighting a little bit. He will not even go and ask.

#### EMPLOYMENT EQUITY

**Mr Harris:** My second question is for the Minister of Labour, who is responsible for the Worker's Compensation Board. I was reading my clippings this morning from Queen's Park. Page 5 said, "Labour Leaders Weep for Recession Victims." Page 6 said, "Relatives, Pals 'Pig Out' in Union Jobs." Does the minister have an explanation for this?

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** First, I want to let the member know that I am aware of the quality of the work done by the Workers' Health and Safety Centre, which is the story he is referring to. I also want the member to know that I have no direct responsibility for the operation of the centre. The Workers' Health and Safety Centre is run by the safety agency, which is allocated funds from the WCB. The agency is a schedule 3 agency and is required to operate at arm's length from the government. It is subject to Management Board guidelines and an annual independent audit. In light of the allegations that have been made, I want him to know I will also ask the agency to review the hiring practices of the centre.

**Mr Harris:** The hiring practices of the centre seem to be pretty clear to me. I do not know what the minister has to review. Names like Pilkey, Wilson, Hargrove, Upshaw—\$57,000 a year right out of school, or some not quite finished university and some with no experience. These are the names showing up for \$50,000-a-year jobs.

The article continues, "Pilkey rejected the suggestion that attractive, publicly funded jobs should be advertised to create opportunity beyond the immediate personal circle of union leaders." Here is his quote: "You want us to hire people off the street, people we don't even know?"

Does the minister agree with those hiring practices?

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** As I think I said to the member, my ministry obviously wants to maintain the quality of the work that is done at the centre, and at the same time we will take steps to prevent any improper hiring practices.

**Mr Harris:** I heard this same minister for years in this Legislature say to the Minister of Labour responsible for WCB: "You're the minister responsible, you have the power, you have the authority. What are you doing about it?" Now he wants to wash his hands.

"Wilson said hiring trusted family and friends is 'part of union culture.'" These are public jobs from WCB. Maybe that is how the union spends its funds. These are not union funds. These are WCB funds, which come from the payroll tax of the people of this province.

"Wilson said he's heard the rumblings about nepotism but no one has tackled him head-on." Why has the minister responsible not tackled him head-on about this nepotism, and when is he going to do so, as he has not to date done it?

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** I am pretty sure the leader of the third party does not want to give us the total authority to run the agency. That is the purpose of a level 3 agency. I can also tell him that I have twice this afternoon said we will ask the health and safety agencies to look at the hiring practices. I am not sure what else he wants.

#### PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

**Mr Bradley:** I have been reading some of the old speeches by the Premier. They are always very interesting. I am reading one from March 1984. As a preamble to my question, I will quote the following: "I find it ironic. This is a government which is literally doddering into the 1980s and 1990s, which is attempting to revive ruling by sloth, by neglect, by polls, by advertisements, by the oldest and phoniest kinds of con games."

In view of the Premier's past observations on the kind of cynical manipulation his government is engaged in today—a political committee to promote the NDP paid for by the public of the province, polls paid for by the taxpayer and kept privy only to the NDP and no one else—in view of this and his past statements, would the Premier end the sham of his political committee and stop buying public opinion polls to be used for the political benefit of the NDP?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Let me respond directly to the honourable member and say that I do not recall when he was Minister of the Environment his expressing visceral opposition to the fact that the government of which he was a member, that the cabinet of which he was a member for five years, was polling. I would say to the honourable member that basic market research carried out by various ministries is something this government engages in, but certainly not to the extent engaged in by previous governments.

1440

**Mr Bradley:** My whole point is that the Premier was supposed to be different. He was the angel. He was Bob Rae, and the NDP had different political ethics. That is why I asked this question.

Tomorrow the Premier is meeting with Prime Minister Mulroney. The Prime Minister has special committees and special advertisements. The Prime Minister uses public opinion polls for the benefit of his government. I was going to ask—perhaps I should—whether they are prepared to save the taxpayers of Ontario and of Canada money by sharing the results of the public opinion polls with one another, by sharing them with the House of Commons and members of this House. But I would rather have the Premier tell the people how many polls he has commissioned or is in the process of commissioning and whether he will, now that he has been caught in the act, reveal the results of those polls to all members of the Legislature and to the people of Ontario who have paid for those polls out of their pockets.



**Hon Mr Rae:** The member well knows that the tradition in this place is that the results of public opinion polls are tabled by the government. The results of polls taken by this government will be tabled by this government, as was done by the Liberal government, and that is exactly what we will do. I am sure the Leader of the Opposition would want to be fair in this regard.

#### TORONTO ISLANDS COMMUNITY

**Mr Stockwell:** My question is to the Minister of Municipal Affairs. I want to ask a question on the Toronto Islands issue. This minister has suggested that this was the best and fairest deal for all parties concerned. Can he tell me why this is a fair deal for Metropolitan Toronto, when he has expropriated 40 acres of land and the buildings on it, which it owns, which it went to the Supreme Court of Canada to prove it owned, when he is stealing 40 acres and giving back 23 acres, 11½ of which he would not even have to pay for under that scenario because the Metro Toronto Residents Action Committee would pay for the other half?

Running a ferry service in the winter to the islands is going to cost hundreds of thousands of dollars a year. Can the minister tell me what is fair about that? He is going to have to provide policing and ambulance services on that island year-round. That is going to cost the taxpayers in Metro thousands and thousands of dollars. What is fair about that? Will he tell me about the millions spent by Metro upgrading that park for park purposes? Are they going to be recompensed? No. What is fair about that?

Can the minister tell me why he says this is a good deal for Metro? If he cannot tell me, why did he make the deal?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I think there were about 15 questions there all rattled off in quite a short period. I find it very curious. The way the member describes the arrangement that is being made would lead people to believe there are not even people who live on the islands. There are 650 people who live on the islands. If the Tory party is telling us that those people should have their homes bulldozed and not have a place to live in this community, that is not an approach I support.

Back when they were in government and Larry Grossman represented that riding, he understood the islands issue. He understood there was a need to preserve a community on that island, and that is a principle that I endorse and this party endorses.

**Mr Stockwell:** I rattled off 15 questions and he could not answer one of them. What is the point? Let's talk about those people on the island. Does the minister realize that since we have been keeping track in Metro, since 1974, well over 60% of the original tenants have left? Does he realize that for 103 people the property has changed once, 50 have changed twice, 13 have changed three times and one has even changed four times? The minister is not protecting the original islanders, he is protecting squatters who moved in when they saw a good deal.

The minister is giving these people a lottery. They have won a lottery. For 99 years at \$36,000, it costs \$30 a month. Does he know who these people are? These people are lawyers, dentists, doctors and city councillors. These

people make a very good income. I have a grandmother who lives in a studio apartment at Islington and Dundas. She spends 10 times this amount and she is on a fixed income.

**The Speaker:** Could the member place his supplementary, please?

**Mr Stockwell:** The minister has given these people a lottery. Why does he not tell the people of Metro exactly who he is protecting? He is protecting doctors, lawyers, dentists, city councillors, etc. Disclose their incomes.

**An hon member:** How did they vote?

**Mr Stockwell:** We will find out how they vote.

**The Speaker:** Would the member conclude his question, please.

**Mr Stockwell:** Metro Toronto has a right to know who the government has bought off because they voted NDP.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** This party has had—  
Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Mr Turnbull:** Thirty bucks a month.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** Did the member for York Mills want to make a statement?

**The Speaker:** The minister will direct his response to the Chair.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** This party has had a long-standing commitment to the maintenance of the affordable housing stock on the island. That position has been shared by the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party in the past. An important priority for this government was being able to provide a long-term solution for the islands, an issue that has been around for far too long. It was time for government to say that this dispute had to come to an end and a solution had to be found. We have done that.

I also point out that I think the outgoing mayor of the city of Toronto said it best when he was quoted this morning as saying that he thought the provincial decision was a reasonable one to settle this long-time dispute. That is what we have done. The member wants to take the extreme position that he takes, but we are getting used to extreme positions from the member for Etobicoke West.

#### ONTARIO HYDRO RATES

**Mr Malkowski:** I have a question for the Minister of Energy. As members know, power is produced and sold centrally by Ontario Hydro and is then distributed to local power authorities. My constituents in York East are concerned about the increase in hydro rates. Are there any measures in place to prevent the local hydro commissions from raising rates in an arbitrary and excessive fashion? If so, what are those measures; and if not, why not?

**Hon Mr Ferguson:** The member should know that Ontario Hydro has the right to approve all municipal electrical utility hydro rate increases. They must be approved by Ontario Hydro. If Ontario Hydro believes it is in the interests of the municipality, it can set the rate itself. All rates must be approved by Ontario Hydro. I understand the member's concern and I believe that in East York the



hydro rates will be increasing at a rate of about 11.5% this year.

#### CHILDREN'S SERVICES

**Mr Offer:** I have a question for the Minister of Health. It was to my great dismay that I learned of a constituent in my riding whose child had been sexually assaulted and had been assessed as needing counselling. This mother had been told that her child will not receive this counselling for six months. This was as a result of backlogs in hospitals and treatment centres.

I researched this matter and was informed that the average waiting list is six months for children under 14 years of age who are the victims of sexual assault. The minister will quickly understand that in such a period of time, one of two things will happen. The first is that the child who needs that help will not, after such a time period, go for the help. The second is that after such a period of time, further problems will develop.

This matter has been a result of a backlog in hospitals and a variety of centres, not only in the Peel region but indeed in York and Toronto. What actions is the minister prepared to announce today so that this need is immediately resolved?

**Hon Ms Lankin:** The member knows that to phrase a question in terms of what actions I am prepared to announce today is a difficult thing. What I will say to him is that in terms of the kinds of reviews we are having of hospital budgets for this year, we have clearly indicated we want to see psychiatric beds protected. In answer to previous questions, I have indicated that we have some problems with hospitals around some of the protected programs. The member's question goes far beyond that in terms of special programs directed at children.

I am very concerned by the information he brings to my attention. I can only say to him that I will undertake to go back and try to determine where there may be services available or what needs to be addressed as we go through our estimates and address the very serious problem he raises.

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**Mr Offer:** I thank the minister for the response, but it is just not good enough. In fact, what has happened is that the Hospital for Sick Children has this problem, the C. M. Hincks Treatment Centre has this problem, the hospitals in the Peel region have this problem, the Peel Children's Services has this problem and areas and centres in Halton and York all have this problem. Two levels of care are being developed as a result of the minister's inaction.

First, those parents who have the financial resources to be able to go to the private sector and get their children the immediate help that is required are able to do so, but parents who do not have those financial resources are not able to do so. I am very concerned about the minister's response today, and I am doubly concerned when I read in the paper today that the Deputy Minister of Health talks about new business opportunities.

I hope, with respect to the minister with her response today and her deputy minister's response, this is not going to be one of those new business opportunities. I believe

that children under the age of 14, children whatever their age, who are the victims of sexual assault, who require help and counselling, should get it immediately.

Discussions and consultation and looking at the problems in the future are just not good enough. These children require this service now. What I want to ask the minister is what she is prepared to do now, what her government is prepared to do now. It is no longer permissible for her to wash her hands of this, for her to say it is another minister's responsibility or for her to say it is something that is going to be taken under consideration. Children need that help now and we want to know what the minister is going to do today.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** Again, I could rise to the bait in terms of the way the member phrases this, but I think the issue is very serious and I do not intend to deal with him in that way.

What I would like to say to the member is that there is a variety of funding sources currently in place. The member opposite knows that our government, in addition to programs that had been established by his party when it was in government, is spending more money on sexual assault than has ever been dedicated before in a provincial government.

The member opposite talks about specific health-related services, and I think in fact his—

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** What I have said to the member, and I will follow up again, is that I will undertake to review the connection between those dollars and the health services.

Interjection.

**The Speaker:** The member for Burlington South.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** I try, Mr Speaker, but there is a Pavlovian response going on. When I stand up and start to speak, the member opposite starts to—well, you know what he starts to do.

**The Speaker:** Will the minister direct her comments to the Chair, please.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** To the member who asked the question, I will certainly undertake to resolve the question that I think is in his mind with respect to the two ministries involved in this and the delivery of services in his area and across the province, and attempt to give him an answer that is a satisfactory one.

#### HOSPITAL BEDS

**Mr J. Wilson:** My question is also to the Minister of Health. Earlier this week, the Provincial Auditor confirmed what I and my colleagues have been telling the minister all along, that hospitals are being forced to cut beds randomly, without government direction and without any overall assessment of the health care needs of Ontario as a whole.

The Ontario Hospital Association has estimated that some 3,292 beds will be closed by March of next year, and St Michael's Hospital announced yesterday another 58 beds closed and 67 jobs lost.



The minister has told us that she is working with the Ontario Hospital Association, the hospitals and the district health councils to come up with an overall, comprehensive management plan for our health care system. Given that thousands of hospital beds are now being closed and have been closed, given that irreparable harm is being done to the system, would it not make sense for her to put a stop to these closures until such time as she is able to bring to this House her comprehensive management plan?

**Hon Ms Lankin:** First of all, the member said the Provincial Auditor's report confirmed that in fact beds were being closed without any direction or any consistency or involvement by the provincial government. The report did not confirm that, and I would appreciate having that debate separate.

The member's question is specifically related to where we are developing our plan for next year's budget. I met again this morning with the council of hospitals here in Toronto and with members of the district health council.

**Mr J. Wilson:** They said there has been no prior approval of the bed closures.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** Mr Speaker, if the member would be quiet, I could answer his question, as opposed to his asking additional questions in the meantime.

Specifically, today I met with the Hospital Council of Metropolitan Toronto, as one example of a region, with the district health council present, and talked about the need for the regional co-ordination as we move through this downsizing that is occurring. Some of that downsizing is directly related to 10 years of a move to ambulatory and outpatient care and an excess of beds in terms of acute care. Some of it in the future will be related to a reallocation of priorities of health care spending. I think those two things need to be separated, and the member's question does not adequately do that.

**Mr J. Wilson:** The auditor very clearly pointed out that the Ministry of Health has been negligent in monitoring hospital bed closures. I can only conclude that there are many communities in Ontario where health care is in serious jeopardy as a result of the ad hoc and random cutting. I speak on behalf of my own community in Simcoe county. I met yesterday with administrators in Toronto who expressed similar concerns. Hospital beds are continuing to close at random. There is no management plan in place and the minister has just told us, through lack of an answer, she is not willing to put a moratorium on further bed closures until she brings back a comprehensive management plan.

The Minister of Health and the Premier speak eloquently about universality, but the only thing universal about the minister's management of the health care system is that she is universally closing health care beds across this province. The minister cannot continue to manage Ontario's health care system with one eye open. The minister is giving lipservice to universality. I want to know what she is doing to assure all the people of Ontario they will have universal access to quality health care in this province.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** The member once again needs to divide the issue with respect to the monitoring of budgets and the implication of budgets from the planning for the future of the system at this point in time. This year we are reviewing the projections various hospitals have made—some for surpluses, some for budgets—with those individual hospitals and we are reviewing their proposed plans. In some areas those involve bed closures; in some areas they involve other kinds of realignment of services.

With respect to where bed closures have been announced, as the member has indicated, and perhaps not enacted, I have asked that meetings take place to try to have a regional co-ordination of that. Those meetings are in fact taking place with respect to the Toronto East General and Orthopaedic Hospital and the Toronto General Hospital, the sort of administrators the member may well have spoken to in the last number of days.

In terms of our future projection and planning for the system and assurance of high-quality health care to people in our communities, we have pulled together the parties in the system. They are working together to plan for that direction. We have a hospital funding review going on. We have district health councils, labour and the Ontario Hospital Association involved in that. Quite frankly, for the first time we have the partners in the system acknowledging that reform is necessary and acknowledging the direction we have been embarking upon is the correct direction. I think the kind of remarks the member makes only spread panic. It does not help the process of planning.

#### LABOUR LEGISLATION

**Mr Fletcher:** My question is for the Minister of Labour. In my riding of Guelph, the newsroom staff at the Daily Mercury have been walking the picket line for the past several weeks. They have been trying for more than a year to negotiate a first contract with the Thomson Newspapers corporation. The newsroom staff say it is the quality of the newspaper and the local news coverage that are the major issues in this strike. They also tell me they are very angry that instead of bargaining with the workers, the company is paying replacement reporters large bonuses, almost one week's salary in some cases, to file stories during this strike.

They also tell me they are angry that while Thomson cannot seem to invest money in a better newspaper, the company is spending money on security guards and portable computers so that replacement workers do not have to cross the picket line. They are also angry because the police officers in my riding are being used at taxpayers' expense to escort delivery vans across the picket line. It puts the police force in my riding and the picketers in a difficult spot.

Are the proposals outlined in the Minister of Labour's recently released discussion paper going to address such issues as replacement workers and the police on picket lines?

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** The question is good and timely in view of the consultation that will be going on. The proposal we have outlined for public discussion is designed to respond to flashpoints and confrontation in the



collective bargaining process, such as the one just outlined. The proposal would restrict the use of replacement workers to the use of onsite managers and supervisors and therefore would help prevent violence and frustration on the picket line, confrontations which occur when replacement workers are brought in to do the job.

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#### ALCOHOL AND DRUG TREATMENT

**Mr Ruprecht:** I have a question for the minister responsible for the provincial anti-drug strategy. A few days ago she released a report, *Caring for Each Other: The People of Ontario Respond to Alcohol and Drug Treatment Problems*.

One of the major recommendations in this report reads, "Access to treatment in the United States should be phased out in proportion to the expansion of provincial treatment facilities." In other words, you do not cut off people from their treatment and throw them on to the streets, where they support their drug habit by turning to crime.

The minister is responsible for the provincial anti-drug secretariat. Why would she tolerate a situation where there is not sufficient day treatment, there are not sufficient beds, there is not sufficient follow-up care? Her course of action in asking the district health councils for more proposals when she already has on her desk, gathering dust, proposals that are over a year old, is inadequate.

Will the minister today accept my proposal, since she loves proposals so much, to send to her office the hundreds and, I would submit to her, thousands of miserable people who are unable to get treatment?

**Hon Ms Lankin:** The member and I had a conversation about this topic yesterday, and it seems to me he failed to understand the points that were made. I thought as he walked away that in fact he had understood, so it is interesting.

We redirected money out of savings from restricting out-of-country expenditures and increased expenditures on treatment and access to services here in Ontario by \$9.7 million. He speaks primarily of \$4 million of that which is targeted for treatment programs. Members will remember the rest of the money was targeted towards setting up a drug registry, assessment programs and detox programs. He says we should just go ahead with other proposals that are out there on the table.

The treatment programs have specifically targeted those communities that were experiencing the highest rate of out-of-country referral, and in order to save money in administration and ensure that more of that money is going directly to the people who require those services, we asked DHCs to review the services that are in place that could be quickly expanded as opposed to setting up new services with duplication of administration costs. I think that is very fiscally wise and it also means more money gets directly to the people who need the treatment.

**Mr Ruprecht:** While I have no personal problems with the minister—in fact I like her—obviously that cannot be the major point. No matter how much she wants to explain to me personally, the point really is that there are literally—and she knows the figures, I will tell her in a

minute—hundreds and thousands of people out there who are suffering from drug addictions whom she is forcing, with her inadequate policies and her inaction, into a life of crime, and obviously they are unable to get treatment.

She knows the figures. What are the figures? Some 24,000 people are going to be treated in 1991 in Ontario. What is the comparison in terms of beds in Ontario and other jurisdictions? Ontario has the lowest capacity of beds of six comparable jurisdictions. The point is simply this: Instead of creating treatment facilities, she goes around and asks for a drug registry program and more proposals and more proposals.

**The Speaker:** Will the member place his supplementary, please.

**Mr Ruprecht:** We are asking the minister today to stand up and do something. What I simply want to know in conclusion, and all of us would agree with it obviously, is when she is going to begin to treat the addicts before many more of them die on the loading docks and on the streets of Toronto. It is a crisis situation and she has the responsibility. We expect her to act and to act today.

**The Speaker:** Would the member take his seat, please.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** I have to say that is one of the most irresponsible characterizations of what is going on in this province I have heard from the members opposite. Quite frankly, we have put \$9.7 million of new money into drug rehabilitation programs.

The member castigates the idea of setting up a registry of drug services. He should read the document he has in his hand that flows from the earlier report commissioned by his government that says it is one of the most critical pieces of action a government could take in order to be able to co-ordinate services across this province and ensure that people get placement.

We have increased detoxification services. We have increased assessment and referral. We have increased treatment. The dollars we can spend in Ontario compared to the huge costs we were paying for a relatively small number of people to receive treatment out of country in the US profit-driven system is a tremendous increase to services here. At the same time, we have not cut off people's access to needed services out of the country if they cannot receive them in a timely fashion here. The member is just absolutely wrong.

#### AGRICULTURAL LAND

**Mr B. Murdoch:** My question was going to be to the Premier, but since he has left, I guess I will have to send my question up to the Minister of Agriculture and Food.

There seem to be two sets of standards in this area. We have the greater Toronto area; then we have the rest of rural Ontario. What I am talking about is agriculture. I do not know whether the minister is aware of Springdale, a new subdivision that is being built right now just north of Toronto. I will send this material over to the minister. It is being built on 4,000 acres of the best farm land we have here in Ontario. Just to show that, I have some things for the Premier, and I am sorry he is not here. I will give them



to the Minister of Agriculture and Food to give to the Premier for me.

This is a keepsake. He must keep this, because this is soil from these 4,000 acres, and there is not any more of it left. It is being paved over and built over. I will give this to the page to give to the minister. This is some of the best farm land, and to prove that I want to show him something else.

**The Speaker:** Do we also have a question while you are at it?

**Mr B. Murdoch:** Yes, I have a question here. I want to know what the two sets of standards are. It is one of the best areas in Ontario, and here is some of the corn grown on that area that will grow there no more. Some of the best heat units are in this area, yet 4,000 acres are being—

**The Speaker:** Does the member have a question?

**Mr B. Murdoch:** My question to the minister is, why are there two sets of standards, one for the greater Toronto area and one for the rest of rural Ontario?

To show you that the rest of rural Ontario does not have this land, I have something else, Mr Speaker.

**The Speaker:** Would the member complete his question.

**Mr B. Murdoch:** I have a stone here which comes from Grey county. This stone, with many others, is what we have to have.

**The Speaker:** Would the member please complete his—

**Mr B. Murdoch:** I also want to tell you, Mr Speaker—

**The Speaker:** Order. I give the member one brief opportunity to complete his question.

**Mr B. Murdoch:** My question is, why are there two sets of standards for agricultural land?

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** This is one moment I wish the Premier was here with us.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** The corn is much better than the corn they had down in Essex-Kent where they had drought.

On the question of double standards, as I understand the question, I stand to be corrected, but I believe this land the honourable member is talking about was rezoned about 10 years ago. As I understand it, it certainly has not been taken out of agriculture in terms of zoning purposes since we have come to government.

We have proof in the Niagara area, in the Ottawa region and in the member's own region—and that is probably the major reason he is bringing this question forward—that this government feels very strongly about preserving agricultural land and not allowing it to be rezoned. Unfortunately this land was rezoned I believe about 10 years ago, and we as a government are committed to not letting that happen in future, including in the member's riding of Grey.

1510

**Mr B. Murdoch:** What I am hearing is that it is okay if it is well planned, which this is. It is okay to take good agricultural land, so the farmers down in the Niagara area should be getting their land well planned now so they can take that out and not have to go to an Ontario Municipal Board hearing. This is fine if it is the way we are going to operate. If you plan it well, it does not matter. They do not seem to care. As long as you plan the area, it is okay to take good agricultural land. That is basically what they have said.

There are still two standards, one for the greater Toronto area and one for the rest. What we also have in this 4,000 acres are swamps, bogs and wetlands. In Grey county and outside the greater Toronto area, they are called ANSIs, that is, areas of natural and scientific interest. They are also environmentally sensitive areas. Maybe the minister will not understand that. He may want to put this question to the Minister of Natural Resources.

**The Speaker:** Would the member place his supplementary, please.

**Mr B. Murdoch:** Yes, I will get to it. But in the greater Toronto area they must just call them holes because they just fill them in. I picked this cat's-tail out of the last hole they filled in. The brothers and sisters of this cat's-tail have all been buried. It is the only one left so I guess we have two sets of standards again. Outside the greater Toronto area, do not go near ANSIs. I want to know what the two sets of standards for ANSIs are.

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** I am very pleased that the member has raised these issues. I remember earlier in this House he was concerned about my colleagues the Minister of Municipal Affairs and the Minister of the Environment, who were concerned about saving agricultural land up in his area. The member is obviously now concerned about saving wetlands and ANSIs across the province. I hope he continues to support our government in trying to preserve wetlands and ANSIs. We do not have a double standard. As I said earlier, we intend to have a uniform policy across the entire province.

#### ENERGY CONSERVATION

**Hon Mr Ferguson:** On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: Earlier this week the member for Lanark-Renfrew made a comment in the House, and I am sure he would want to correct the record. It had to do with Ontario Hydro's free lightbulb program. He asked me at the time why this product was being manufactured in Quebec. To set the record straight, and I am sure he would want to know this, in fact one third of the lightbulbs are being manufactured in Quebec. The rest are being manufactured here in plants in Oakville and London.

**The Speaker:** The Minister of Energy does not have a point of privilege. Normally members rise to correct their own record, not someone else's.

**Mr Jackson:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Basically on that point, it was apparent the minister should have stood in his place and corrected his own record that he was ignorant of these facts when he was asked the



question by the member for Lanark-Renfrew. He still has the opportunity to correct the record about his ignorance of the very ministry he is responsible for.

**The Speaker:** The member for Burlington South will know I just spoke to the very point of order he raised.

#### WRITTEN QUESTIONS

**Mrs Sullivan:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I have a point of order under sections 95(a) and 95(d) of the standing orders of the assembly relating to the response to questions that are placed in Orders and Notices in writing to the ministries. On October 14, I placed as number 750 on the question list an inquiry of the Minister of Health relating to details on the current financial status of each of the 224 Ontario hospitals. On that date, I also placed a question to the Minister of Health relating to the financial status of Ontario's nursing homes. The 14-day period required under these standing orders expired about two weeks ago. I still have received no response. Please, I want you to make a decision in relation to the point I have raised.

**The Speaker:** The member for Halton Centre appears to have a valid point of order. I will be pleased to examine the matter further and report back to her.

#### PETITIONS

##### LANDFILL SITE

**Mr Offer:** I have a petition signed by a number of residents surrounding the Britannia landfill site expressing their concern about the action taken by the Premier and the Minister of the Environment, and I affixed my signature.

##### FRENCH-LANGUAGE EDUCATION

**Mrs Cunningham:** I have a petition signed by 70 concerned citizens from the Huntsville area. It reads as follows:

"As an Ontario taxpayer, I request additional information on the French Language Education Governance Advisory Group report tabled in the Ontario Legislature on Thursday, October 3, 1991, and the impact this will have on public education.

"I am an interested party and I feel that there has not been sufficient information made available to myself and the public at large.

"I therefore demand an extension to the November 29 deadline to review this report and submit my comments to the Ministry of Education. This will enable myself and other people to become more informed on this issue."

A number of cards have been signed by individual members from the Huntsville area. I have added my name to this petition and I will table it.

##### SOCIAL SERVICES

**Mr O'Connor:** I have a petition signed by 128 residents in my riding with concerns around social services. I have signed my name to it.

##### LANDFILL SITE

**Mr Offer:** I have a further petition from residents surrounding the Britannia landfill site, again expressing their

deep concern about the actions of the Premier and the Minister of the Environment in expanding the site without the benefit of any public consultation in its expansion. I have affixed my name to it.

I have a further petition signed by a number of residents, again around the Britannia landfill site in the city of Mississauga and the region of Peel, expressing their concern to the Minister of the Environment and the Premier over the expansion of the site without any public consultation. I have affixed my name to it.

Just as an aside, each sheet is a single petition, all of which are fully signed by residents around the Britannia landfill site.

I have a further petition signed by concerned residents surrounding the Britannia landfill site. This petition is to the Minister of the Environment and the Premier. The people who have signed this petition express their concern with the actions of the Minister of the Environment and the Premier in attempting to expand the site of the Britannia landfill site without any public consultation. I have affixed my name to this petition.

I have a petition signed by a number of residents who live in an area around the Britannia landfill site in the city of Mississauga and the region of Peel. This petition expresses their concern to the Minister of the Environment and the Premier over the government's expansion of the Britannia landfill site, the regional landfill site, without the benefit of any public consultation into the need or effect of such expansion. I have affixed my name to this petition.

##### 1520

I have a further petition. I am glad that the Minister of the Environment has now come into the House. I hope the Minister of the Environment will recognize the extreme nature of the concern around the Britannia landfill site. This petition is signed by residents around the Britannia landfill site. What they are doing by signing this petition is expressing their concern at the actions by the Minister of the Environment and the Premier in attempting to expand the Britannia landfill site without any public consultation, without any opportunity to be heard and to hear the concerns about the safety of such a site. I sign my name to such petition.

I have a further petition signed by a number of residents around the Britannia landfill site.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** He sounds like a total lawyer; he says the same thing time and time again.

**Mr Offer:** The government House leader is interjecting. I thought those would be out of order, but maybe there are new rules in this Legislature.

**Mrs Caplan:** Interjections are only out of order for members of the opposition.

**Mr Offer:** I see, but I think members of the government should recognize that those people who live in the area surrounding the Britannia landfill site are deeply concerned about the expansion of such a site without benefit of any public consultation.

This is a further petition signed by residents expressing their concern to the Minister of the Environment and the Premier, who are attempting through Bill 143 to expand



the Britannia landfill site without people being able to input into the decision, without being able to voice their concerns about such expansion. I affix my signature to this petition.

I have a petition signed again by many residents living around the Britannia landfill site.

Let me say it is people not just around the Britannia landfill site but also in areas other than adjacent to this site who are concerned about the expansion of the Britannia landfill site in Mississauga and the regional municipality of Peel without the benefit of any public consultation.

They are expressing their concern to the Minister of the Environment and the Premier, voicing their opinion, their concern that this action is wrong, without their being able to have some input, to consult on the need for expansion and what expansion means to the community around such a site. I affix my name to this petition.

**Mrs Caplan:** Mr Speaker, if I may, I would like to sign the petition.

**The Speaker:** Perhaps the page would take the document to the member for Oriole so that she may sign it.

**Mr Offer:** I thank the member for Oriole, because I think this is an issue of concern not just for the people around the landfill site but for many members, certainly on the opposition and third-party side, and a lot of people throughout Ontario. If only we could convince members of the government of the concern that is being raised, and not only by the people in this petition which I am just about to read, Mr Speaker. I see that look in your eye. We hope members of the government will recognize that this is a matter of some deep and grave concern.

This is a petition signed by a number of residents in the area expressing their concern to the Minister of the Environment and the Premier of the province over the attempted expansion, through Bill 143, of the Britannia landfill site without the benefit of any hearings, without the benefit of any consultation as to what such expansion means to the area, to the residents and to the quality of life in that area. I affix my name to that petition.

**Mr Ruprecht:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Will you give us permission to affix our names to this important petition as well so that everyone will become aware of the problem?

**The Speaker:** It is the member for Mississauga North who is in possession of the petitions. If he wishes to distribute those petitions to other members, he is certainly at liberty to do so.

**Mr Offer:** I thank the member for Parkdale for voicing his concern about the actions of the government, especially around Bill 143.

I have a petition signed by numbers of people who live in the area, certainly in my riding of Mississauga North and around the Britannia landfill site which is located in my riding, expressing their concern to the Minister of the Environment and to the Premier over their attempts to expand the Britannia landfill site without the benefit of any public consultation. I affix my name to the signatures.

When residents and people provide petitions, it is our responsibility and indeed our pleasure to present these pe-

titions. I think this underlines the very deep concern of people around the Britannia landfill site, that so many petitions have been provided to their local member voicing their very deep concern about the expansion of this site through Bill 143 without the benefit of any public consultation, without the benefit of their being able to be heard, without the benefit of listening to local municipal and regional councillors and without acknowledging the work done by the local and regional municipalities for many years.

These people have taken the time and effort, through their signatures on this petition, to express their concern to the Minister of the Environment and to the Premier of the province over their attempts, through Bill 143, to expand the Britannia landfill site, notwithstanding, I remind members, the specific promise made by the Premier and the minister in the last election that there would be no expansion and no new landfill site without a full environmental assessment hearing. I affix my name to this petition.

To members of the House, if there is anyone who also wishes to indicate or raise anything or put forward any petitions, I would certainly be willing to sit down while he or she is able to do so. But in the absence of any other member who has any petitions today, I will continue to read in these petitions, as is my responsibility, in the time permitted according to the rules of this Legislature.

Again, I have a petition signed by residents in the area of the Britannia landfill site who are expressing their concern to the Minister of the Environment and to the Premier of the province over the expansion of the Britannia landfill site, which was slated to be closed and which the government is attempting to keep open without any benefit of public hearings.

These people around the area who have purchased or are in rental properties, according to agreements signed earlier on, are very concerned with the actions of the minister and the Premier, which are really usurping and over-riding all previous agreements, and they want to express their deep concern over the actions by the minister and the Premier by signing this petition. I certainly affix my name, not only as a result of the rules of the Legislature but, let it be said, in full support of the concerns of the residents as indicated in this petition.

I have a further petition—I would like to thank the pages for their help in this regard in taking my petitions to the table officers—from residents around the Britannia landfill site expressing their concern to the Minister of the Environment and to the Premier of the province over the actions by the minister, the Premier and the government, through Bill 143, in expanding the Britannia landfill site without the benefit of any public hearing and in direct contravention of a promise made to the people of the province during the last election that no such expansion would take place without a full environmental assessment hearing.

These people are voicing their concerns, as is their right through this petition, and I affix my name, not only in accordance with the rules of this Legislature but also in full support of that concern.



I have a further petition signed by residents around the Britannia landfill site expressing concern to the Minister of the Environment and the Premier of the province over the expansion of the Britannia landfill site without the benefit of being able to have any input or any consultation into its expansion, in direct contravention to a promise made by the Premier during the last election. I have affixed my signature to that.

1530

## REPORTS BY COMMITTEES

### STANDING COMMITTEE ON GENERAL GOVERNMENT

Mr Brown from the standing committee on general government presented the committee's Report on the Closure of Land Registry Offices in Ontario.

## INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

### GAME AND FISH AMENDMENT ACT, 1991

#### LOI DE 1991 MODIFIANT LA LOI SUR LA CHASSE ET LA PÊCHE

Mr Wildman moved first reading of Bill 162, An Act to amend the Game and Fish Act / Projet de loi 162, Loi modifiant la Loi sur la chasse et la pêche.

Motion agreed to.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** In introducing for first reading An Act to amend the Game and Fish Act, I would like to make a couple of comments. Public attitudes to wildlife have changed significantly since the act was last amended in 1980. Today Ontarians are concerned about the natural environment and interested in the protection of all wildlife species.

The present act focuses on game species. The proposed amendments will expand the act to extend protection to a wide spectrum of wildlife species. We propose changing the name of the Game and Fish Act to the Wildlife and Fish Act to reflect its broader focus. Other areas covered in the proposed amendments include improved hunter and public safety, more control over commercialization of wildlife and expanded opportunities for aquaculture.

I look forward to the support of all members for these amendments, as they have been pending for at least five years.

### LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ACT, 1991

#### LOI DE 1991 MODIFIANT LA LOI SUR L'ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE

Mr Cooke moved first reading of Bill 163, An Act to amend the Legislative Assembly Act / Projet de loi 163, Loi modifiant la Loi sur l'Assemblée législative.

Motion agreed to.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** This bill simply implements the 3% increase for members of the Legislature, effective April 1, 1990.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY

### FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PROTECTION OF PRIVACY STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1991

#### LOI DE 1991 CONCERNANT L'ACCÈS À L'INFORMATION ET LA PROTECTION DE LA VIE PRIVÉE

Mr Silipo moved second reading of Bill 136, An Act to amend certain Acts relating to Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy / Loi portant modification de certaines lois concernant l'accès à l'information et la protection de la vie privée.

**Hon Mr Silipo:** I am pleased to introduce for second reading today Bill 136, An Act to amend certain Acts relating to Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy. It provides that a non-disclosure section of the Occupational Health and Safety Act overrides the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act. The amendment in the bill will allow the Ministry of Labour to receive confidential trade secret information about hazardous products from the federal Hazardous Materials Information Review Commission.

I note that we will be proposing that this legislation go to committee of the whole House in order that we can propose an amendment which will ensure that the non-disclosure provision prevails over any other law and will remove any ambiguity created by subsection 34(1) of the Occupational Health and Safety Act that allows for disclosure of confidential information as required by law.

**Mr Sola:** I rise today to announce that we will be in support of this bill. The honourable minister might give his thanks to Susan Swift, a research officer from legislative research, for providing me with all this extensive background to convince me it would be a wise thing to support this bill.

Upon reflection, we see what his predecessor stated when she introduced Bill 136, that the amendment was a technical one necessary to ensure that the workplace hazardous materials information system regulations in Ontario could be effective and that the Ministry of Labour could receive information held by the federal government about trade secrets concerning workplace chemicals.

We applaud the intent. It is nice to see that for a change this government is trying to remove instead of add ambiguity to legislation, especially since it seems to be also following in the footsteps of the Minister of Labour at the time when this party was in power and introduced Bill 79.

**Mr Stockwell:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I do not believe we have a quorum.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Is there a quorum?

**Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees:** A quorum is not present, Mr Speaker.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve) ordered the bells rung.

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**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** A quorum is now present. The honourable member for Mississauga



East may proceed with his participation in the debate on Bill 136.

**Mr Sola:** When the Honourable Bill Wrye introduced Bill 79, he was allowing for an exemption to make known the identity of a material. If such information is judged to be a trade secret, there will still be an obligation to provide information on any hazard that is present. It is nice to see that this technical amendment just redefines it so that it clears up matters a bit more. Looking back to June 22, 1987, when he introduced section 22, he repeated the same thing, providing for an exemption from disclosure for confidential business information validated by a board. We applaud the intent of the bill, and I would just like to try out my French a little bit and say que nous sommes d'accord avec l'intention de ce projet de loi. Merci beaucoup.

**Mr Stockwell:** I will speak for my party and tell the government that we will support this piece of legislation, because of the open, consultative approach that we take to opposition. We review all pieces of legislation carefully with a seriousness that I think all opposition parties should approach these kinds of pieces of legislation with. We would only wish that the government could learn from our magnanimous gestures and review some of its legislation that it brought forward that is less than consultative and take a leaf from our book, as being a conscientious opposition party that carefully crafts our statements.

The government members should not go losing sleep or holding their breath between those pieces of legislation, but when the government does something right—and it has taken some 15 months—we will stand behind them in unison and suggest they have just done something right and we are totally shocked.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Questions and or comments on the member's participation? Seeing none, further debate? Does the Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet want to wind up?

**Hon Mr Silipo:** Mr Speaker, how could I resist? I want to thank my colleagues opposite, the member for Mississauga East and the member for Etobicoke West, for their somewhat kind words. I certainly agree with the member for Mississauga East about the good work done by our legislative research staff. I have had occasion to use their services in the past and always found them to be excellent in the way they provide information to us. I am not surprised, therefore, that the information that was provided to him by them helped him come very quickly to the conclusion that this small but important amendment is important and worthy of his support.

Indeed I am glad to see that the member for Etobicoke West was able to stand up today and acknowledge that this was something the government has been doing right. He may disagree with us on a number of other things, but I think on this one—

**Mr Stockwell:** Notice I said "right."

**Hon Mr Silipo:** Right. He agrees with us on that. I am pleased we are able to get this done. As I indicated, at some point we will deal with an amendment to this through the committee of the whole process.

Motion agreed to.

Bill ordered for committee of the whole House.

TEACHERS' PENSION  
STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1991  
LOI DE 1991 MODIFIANT DES LOIS  
EN CE QUI CONCERNE

LE RÉGIME DE RETRAITE DES ENSEIGNANTS

Mr Silipo moved second reading of Bill 140, An Act to amend the Teachers' Pension Act, 1989 and the Teaching Profession Act / Loi modifiant la Loi de 1989 sur le régime de retraite des enseignants et la Loi sur la profession enseignante.

**Hon Mr Silipo:** I am pleased to introduce for second reading the amendments to the Teachers' Pension Act. This is a sound piece of legislation, we believe, representative of the kind of partnership this government wants to continue to foster. The amendments to the Teachers' Pension Act will establish a framework for the Ontario government and Ontario teachers to manage the Ontario teachers' pension plan as full and equal partners. That partnership will start on January 1, 1992.

The legislation provides for equal representation of the province and the teachers on the Ontario Teachers' Pension Plan Board. It gives teachers an equal say in the investment decisions of the pension plan and an equal share of future surpluses or deficits.

It also gives the partners a formal process for negotiating changes to the plan every three years. Changes to benefits and contribution rates will be negotiated as part of this process. If the partners cannot reach agreement on benefits and contributions, these two issues may be submitted to binding arbitration.

I am proud to bring this legislation before the Legislature; it is the result of both partners' commitment to fairness and co-operation. I believe this bill deserves the support of all members and ask that they give it their full consideration.

**Mr Beer:** I want to rise and join in the debate on Bill 140, An Act to amend the Teachers' Pension Act, 1989 and the Teaching Profession Act, which we will support to have moved to third reading later today.

As the minister and all who have been involved in this particular issue and this debate know, this was a question which exercised considerable time and attention when we were in government. It is important to note some of the questions that came up when this was being debated by the previous government because, while we will be supporting the legislation today, there were some concerns raised at that time around the process of governance and arbitration as well as around the issue of the unfunded liability which I would like to place on the record.

I hope, as Education critic for the Liberal Party, that the agreement the government and the Ontario Teachers' Federation has reached will indeed work well, as my colleague the member for Ottawa-Rideau mentioned in her comments when the bill was first presented to the House. We are particularly pleased that Mr Bouey will be staying on as chair of the pension fund. We believed at the time we appointed him that he was an excellent choice and I think



the reaction of both the government and the Ontario teachers to continuing his role as chair indicates this was a wise choice.

I think members will remember that the primary issue before the previous government and the teachers was that around the question of binding arbitration. Governance was also important, but I believe the key issue was how to deal with dispute resolution. At that time, the concern expressed by the previous government was that there really was a responsibility on both parties to come to an agreement, and if you worked out some sort of binding arbitration system this could lead to the need for more binding arbitration rather than forcing the parties to find a way out of whatever the particular impasse was.

That is not to say this is always going to happen or that the parties who have signed this particular agreement are going to act in that way, but it is a concern in any arrangement where there is some binding mechanism. The concern in this case and the one the former Treasurer had was specifically around the fact that these dollars involve public dollars and the government should have the authority to make the final decision over how those dollars are expended, and that a third party through a binding arbitration model would then be able to have funds expended that were not necessarily what the government wanted to do. That was really the point in principle on which the discussions foundered with the previous government.

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At the time there were a number of suggestions made as to how we might find a way around that. In the event, the present government continued discussions with the teachers' federation and came forward with the proposal we have in front of us. I think we accept that they have done this in good faith. The concerns are still there, and I wanted to place those before the House. It is certainly our hope that the situation will not arise. We are pleased with the makeup of the commission itself and we hope that will overcome problems that could arise in the future.

I think the other issue that needs to be noted was that at the time of the debate we had set out that there was an unfunded liability and that this had not been covered when the teachers' pension plan was originally brought in in the mid-1970s by the previous Conservative government and that this actuarial deficit had to be covered. For that reason, we proposed that there be changes and indeed that both teachers and the government increase their contributions by 1%.

There was a great deal of discussion at that time as to whether there was any such deficit. I think it is important to note that not only was there a deficit, but the present government and the Ontario Teachers' Federation have agreed and accepted that it is more than was originally thought and that the approach the former Treasurer was taking in trying to ensure that we dealt with that—we had said we were going to fund the \$4-billion liability. That amount is now greater and that has to be funded as well. The concerns we had about the amount and the way in which future decisions might be made through arbitration were concerns that were raised at that time and I think are ones we still need to be aware of.

The process that has been worked out to share that unfunded liability, particularly to share any surpluses or deficits, is one that seems to meet with approval on both sides and with us, in that it will be shared and as we go down the road the teachers will pick up their share of that responsibility, whether it is in a surplus or a deficit position. We think that makes sense.

Concern was raised when the bill was first tabled about retired teachers. The minister is aware that there are issues the retired teachers' association has raised; I hope those will be dealt with and that he will be conscious of their concerns. Again, it seems to me from my discussions that it is something we should be able to ensure, that those teachers who are currently retired are not going to see their payments reduced in any way by the new investment policy the teachers' pension commission will have.

In closing, I simply say we hope this new arrangement will meet the needs of both teachers and the government and we hope the concerns we have had in the past around binding arbitration will not in any way come to pass. We would underline that the projections made at the time around the actuarial deficit were real and it was a concern the former Treasurer had at the time, that we needed to protect both those teachers who were going to retire as well as the fiscal soundness of the plan. For that reason, the decision at that time to ask each side to increase their payments by 1% was a legitimate one, and that is reflected in the present agreement.

**Mrs Cunningham:** It has been some time, I think, since we have had the problem and the challenge in this province of finding a solution to the management of the teachers' pension plan. Over a very long period, probably for the last couple of years or more, as the member for York North has so ably said already, an agreement to run the \$21-billion Ontario teachers' pension plan as an equal partnership between the Ontario government and teachers has been finalized.

There is a great deal of joy for a couple of reasons. First, the taxpayers of the province were left with a very large unfunded liability. Second, it took a lot of hours of negotiation to come to a conclusion which I am sure some will feel very proud of and others will have some long-lasting concerns about. Certainly in our party there are mixed feelings about this particular agreement. But from my point of view and as the Education critic, I have to say we are in support of the provisions of this bill, which include full funding.

The pension plan will be maintained on a fully funded basis. Full funding means the costs of benefits must be recognized at the time they are promised so we never get ourselves into the mess we have in the past. Enshrining full funding in the legislation ensures that an arbitration panel cannot make an award that will create a deficit in the plan. That is why I think we have to be watchful of the public money and the teachers' money down the road. Now that they are full partners, together with members of the government, we are ensuring that this plan will be appropriately and responsibly managed.

The other provision of the bill that we support is the matching of contributions. The principle of matching



contributions will be put into this act to ensure that teachers and the government share in the cost of providing any future benefits gained either through negotiation or arbitration. The government will continue to make special payments to repay the unfunded liability. As members know, the unfunded liability resulted from the merging of the teachers' superannuation fund and the teachers' superannuation adjustment fund into the consolidated Ontario teachers' pension fund in 1989.

The actuarial surplus in the teachers' superannuation fund, estimated at \$461 million, was used to offset the unfunded liability in the teachers' superannuation adjustment fund, estimated at \$5.9 billion. Therefore, the principle of matching contributions is relaxed during the transition period, which is from 1992-97, in the event of a solvency deficiency.

We also approve of the transition period. Over a long period of time the government may apply all gains, if any, from the 1992 valuation to pay down the initial unfunded liability, 60% of the gains in the 1994 valuation, and 40% of the gains from the 1997 valuation. The government will be responsible for the same proportion of losses if they occur, and any new unfunded liability will be amortized over 15 years. The right to the balance of the gains or losses will be shared between the government and the teachers. All gains and losses after the 1997 valuation will be shared 50-50 and will be negotiable.

It is not my plan to talk about the solvency deficiency, but we do approve of that area of the act. The protection from liability is another area that we support, and we support most of all the terms of the partnership.

At this time I would like to quote from what we said on December 20, 1989. "The only way teachers can have a meaningful say, like other members of our society, the only way they can be partners is for that partnership to have a dispute-settling mechanism, a way of resolving disputes between equals—a basic principle on which our society is based and which we support."

Having said all those things, I think teachers will appreciate that they have one of the best pension plans in Ontario and that the broader public sector will be facing wage restraints in light of today's economic situation. Benefit enhancements will cost both the teachers and the taxpayers.

When we have a public service sector such as teachers, whom we rely on to be the best professionals in the classrooms and in administrative positions across this province, at the same time we welcome the opportunity for them to have an equal say in how their pension fund money is invested and ultimately disbursed.

It is with a degree of relief that I see this issue finally come to a conclusion. What I am really looking for now is some public discussion on the challenges in education today.

We would welcome the input from the teachers in the future, a lot of input, around curriculum reform and—again I speak of something I spoke of earlier in the House today—around apprenticeship training, the concerns about our young people dropping out of school at a very early age, the concerns we have in funding education and new

ways of sharing resources so that we can be more efficient and so that the students will be the ones to benefit from the tax dollars we are all paying.

1600

The great concern we have about our profession is that we have very few males entering the teaching profession in early childhood education and in the primary grades. That was a concern in the early 1970s. We saw an improvement in those numbers, and now we see that in fact they are dropping off again.

The challenge of education is ongoing, and if we want our young people to be contributing members of this society, we will be relying on the teachers for their good advice around curriculum development and around the whole idea of funding, showing leadership in their communities, giving good information to their school boards, making certain their teacher representatives are coming down to advise this government—all parts of this government, whether it be the opposition or the minister—on the best way to solve the problems of today.

I am glad this Teachers' Pension Statute Law Amendment Act will have third reading today and we can finally put it aside and get on to some of the bigger issues that are facing us in education in Ontario today.

**Mr Hope:** I am pleased to be a part of the debate that is taking place this afternoon on Bill 140 dealing with teachers' pensions.

Coming from the labour movement and understanding the issue of pensions and seeing the landmark that is set here making the partnership of the teachers, along with the government and the employers, part of the mechanism that will lead to a prosperous future, I believe, as we look at the changes facing our society—and as the member for London North just indicated about our education system, making sure our young people have the adaptable skills for the future in this competitive world marketplace we are heading towards—it is important to show leadership and co-operation with the teachers and an understanding partnership.

It is a partnership in more than just words. It is a partnership in relation to their pensions which will lead us into the future of our children, because as we grow and develop with one another on the changes we must face in the upcoming future of our lives, it is important that we have the teachers on our side making sure that we address those issues that are facing our young people today—not only our young people but also the older people who have been displaced out of jobs through effects that have been no fault of their own and who are looking for retraining and re-education through our school system.

It is important that we start to understand how pensions play an active part, especially to our retirees. As I reflect on the retirees who have made the supreme sacrifices in the past and today, some of them actually live in poverty because the indexing has not been there for them. As members of the government and members of society, I would say we must honour our seniors who have been so dedicated to the communities they grew up in and have



developed over the years. It is important that we start to give them recognition.

Bill 140 is an important element in where government ought to go and where employers ought to go. It is very important that this legislation show its commitment towards both the working relationship and the partnership that has to be there in order for us to be competitive in the world marketplace.

I know the teachers and the citizens in my community feel that pensions are a very important issue. Throughout the campaign I heard a number of people both from the teaching and non-teaching professions. They have the ability to make sure they govern their pension plans effectively and efficiently for the communities they represent. There is one true job security that I found before becoming a member of this Legislature and that is a good pension so you can retire in dignity and not in poverty. I think this is one thing that will lead us that way.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Questions and/or comments? Further debate? Seeing none, does the honourable minister wish to wrap up?

**Mr Stockwell:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: We have two more members to speak to this, and I thought the official opposition had another person.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Do we have unanimous consent to revert to the honourable member for Etobicoke West?

Agreed to.

**Mr Stockwell:** This is a rather interesting debate that is taking place in this House today because it surrounds a very controversial issue during the last government's days in power. It is a rather interesting debate because I believe it shows the effect certain special-interest groups can have on elections and on government and on decision-making.

I got elected to this House because I thought it was important that the issues of the day were represented by elected members on a personal and local basis in some instances. I believe it is a healthy situation that members of this House be allowed to speak out on all issues as they see them, those issues affecting their constituents and the constituents in the province.

I know full well that our critic spoke up about this resolution in support, but I think it is also important to know that in our caucus and I think in any healthy caucus there can be dissent and disagreement about certain pieces of legislation that come before this House. I personally will not support this legislation. I will not support it for what I believe are some fundamental reasons that I do not believe are in the best interests of the taxpayers of Ontario.

Today we are faced with a decision such as this that does exactly the wrong thing and sends the wrong message out to the people in this province. It is no secret that we are in a very difficult period of time for financing, economics, deficits, taxes and so on. I do not think anyone would argue with the fact that this is an expensive resolution to this problem. There seems to be some relief involved that there is resolution, and there is some thought that simply because you have resolution, it must be good. I do not

necessarily believe that simply because you get an agreement it means it is necessarily good for the taxpayers.

I had a lot of respect for the last Liberal government in this House on this subject. They took what I consider to be a fair and reasonable stand on this issue. I think they were dealt a very severe blow by this union and I do not think in some instances this union was totally reasonable in its demands and requests. It really disheartens me to think that a few short months later, with the change in government, any party would become gun-shy of the decision it took not more than a year and a half ago.

What really irritates me about this legislation is the attempt by this government to pass off the decision-making, talking about arbitrated settlements and third-party negotiated settlements.

We get elected to this House to represent the taxpayers in this province. We get elected to make decisions that affect the taxpayers in this province. As we saw with the doctors and as we are seeing with the teachers, we are removing our ability to represent the people who elect us. If every time we reach a touchy issue or come to a difficult decision we suggest we pass it off to a third party, we are not truly representing the people who elect us. There has been much talk about caucus solidarity and the ability to allow MPPs, and MPs for that matter, to speak their minds on certain issues that affect their own constituencies. This type of legislation goes one step further. Even if an MPP wanted to speak his mind on this issue, the decision is taken out of this chamber's hands and given to one or maybe three people who have not been elected to anything, who are not representing anybody and who do not have to answer to anyone. If members opposite think that is what the people in this province are looking for, if they think this is the kind of democracy that will serve the constituents of Ontario properly, then we have a fundamental disagreement, and that fundamental disagreement stems from that specific position in this piece of legislation.

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The other concern I have is with pensions generally. I spoke about the Ontario municipal employees retirement system not too long ago in this House. I was very clear in my arguments. With this specific plan and other government pension plans, I do not think that in the next couple of decades the government is going to be able to fund these kinds of plans to the levels it is requesting. If the participants in those plans want to see funding top-ups, increased pensionable earnings or better pensions, I suggest to them it is well within their rights to increase their commitment to those pension plans.

We have grave financial problems in this province. We were some \$35 billion in debt before the last budget. We will be \$45 billion in debt. We are accruing debt at the rate of \$10 billion per year. We have unfunded liabilities at the Workers' Compensation Board in the neighbourhood of \$10 billion. Before this Legislature approves and agrees to more spending in this vein, I believe the public should be consulted. I think the public should be informed about what this kind of legislation means to it. Believe it or not, everybody in this province does not work for the government, everybody in this province is not a teacher and



everybody in this province who works in the private sector—members opposite should hold on to their hats—does not have a pension plan. They make their way and they make provisions with their own income for their own pension and retirement plans.

I am not suggesting there should not be pension plans in place for government workers, teachers, municipal workers, etc. What I am saying is that I believe this plan to be far too expensive and, as we will find in the next couple of decades, far too costly for the makeup of the dollars today in Ontario.

Last, I reiterate what this will do: It will take away the opportunity of future governments to manage the fiscal control of this province. The simple question asked is, how? The simple answer is, we are giving the authority for decision-making to an unelected body of one to three people which will control billions of taxpayer dollars. That is not healthy, it is not wise and I do not truly believe it is very democratic.

**Mr O'Connor:** There are a couple of points the member raised. I can understand some of his concerns. I recall about a year and a half ago, before the election, I had an opportunity to fill in for a pension representative and talk to some of the senior people in the plant where I worked. They were getting ready for retirement and one thing they had was a secure pension, something they could look at. It was something that was negotiated, a partnership arrangement made between the union and the company in trying to come up with something that was going to work. What we have in Bill 140 is the same thing.

The member opposite mentioned that perhaps not everybody has a pension. He is quite right. There are a lot of people in Ontario who do not have a pension, but does that make it right? Because people do not have a secure, adequate income to retire on does that make it right? I really question that. What is really exciting about Bill 140 is the partnership, the arrangement and co-operation between the government and the teachers. It is terrific.

When the minister presented this legislation on October 17 I was thinking, "What a progressive way of finally trying to fill in the gaps in the legislation as it was introduced in 1989." There are always going to be questions and room for amendment somewhere down the road with a lot of legislation as it is introduced, but one thing that has to take place is co-operation between the key stakeholders. Here in this legislation we see the teachers and the government sitting down and talking about it. The teachers should have a say in what happens with their future pension funds.

For the member opposite to say because some people do not have pensions that is too bad, I do not know whether that is quite the right approach. I think we have to recognize that everyone deserves some sort of say in his or her future.

**Mr Sola:** I would like to comment on the member's concern about compulsory arbitration because I think it is a valid concern. At the same time it also shows that the government does not quite live up to the image it tries to present.

I have a letter here from a Mr Conte, who works for PEGO, Provincial Engineers in the Government of Ontario, regarding their award for 1990 and 1991.

**Mr Owens:** Is this on topic?

**Mr Sola:** It is on the topic of binding arbitration.

"While the PEGO arbitration award may cause you much concern, let me clearly state that it causes me equal concern that the government would even consider any attempt to contest it. The award was granted after due process of negotiation leading to binding arbitration. There were no irregularities in any of the proceedings in any way whatsoever. The government had more than sufficient opportunity to formulate and present its arguments. The arbitration panel did their work judiciously and thoroughly before arriving at a decision. They did not take their work lightly and did not make their decision irresponsibly. Yet the government, after promising to abide by the decision of binding arbitration, decided to contest it."

In other words, the government is trying to be all things to all people. It is promising it will provide binding arbitration to the teachers, engineers, whomever, yet when the decision goes against the government it finds no difficulty in contesting it.

**Mr Callahan:** I think the member for Etobicoke West said it well. He praised the former Liberal government for having had the wisdom and, I submit to the Minister of Education, the guts to do it. We hear in the real world that people talk about rich pensions for teachers. I am 100% in favour of pensions for teachers who are committed, and there are many in our society who are very committed.

But it was the Honourable Robert Nixon, now the agent general in London, who had the guts to say, "We are going to take a heretofore unfunded arrangement and we are going to accept it." He tried to work out an accommodation with the teachers. I say that took guts because a lot of people out there who are not teachers perhaps see the public service, including ourselves, creating nice pensions while there are people who are homeless, people who are not being fed. There are schizophrenics wandering the streets of Toronto. There are learning-disabled children in our schools not receiving appropriate treatment or care, in terms of the numbers of children in a classroom and who are going to eventually wind up, God forbid, in some addicted form or in our correctional systems. And we talk about pensions.

I am in favour of pensions. As I said, I have great admiration for teachers. They are devoted and give a lot to people, and young people particularly in this area. I have to say I think a lot of accolades go to the former Liberal government that had the guts to stand up and take an issue that was not necessarily representative of everybody in Ontario and deal with it.

1620

**Mr Stockwell:** I would like to comment on the comments of the member for Durham-York. I am not suggesting for a moment that just because some people do not have pensions others should not. What I am trying to point out is that there are people in this world, mostly private sector, small and medium-sized business people, who do



not have pensions. Before the government can discuss topping up benefits and so on to certain sectors, maybe in line with its thinking it would consider helping out people who do not have any pension at all. Before the government considers topping up already very healthy pension plans, maybe it could review some people who do not have pension plans at all and who work all their lives in small business to pay taxes, etc, that pay our salaries and the teachers' salaries and subsequently their pension plans.

The other point the member made about a company and a union negotiating a pension plan improvement is well taken. I agree with that. I agree with negotiated settlements. I agree with bargaining. I believe in collective agreements. I believe two people, one union representative and one company representative, should come together and reach an agreement. Where I have a fundamental disagreement is that I believe in the public sector the elected officials must be responsible for those agreements. A union rep would come forward, an elected rep would come forward ultimately and hammer out a deal.

This is taking that authority away from the elected officials on the unions' ability to appeal and giving it to a person who has not been elected and is not representing the public. When the company people negotiate a deal, there is a company and a union; there is no third party. In the public sector, according to this legislation, there is a third party who has been elected to nothing, has no worries about representing the people and ultimately makes the decisions we were elected to make. That is wrong.

**Mr Fletcher:** It is a pleasure to rise today and support this piece of legislation. I am very happy with this legislation. As a former trustee who has supported the teachers and the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation in our riding, especially when they were on strike, I am very happy that this is finally coming around.

When I speak to the OSSTF members they tell me that as far as this piece of legislation is concerned it is a beacon for public or private pension plans. It is one of the first where the members who have this pension have some say in what is happening. They also have a say in how the moneys are going to be invested and managed. That is also a first. The teachers I have been talking to are very happy.

If I remember correctly, the Leader of the Opposition at the time, the now Premier, was in Hamilton talking about pensions to the teachers during the downfall of the Liberal empire. The teachers were saying: "What we want in our pension plan is some say in what happens with the surplus, because that is a deferred wage. That is still our money." We said we agreed with that and we have followed through. I appreciate that the minister has done such a good job in taking care of the pension issue.

The binding arbitration is one of the better parts of this whole piece of legislation because now there is a resolution for any dispute. The members opposite are saying everyone should have the same opportunity. I agree they should. Unfortunately not everyone negotiates with this government. If they did, perhaps they would have better pension plans and perhaps we would not have the problem we do have today.

I am delighted that this issue is finally being put to rest and that the teachers' associations and the government are on an even footing and are both working together to resolve an issue other governments could not. It takes a lot of guts, as was said by the minister, and also a lot of soul-searching by the teachers to finally accept an agreement that both can agree on. As I say, it is about time this happened and it is about time a government came in that was willing to listen to the people.

**Mr Owens:** I would like to wholeheartedly associate myself with the comments made by the member for Guelph. Unfortunately the member for Etobicoke West is not here. I think he must understand the argument with respect to pensions and the need for working people, not only teachers but all working people, to have a say in how their pension moneys are invested and how the return is set up.

I applaud our Minister of Education and his predecessor, the member for London Centre, for having the courage to take this agreement forward. We have taken a promise we made during the campaign to support teachers and will move forward on further pension reform as our term of government comes through. The main thrust, the main issue is that we now have a partnership with the teachers so that we can negotiate as co-equal partners. This is important for all working people in this province.

**Mr Jackson:** I certainly hope we do not get all caught up and start overstating the issues that are before us with this bill. First and foremost, the minister who is presenting this bill, at the time it was in the forefront of public debate, was himself a school board trustee in this province. He knows that his school board and his trustee compatriots had taken a different view from the view the government has taken to date.

Much of the credit really is due to the Treasurer, who was here in the House during those debates. Much credit is due to the Treasurer himself, a former teacher. As I have stated in this House, this is not just a recent development. On the very last day of the budget year for which the Liberal government had most of the responsibility, the NDP government transferred some \$500 million or \$600 million into the teachers' pension plan. That money became part of this debt, the \$1 billion that Bob Nixon had somehow been responsible for being out over when he campaigned and said he would have a balanced budget.

The Treasurer, to his credit, not only honoured his political commitment but avoided all the political flak in this province by sticking it on the back of Bob Nixon, the very man some Liberal members have indicated had the tenacity and fortitude and the tough-mindedness to defend. I can only say, as a member who has been around for quite some years, that I can recall that was when Bob Nixon took the very position in opposition that the member for Nickel Belt took as Treasurer.

**Mrs Witmer:** I am pleased to have the opportunity to participate in the discussion today. I have to tell members I have been involved in the management of the teachers' pension plan for a long time. I am extremely pleased that a



solution has been found and that this issue is finally going to be laid to rest.

I do very much support the fact that this plan does create an equal partnership between the teachers and the Ontario government. I believe it will ensure it is going to be managed in a responsible manner, that in the long term that will be in the best interest of the people in this province.

Our Education critic from London North has outlined very well the provisions of the plan and the terms of the partnership, and I would certainly agree with her that I support those. I am particularly pleased that it includes a mechanism for settling disputes.

1630

I know the discussion has been a long one and I am very pleased that the government was able to bring it to a satisfactory conclusion which I feel will be of benefit to all the people in this province. I would add, now that this issue has been resolved, that I feel it is extremely important, in all discussions that take place in this province, that teachers be equal partners.

I believe we found that in the last provincial election there were many interest groups, many lobby groups, supporting different trustees for different reasons. There seems to be a tremendous amount of interest in education, there seems to be a tremendous amount of concern. Some of the issues the public is concerned about are educational funding and taxation, curriculum development, standardized testing, apprenticeship programs and Bill 125, particularly section 50. I would hope, when discussions do take place, that the government recognizes there is a need for these interest groups, for these lobby groups, to work with government and with teachers and all other educational groups. If we are going to resolve the tremendous challenges facing us in this province in the area of education, we need a partnership where all the players can have an equal say.

**Mr Sola:** I would like to comment on the member's statement that this issue is resolved. I agree with her that it may be resolved for the time being, but I am afraid a precedent has been set in Saskatchewan, where they came up with binding arbitration for certain elements in society. When the government found the hoped-for solution too rich for its blood, it had to go back and repeal legislation, bring in former legislation, because it just could not make ends meet.

For instance, the auditor's report showed that for the last year, the Ontario teachers' pension fund got an extra \$196 million to top up the fund, and this is in a time of recession. Imagine what it will be like when the economy gets rolling again and inflation is even higher and interest rates—it depends on whether their investments are in long-term or short-term rates, because they will find that the fund will become a bottomless pit requiring more and more money in order to finance the teachers' pensions.

That is the reason I think the former Treasurer refused to grant this provision, that is why the Liberal government could not come to an agreement with the teachers' federa-

tion and that is the reason this government will live to regret this deal.

**Mrs Witmer:** In summary, I would echo my support for the bill and encourage the minister to ensure that all partners be involved in future discussions regarding educational issues.

**Mr Jackson:** This represents about the ninth or 10th occasion I have had the opportunity to rise in the House to discuss not this bill in particular, but a series of debates and discussions that led up to where we are today, passing Bill 140.

There has been an interesting series of new injections to this debate since the last election. The debate was much more narrow in those days, as I recall, but we are now hearing that the economic times, for example, should dictate that we look differently upon this legislation. We are hearing that some experience in another province perhaps will cause the government to live to regret the decision. I say that even though these are tough times and we are expected to make tough decisions, we also have to make fair decisions.

I have made fairly strong-passioned pleas for an opportunity for us to change the way we think about pensions, where we move it from a proprietary, top-down process to a more egalitarian, more equally shared approach to the investment, that society contributes along with the worker, who also contributes to a pension plan. As we move along in the evolution of that process, we are now faced with some leading-edge legislation.

I will be supporting the legislation. I will be criticized in some quarters for it. Some who supported me may not even thank me for my support of it, but I have to recall that there are several basic principles established in this bill which we in government from all parties could agree with.

I would like to suggest that teachers generally have become favoured whipping persons in a variety of circles. Both the minister and I are former trustees and we have gone toe to toe with teachers in collective bargaining. I will address the implications of this bill to collective bargaining in a moment, because I want to raise a few serious questions for this minister, for that which he has set in motion will also have some implications to collective bargaining in this province.

The minister will be aware, as I am, that teachers do not always receive all the very best support that a lot of professional workers can receive in this province. Maybe some of us get separated from the experiences of our children in their classrooms. Maybe some of us have had a bad experience with the school system. That only makes it not unlike any other profession in this province.

But I happen to believe that teachers are less a trade union and more a profession. As such, I am willing to risk that the elements of this bill are both fair and appropriate. Yes, it will be expensive. Can we afford it in this day and age? Clearly the answer is no, as this government has been standing in this House over the past three weeks announcing cuts in hospital beds and cuts to services for victims of sexual assault and cuts to children services in other areas. That is a very difficult decision, but the history of this bill



is that this was a promise made. It is grounded in a political threat that if the government of the day, the Liberals, did not concede to this approach, the government would be brought down. There is not a person in this House who did not feel the impact of that threat in his or her riding in the last election.

Interjection.

**Mr Jackson:** That is true, and if the member for Guelph is not convinced of that, I would be surprised if he ever turned a single teacher away who offered to canvass for him in the last election.

**The Acting Chair (Mr Villeneuve):** Please address your comments to the Chair. It would be easier and it would also prevent any other members from interjecting.

**Mr Jackson:** I apologize. Actually, the member had left the chamber when those members were responding to his comments. Perhaps he would not have had to interject if he had been here to consider what we wanted to say about his commentary.

The issue of binding arbitration is a very sensitive one. Certainly I raised it in this House back in 1985 over the issue of fees for pharmacists in their negotiations with the government. In the minority government in that period, both the Liberals and the NDP voted against it. I tabled a further amendment on binding arbitration during Bill 94, the balanced billing debate in this province, and again the Liberals and the NDP refused to support the principle when dealing with other professionals providing essential services in this province.

I can only hope and believe that the minister on behalf of his government is signalling to this province that it is prepared now to deal with other professional groups this government holds captive with its payments and that it will treat them in a similar fashion. The list is rather long. I think it would be cynical in the extreme if the only gesture of binding arbitration and trust were given to teachers and not to other professionals. I leave that as an open question for the government.

1640

I want to close my remarks by making a reference to the issue on behalf of teachers and their concerns about binding arbitration when it comes to collective bargaining. I do not wish to say this is a double standard, but the minister is painfully aware, having gone through binding arbitration and the reluctance of the parties to pursue it, that if it is good enough for pension plans, one should ask the teachers why it is not good enough in many respects for collective bargaining when in fact the stakes are not the profitability of the pension, but whether the children are allowed to stay in school longer.

There are several strikes currently going on in this province. The minister has not been posed with the question, but in his government's lifetime he will be, of when the government will intervene. Whether it is a community college strike or whatever, if history is true, they probably will not intervene. They have an interventionist third-party mechanism for pensions, but not when it comes to children's education.

Finally, I want to say how pleased I am that the teachers' federation can now put behind it its two-and-a-half-year battle with politicians in this province over pensions. They can now focus their energies, their awareness and understanding of education in this province towards curriculum reform. My colleague the member for Waterloo North articulated this point of view, and I could not agree with her more, that they can now encourage this government to participate in national testing. They can encourage this government to look at commonsense solutions to the financial crisis in our school system. I believe they will do that. In that peace represented in this bill, we expect much to come from the federations.

In conclusion, I want to reiterate that these are tough times, no doubt. We will be faced with tough decisions but we must also make fair decisions. Therefore, I will support this bill.

**Mr Callahan:** I want to clarify something. The impression I may have left was that I was against this bill. I am not. As I indicated before, I think Mr Nixon was at the very forefront of this entire issue and, as the member for Burlington South pointed out, took a lot of heat during the last election. I guess it was one of the things in the mix that defeated us.

But I have go back and say, having supported the bill—because I support the teachers who do a caring job for their students—one of the things that got me into politics back in 1977 was the introduction of the Hall-Dennis report. I have to say that the Hall-Dennis report, in my view, has created problems that any teacher worth his or her oats will acknowledge. It has created 64,000 people in the region of Peel alone who are learning-disabled. That is an issue we never heard of before. We only heard of it when we opened up that new, innovative process of open concept where the bright children did very well, but the children who were intermediate or perhaps slow lost a great deal.

I have seen that flotsam and jetsam of the world in the courts because these young people were pushed through a system where they could not stay back; they had to achieve and were expected to achieve. As I say, I support this bill because I think teachers in the main are very concerned individuals and have the same concern about the Hall-Dennis report, this opening up of the concept. We destroyed, I suggest, a system that 10 or 15 years ago was beautiful and had very great discipline, and we are now faced with discipline that is reminiscent of the 1950s film *The Blackboard Jungle*.

**Mr Jackson:** I would like to proceed with the debate and thank all members for listening to my comments.

**Hon Mr Silipo:** I want to say first of all that I had the sense that this was going to be a fairly standard debate, and I want to say how pleased I am with the nature of the comments that have come out. We have touched on a number of issues in discussing this bill that I think are clear in everyone's mind, that relate to the whole area of the importance of education in our society and the whole sense of partnership that we want to try to develop among all the stakeholders and all the people who are involved in



education, and within those clearly the teaching profession, as a way of ensuring that we are in fact addressing the issues in as co-operative a way as possible.

I want to say a couple of words in conclusion, first to acknowledge the work that was done by my predecessor, the member for London Centre, on this issue. As people know, the issue was actually resolved by the time I took on this portfolio and a lot of the work was done by my predecessor and by the officials in the ministry and also at Management Board in terms of the negotiations that went on with the teachers.

Whatever we may think of this, I appreciate the support for this bill obviously from all sides of the House, particularly from the opposition benches. As has been indicated, the fact that they are supporting this bill might cause them some short-term political problems; therefore, I can appreciate even more the support they are giving to this bill. I think it has been recognized that it does resolve a long-standing problem that has been there.

We can quibble at this point about who was responsible for some of the fiscal problems related to this bill, who was responsible for the liability that was there. As we came into office, we discovered that the assumptions that had been made in terms of the liability for this pension plan had been underestimated by our predecessor government and that therefore, in addition to the concerns that we had about the process of dealing with a pension plan, we also had to deal with the very real issue of the liability that was there. We have resolved it, we think, in a way that is fair to everyone by the provisions of the pension plan, and we have done it in a way that shows some sense of responsibility also in the way this pension plan should be managed.

I know there have been concerns expressed about the arbitration process, and I want to say a couple of things about that. First of all, I need to remind members that the arbitration process has a number of limits built into it so that an award cannot be made which would put the fund in a deficit position or which would be too onerous for either partner to pay. Therefore, there are some limits on the arbitration process. It is not simply an open-ended process.

But what is perhaps even more important than the fact that there is a limited risk to the government and to the teachers on that score is the sense that there is a formal negotiation process that is now a fundamental part of the overseeing of this pension plan. In that sense there is that partnership that is important in looking at this issue and resolving the outstanding problems that might crop up in the future. In that sense, there is a lot of merit to the structure of this.

1650

I want to say one final thing. We know, and others have touched on, the question of the fiscal problems we are all dealing with. I want to repeat the comments that were made by one of the members opposite about having to make decisions that are tough but fair. I agree wholeheartedly with that. As Minister of Education, I see that what we are heading into is a period where indeed we are going to be asking—have been asking—all partners in education in the broader public sector to acknowledge the very seri-

ous fiscal problems we have. It is my strong feeling that the basis of trust and support that has been established with the teaching profession through this initiative will assist us greatly in arriving at and building on that sense of co-operation we need within the teaching community in order to help us deal with the kinds of fiscal problems we have in the broader public sector in general and education in particular.

We know there are a number of major problems we need to deal with, not only on the fiscal level but also on the curriculum side. I certainly look forward to the participation of the teachers with us in that process and, at the same time, the participation of members of this House in that process.

This is a good deal. It is a fair deal. It is one that allows us to set a new framework which indeed may turn out to be not a bad model for other pension plans.

Motion agreed to.

Bill ordered for third reading.

FUEL TAX AMENDMENT ACT, 1991  
LOI DE 1991 MODIFIANT LA LOI DE LA TAXE  
SUR LES CARBURANTS

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 85, An Act to amend the Fuel Tax Act, 1981 / Projet de loi 85, Loi portant modification de la Loi de 1981 de la taxe sur les carburants.

**Mr Callahan:** It is always a pleasure on a Thursday evening at about 4:50 to stand and rise in this very important chamber and to have an opportunity to address issues of taxation.

There is no question that the people who are watching this program, assuming they are not already having their dinner, do not like taxes—none of us does. Taxation is a necessary evil, one every government is required to invoke when revenues become depleted. To be fair to the present government, we are going through a period in our history not just in this province but in this country and perhaps in the United States and other areas of what heretofore have been very successful economies.

For that reason, taxes are important. Having said that, Bill 85, as members know, deals with fuel tax, that is, diesel gas for trucks and locomotives. I guess we can almost leave the locomotives out of it because we have seen a very unfortunate event occur in this country. While the Fathers of Confederation linked this country together by rail, the federal government has taken steps to derail our rail. That is unfortunate because there are a lot of people out there who are train buffs and a lot out of people who could have been serviced very adequately by rail.

In fact, the government has missed an opportunity. I throw this out to the Minister of Transportation—I will not comment on his not being here; it is a Thursday night and he has to go back to a very difficult riding. We do not use the opportunities we have. We do not use the rights of way we have on the 400 series of highways in this province to run high-speed rail—like the Japanese. We always talk about the Japanese as being on the economic cutting edge in terms of being leaders in the free world. We do not take



advantage of that; we cut our locomotives. I suggest that if the government were prepared to accept the fact that you could run high-speed rail along the 400 series of highways—this gets into the whole question of Bill 85—you could in fact link places like Barrie, North Bay and points north.

One of the most interesting things I found when I came into the Legislature in 1985 was looking at the topographical map and wondering why northern Ontario was so isolated. It does not take a rocket scientist to realize the reason it is isolated is that there is very little transportation. In fact, the great northern railway just laid off all sorts of people and it is going to introduce buses. Most of the modern buses today, in order to meet the pollution standards all our young people require, are going to use diesel fuel. So what does this government do? This government in its April 29 budget taxes the commodity that diesel buses ingest.

This is not a criticism of this government, because it seems to be true of all governments: They seem to think the place you get taxes is to tax the things people consume—alcohol, cigarettes, whether or not you agree with cigarettes, and in this case diesel fuel, which is going to have a very significant impact on the success of the northern railways going to buses as opposed to trains and will isolate the north to a much larger degree.

These impact on the north. I am going to start from the north to the south. The impact of these taxes, this increase in diesel fuel, is not just one hit, but two hits. I find that very interesting. The budget came down April 29. My good friend the Treasurer stood in the House and read his budget, which gave everybody an increase. Here we are on November 28 debating whether these bills should pass. These bills in fact contain two hits. The first hit is as of the budget; the second hit will come as a New Year's hangover to any trucker, to any person who is going to pay for a ticket on the railroad, to any person, if we get into Bill 86, travelling by car. They are going to be hit with two increases—not one, but two.

I find it difficult to debate Bill 85 without at least giving some address to the question of Bill 86, which deals with the fuel we use to travel around this great province. We do not have any tolls on our roads. We put all that tax on the taxpayers of this province. This is an indictment of all parties that have been in this House. The first thing they think of is gasoline, and in an equal vein the gasoline of the human body: alcohol. That is probably a good thing. I am not against that, but I think there are a lot of people out there who are, because that and cigarettes are perhaps their only entertainment in life.

A lot of people out there do not agree with cigarettes, but when we find the price of cigarettes is so extraordinary and it is the only thing the average, everyday person can enjoy, we tax it. Those are called sin taxes. Every government figures, "Hit the little guy, hit the driver, hit the smoker, hit the person who drinks."

What do we do with those taxes? If I saw for one minute that those taxes were going into something positive in terms of looking after the flotsam and jetsam left as a result of overconsumption of alcohol or into the health

system to deal with the people who smoke too much, or were being used and earmarked, I could appreciate them much better. I cannot appreciate them when it is only a tax grab.

That is not an indictment of this government; this has been done by all governments. That is unfortunate. I find it passing strange that my good friend the Minister of Natural Resources, the member for Algoma—again, I will make no comment on his absence because he has a long way to go as well—in a recent issue of the Sudbury Star, November 23, said the following:

"'If Ontario shoppers don't get out there and spend for Christmas, the province could end up losing much-needed tax revenues,' warns Natural Resources Minister Bud Wildman."

1700

As I go around to the shopping plazas in my riding, the numbers of cars there are not the numbers that were there last year, the year before or the year before that. You can find a parking space lickety-split. That is an indication of what is happening to our economy.

It goes on to say:

"'It's a very serious problem,' said Wildman in describing the province's economy Friday.

"Wildman put aside natural resources issues yesterday afternoon to talk about the province's precarious economic situation during a speech to the Northern Ontario Tourism Outfitters Association at the Sheraton-Caswell Hotel. He warned that Ontario's economic woes could strain the federal equalization system, in which wealthier provinces like Ontario help support the poorer provinces."

He also went on to say much about tourism. Members should think about it. We want tourists to come to this province. Tourism is a very important economic indicator and economic job creation scheme in this province all year. What do we do? We tell the people who can travel here easily by car: "Our gas is probably twice what yours is. If you want to buy a pack of cigarettes in our country, it's twice what it is in your country. If you want to buy a bottle of alcohol, it's twice or three times what it is in the United States."

**Mr Stockwell:** Why?

**Mr Callahan:** Because it is a tax grab by governments that feel this is a way of taking money and taking away some of the pleasures that are left to individuals. Tax freedom day is now in August, I think, as a result of the combined federal-provincial tax grab. This means that the poor guys and ladies out there who are working their buns off to support their families cannot even sit down and enjoy these things because we tax them to the hilt.

They do not even get the benefit of knowing that if they get into a health problem because of smoking or an excess of alcohol, that money is going into creating the systems that will provide relief to them, to help them in their problem. What do we do? We are purveyors of items that can cause problems, obviously, but we are not prepared to provide the mechanisms and background to provide for these people.



What do we do to tourism? I recently travelled out of Ontario for a holiday and went to the famous duty-free store that is run by our Liquor Control Board of Ontario at Pearson International Airport. I walked in and there was a big sign: "Duty Free." One would think you were going to buy that stuff without any tax. I have to tell the people of Ontario that the duty-free store at Pearson International Airport—and this is not an indictment of the people who work there—is a crock. It is a sham. You can buy a bottle of Canadian Club—this is not a commercial for Canadian Club—in the United States for \$15 for one litre or whatever. You can buy it at the duty-free shop at Pearson International Airport for about \$20.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** You raised the taxes.

**Mr Callahan:** No. Those guys are in control now. The government House leader interjects and says it was us who raised the taxes, not them. No, it is a combination of the New Democrats plus the federal Conservatives who have privatized all this glorious stuff and turned it into a situation of "Make money on the poor traveller." I am going to bring this all around in a second, Mr Speaker.

You buy a carton of cigarettes at the so-called duty-free shop and it is \$20. I said to the young fellow behind the counter, who had nothing to do with the taxes, "Why is it \$20 here and \$15 at the border in Niagara Falls?" He said, "Well, you're at Pearson International Airport." I said: "What's that got to do with it? You are duty-free, supposedly." Duty-free is free enterprise, privatization, but sucking the public in to think this is duty-free. I suggest to the government that it get rid of the duty-free nonsense and at least call the shot as it is.

Going back to the whole scenario of this, we talk about tourism as being a major item in this province, and it is. It is tragic. I do not put all the blame for this on the present government, but we have lost 260,000 jobs as a combined effect—at least I will be that partisan—of a very poor economy, which is not just Ontario, it is worldwide, but I suggest some of the government's measures have certainly added to this loss of jobs.

How could they possibly not look and earmark every possible way they can increase the influx of people to this province in tourism and in other areas that in fact are going to create those jobs and replace those jobs? There are people out there tonight sitting watching us perhaps, if they have a television. Perhaps it has been repossessed. Perhaps they have given up on politicians. Perhaps they figure this chamber is a useless entity. Perhaps they feel they have to survive without the benefit of the trust they put in politicians. Perhaps they do not understand how this chamber operates, how it needs reform desperately, how it is no longer a democratic institution, how it is now an oligarchy.

Oligarchy means it is run by three or four people down there in the back office with the Premier and six or seven spin doctors who are not even elected and who are making all the decisions and bringing forward all the sexy programs for this province while people are not even able to feed their children, are not able to find adequate housing. What does the government do? The government creates taxes on things such as the use of your car.

To get to the real purpose of Bill 85, which deals with trucks and with locomotives, we look at what has happened in terms of our truckers. We all saw Queen's Park out here blocked by the truckers in a very innovative way, I thought, to get their message across to the Treasurer and to the Minister of Transportation of the day.

They were basically saying the same thing that was said in that movie *Network*. I thought that was beautiful. They raised the window and they said, "I've had enough; I'm fed up." That is what the people of Ontario are telling us. In particular the truckers, in the case of Bill 85, are telling us we cannot compete.

The April 29 budget, as I said, announced not just one hit but two hits. If they think they have it bad now, the truckers are going to wake up on January 1 with a terrible hangover, because that hangover is going to mean they are going to have to lay off people.

If members think about it, the trucking industry creates 228,000 jobs. They may not be unionized jobs, but there are 228,000 people who are able as a result of working to go home and give their children and their family a decent living in this tough economy.

What are we doing? We are creating problems for those 228,000 workers. If they are in fact laid off, it is not just the truckers, believe me. We all know there are spin-offs from every industry, and I think that is Economics 101, which this government should perhaps take a course in to understand that for every step it takes that interferes with one industry, it in fact affects indirectly a whole slew of other industries down the line.

There are people who repair trucks. There are people who sell tires for trucks. There are people who fix the engines of trucks. There are people who develop parts for the trucks.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** This is Economics 101?

**Mr Callahan:** That is right. Maybe the member should take Economics 1½. We should start with that, not 101, because it is too advanced for him.

I think that is the thing the government has to recognize, the fact that every little interference with the economy of this province it may think is minor—the fact that the government is going to reap \$90 million in new revenue annually will almost fund its \$700-million no-nonsense, do-nothing work program. Who is going to pay for that?

**Mr Stockwell:** The taxpayers.

1710

**Mr Callahan:** No, not the taxpayers. The truckers are going to pay for that. They are taxpayers, but the truckers are going to pay for that themselves. The government as legislators will say to themselves: "It's only \$15 a tank of gas. That's all it is. It will not do a great deal to injure the economy, just \$15."

I suggest to the government that the new diesel tax will cost independent truckers, who are small businessmen working hard to pay off their trucks and support their families, \$4,000 a year in new taxes. I say shame on them as a government. The fact is that they are going to wind up with this independent trucker having his truck repossessed



because he cannot make the payments. He will go on welfare, and the entire tax community will pay the welfare payments for that.

How can the Treasurer, a great guy, a very nice guy and, I think, a caring man, possibly think about doing that when we have lost—and again, as I say in as non-partisan way as I can, it is not the government's fault totally, but we have lost 260,000 jobs in this province to the date of this interview on November 25 on CBC Radio Metro Morning between Mike Harris and Floyd Laughren.

Maybe Mike was wont to use hyperbole, I do not know, but I accept that fact because my good friend from Nickel Belt, who is an honest guy, did not say: "You're wrong. It wasn't 260,000 jobs." In fact he said, "We may have lost 260,000 jobs, but we have created 14,000 jobs by increasing our deficit to almost \$10 billion."

I figure that if you are going to have a deficit of \$9.7 billion, you should have built into it a strategy to avoid losing all those 260,000 jobs or, in the alternative, you should have created a brighter horizon for the people in Ontario so they can anticipate that they will have a job, that their children will have jobs and that the future of Ontario is bright, like it was before.

That is not the case at all. What he says is: "We are creating 14,000 jobs. That is part of the \$10-billion deficit." It is very interesting.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** Eight of the 10 billion is yours.

**Mr Callahan:** The House leader says \$8 billion of that was ours. Well, we have heard from members today and I think, in fairness, the member would agree that some of that was magic numbers created after these people formed the government. They tried to lay the blame on Bob Nixon, the former Treasurer of this province, who I suggest is probably one of the most honest politicians who has ever come through this place. They in fact restructured—

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I didn't say he wasn't, but he had a \$3-billion deficit when he said it was a surplus. Come to your own conclusion.

**Mr Callahan:** I have to respond to the House leader, Mr Speaker, through you. If Mr Nixon was the most honest politician who ever came through this House, then how can they possibly have said the things they have said about of him? I know, Bill 85. I am back to Bill 85.

The trucking industry came here. They parked their trucks. I think the Treasurer and perhaps the Premier went out to see them as they were parked here demonstrating in a civil way, not breaching the law. Perhaps they were keeping the limousines of the ministers from getting into the House, but they are burning gas that they do not pay tax on, so who cares? In fact, these people used a very civil way of trying to get our attention.

They are saying to us: "You want us to compete in a market across the United States and what do you do to us? You zap us twice. You grab \$90 million. You grab \$4,000 from each and every one of us who is a small businessman, an independent trucker, and you tell us you are in favour of workers and jobs." How can these people believe that?

The Treasurer, my good friend and a guy I believe in, and the Premier went out and talked to these guys and they moved their trucks. Obviously they said something to the effect: "Don't worry about it, guys. We're going to fix that up. You're going to be able to survive."

I have news for the independent truckers of this province. With the large majority that the government presently has, it is not going to do anything for them. They are going to pass this bill. They are going to drive this bill through the Legislature. They are going to drive it through and they are going to drive those independent truckers out of work. They are in fact going to grab \$90 million from these truckers.

I find it passing strange that \$500 million was lost to this province for political reasons and nothing else. At the introduction of this House when the New Democratic Party was sworn in as the government, probably the only thing on the Agenda for People that it even dealt with was the question of not piggybacking the PST on to the GST. We were told by the Treasurer of the day that was a promise they had made to the people of Ontario.

Here they were, wearing their flowers. It was the new day. Everybody was being sworn in, and \$500 million dollars annually was lost to this province which would have been a tax on everyone; not just a tax on independent truckers but a tax on everyone. In fact, at the time the government did it, I suggest what it was doing was in a way funding the \$700 million it gave to northern Ontario for the so-called labour-intensive programs. They were laying that heavy on all the taxpayers of this province and at the same time they were creating and striking the death knell for these small businessmen who buy their rigs on time and rely upon making a reasonable living from them. They are in fact taking those rigs away from them.

If they pass this legislation, I just hope they can account for themselves, from a conscience standpoint, to the truck drivers who are already dealt with very harshly in this province. Are they going to be able to say to them, "Hey, I'm sorry," or are they going to be able to come up with some program other than welfare to try to give their families a decent Christmas, a decent livelihood, the ability to have a home and food and not have to grovel at the feet of government? I suggest to the members that before they vote for this, they should think very carefully about it.

Diesel fuel, as I understand it—and I stand to be corrected by the Minister of the Environment who is here; perhaps she can give us an expert opinion on that because thus far, with all the respect I have for the Minister of the Environment, she has been able to go nowhere in terms of protecting the environment of this province, even though in opposition she was so thoroughly interested in seeing that all the environment would be protected. Perhaps she can confirm that diesel fuel is in fact one of the cleanest-burning fuels there is that we know now that will make vehicles operate. Where has she been? Has she been at the cabinet table telling the Treasurer: "Hey, take it easy on the diesel fuels. We want to encourage the use of diesel fuels"?

Our government at least had the guts to say to people they could not use leaded fuels any more because they are polluting the environment. We did that at great political



risk. There were a lot of people out there, for whatever reason, because they could not afford another car or whatever, who were still using leaded fuels.

What has the present Minister of the Environment done? Did she sit at the cabinet table while the Treasurer decided to do a double hit on the truckers of this province in terms of using the fuel they use? I have to believe she must have, a lady I like very much and a very influential minister. I would suggest that she and the House leader and a couple of others are probably the inner circle of the cabinet down in the back room that I keep referring to as running this entire place, much to my chagrin, because I think if there is anything we have to do in this House, we have got to reform it.

We are absolute frauds to our electorate. We get elected. I see all these good backbenchers sitting here with intelligence and grey matter they could contribute, backbenchers in the opposition and third party who are not having an opportunity to participate. Why are they not speaking up? Why are they not saying to the Minister of the Environment, "Why don't you get in there and fight for no tax increase for this type of fuel because it is non-polluting?"

1720

Does the Minister of the Environment simply capitulate and say, "Sorry, we need the bucks because we have to use the \$700 million to buy the north a so-called business creation or job creation program"? It is really a sham. It is not going to create anything, if the members opposite measure that against the number of independent truckers and businessmen who are going to lose their rigs, be thrown out of their jobs and lose their trucks. They and their families are going to have to resort to welfare. In terms of human dignity alone it is insensitive and hurts enough, but putting it on straight economic principles does not make any sense at all. It is totally, absolutely unbelievable.

I imagine that if the members opposite had a ledger sheet and looked at the \$500 million the government gave up for a straight, strict, political promise—nothing more than that, blatant politics—\$500 million annually, the \$90 million it is going to grab from the truckers and the locomotives—as I say, forget the locomotives; Mulroney squelched that one—and then took the welfare payments it is going to have to pay for these people who lose their trucks and have to go on welfare, I would be willing to bet it would not take an accountant or a rocket scientist to understand that it makes no economic sense.

It may make great political sense, smoke and mirrors and all that nonsense. But if there is one reason people have sent us to this Legislature, they firmly believe that down here democracy reigns free. I think they should understand that is not the case at all, because the government of the day is placed into a straitjacket whereby the former Chairman of the standing committee on finance and economics got turfed by the Premier because he voted against the government. I find that absolutely outrageous.

They are looking to the government as a democratic body, duly elected by them, given a sacred trust to protect their jobs as truckers. Surely to God the Teamsters must represent some of these guys, or do they just represent not

the independent truckers but the truckers who own 500 or 600 trucks? Where is the Teamsters union down here fighting for its workers? Maybe they are expecting the guys and ladies opposite to do it. They elected the members opposite and gave them a sacred trust to protect their jobs. What are they doing? They are sitting here saying not one word in terms of their jobs.

What is the government doing for the young people of this province who look to the New Democratic Party—obviously, because it got the votes it did—to clean up our environment? When it uses diesel fuel as a cash horse or a cash cow to fund some of the programs it feels are important, what has it done for the young people? What has it done to their environment? What honest return has the government given them for their sacred trust? How can it expect young people to support political parties and vote in elections when they find that the government, by the implementation of this tax, shows a total disrespect for the environment?

The Minister of the Environment—I am sorry, I say to the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore, but I have to keep harping on it—who is a major player at the cabinet table, a senior member of this government, not only does not have anything to say to us in terms of all other issues in the environment but sits there while the Treasurer—good guy—puts a 1.7-cents-per-litre tax on diesel fuel after April 29 and is going to hit the truckers of this province on January 1 with—surprise!—another 1.7-cents-per-litre increase on diesel fuel.

What kind of studies have been done? I notice, and I do not want to comment on it in case there is some reason the minister carrying this bill—is the parliamentary assistant here? Somebody raise their hand. The parliamentary assistant is here.

What I would like to know from the parliamentary assistant is, what studies were done by the Ministry of Revenue in terms of the overall economic impact on the trucking industry of that increase of 1.7 cents now and 1.7 cents in the new year? He may answer me in terms of the process when he comments. I hope he will respond to that because I think that is very important. If what is going on around this place is a simple matter of, "Who are the weaker people we can hit? Who are the people who caused us a little problem by parking their trucks around Queen's Park and drawing attention to what our government is not doing? Who are the people we can hurt?"—I would hope that is not the attitude of the government.

Unless the parliamentary assistant has an answer for me as to what economic studies he has done to determine what impact this will have on the small, independent truckers of this province, the only conclusion I can draw and the only conclusion the people out there who are affected by it can draw, be they truckers, be they repairmen, be they people who service materials, be they families who are going to lose their homes, perhaps their livelihood and their jobs—if the parliamentary assistant cannot answer that, he had better go out and get an answer from the minister very quickly, because the only conclusion I can come to and the people I have just addressed can come to is the fact that this is just a tax grab.



These are weak people. These are the people we can hit the same way we hit people with alcohol, with cigarettes. These people will pay. They smoke. They drink. They will pay that extra money. These people drive their trucks. They will pay extra. They will never know it. It is hidden at the pump. Under Bill 86, which we will soon be debating, the people go to the pumps. It is like a slot machine in Las Vegas.

Yet the Premier of this province told us—you have to believe it if the Premier of this province says it—during the election that he was going to set up a board that would monitor whether the oil companies were ripping the people off. What have we seen? Absolutely nothing.

An analogy that appeals to me is that it is like a slot machine. If you go around this city or this province you find everybody up on the ladder at exactly the same time changing the price, to increase it on Fridays and decrease it on Mondays. If that is the free market system working, great, but I happen to think that the people out there who are watching do not believe this is the free market principle. They believe the oil companies are out there trying to get what they can.

Where is the Premier with his great promise during the election? "We're going to set up a board. Damn it, we're going to get to the root of this and we're going to find out why the oil companies are changing their prices so dramatically." He has not done anything. He has not done one blinking thing. He sat there and allowed people who cannot even write off the cost of that gas—they are not business people; they are people who want to travel from point A to point B. He has done nothing about it.

I find it interesting. I love to go around my riding and tally up what it costs at various gas pumps. I go around to those gas pumps, but travelling a bit further north and watching the prices up there—I am a free enterpriser, but when I find that the gasoline in, let's say, North Bay or Sudbury is lower than it is in my good riding of Brampton South, I have to say to myself: "Economically, does that make sense? They have to transport the fuel further, so there should be a higher price." Is it a game of smoke and mirrors? We do not know. We have no way of knowing. But those guys of the government, their Premier, the guy—

[Applause]

**Mr Callahan:** They applaud for him. If he can produce three miracles, we will probably have him canonized. But in fact what he has done is promise the people of this province a board on the election trail. He is on the stump and he says to the people: "You vote for me and I'll set up a board that will in fact investigate whether you're being ripped off, you drivers, whether or not the pump prices are a ripoff by the oil companies." He has done nothing. In fact, I feel sorry for the Premier, because when he took his trip to Europe just recently, the government had to pay extra because of the fuel taxes that had been added by the budget.

1730

Look at the people who try to travel. We talk about tourism being a major industry in this province, and what

do we do? We destroy it. What do we do for border cities? What do we do for Windsor, for the House leader's own riding, where jobs are disappearing left, right and centre because people cannot make a living because everybody is travelling across the border to shop in Buffalo and Detroit? Members have to ask themselves, why are they going? They are going because the cost of gasoline and the hidden, insidious tax these people are putting on are driving these people across the border. They are prepared to pay \$3 to go through the tunnel to buy gasoline in the United States because it is about half the price it is here.

Where is this government that constantly says free trade and the GST are causing all the problems? I agree with them that some of those things probably have created economic problems for us, but those people are not helping the situation at all, believe me. They are not helping it by saying to an Ontario resident, "If you want to get gasoline, you've got to pay the price."

I think that in his or her own riding, every politician should have branded on his or her head the exact taxes we extract from the people of this province in terms of their gas so that every time we go into a gasoline station we are a billboard for exactly what we are doing to the people of this province.

At one time, I guess, in the good economic times of this province, it was all right to do that, because we did not have any tolls on our roads. People who came into this province were able to travel free, which is not the case in the United States. They were able to travel without paying exorbitant fees for our roads. Our roads were always in mint condition, so it was worth while. But today what have you got? Today they are all going in the opposite direction and they are driving over the potholes in the United States and they are filling the pockets of the United States because we are driving them away with the cost of our fuel.

There will come a point in time, and we are not far from it, when because of our cutbacks and transfers to our municipalities we will not be able to create the roads without potholes for people to travel on. We will have the same signs they have in the United States, "Adopt a Road." That is what they do, adopt a road. That is precisely what we will have to do, because we are driving the people out of this province—driving them out rapidly.

I find it passing strange that people can sit here on a Thursday evening, most specifically—and I have to go back to the Minister of the Environment, because no matter what happens economically, and it is very important to the people of this province, I think to the young people of this province, this country and this world, the environment is the most important issue to them.

The young pages who sit at your feet there, Mr Speaker, I think they know what it is all about. They do not want this environment polluted. They do not want people going around using leaded gasoline. They want people to use gasolines that are neutral, or as neutral as possible, until the automobile industry gets off its duff and decides to come up with what it probably could have come up with 20 years ago, a car that is environmentally neutral. We are sacrificing not just the economic freedom and the economic stability of the people who live here today, we are



sacrificing the future of the young people who sit at your feet and we are sacrificing the future of their children.

I suggest that I find it passing strange that the Minister of the Environment, who is a key player in the cabinet, who is down there, I am sure, making policy in the back room along with the rest of the spin doctors and so on, cannot convince the member for Nickel Belt, the Treasurer of this province, through two arguments. The first one is, what about the people we represent, the people the New Democratic Party has always said it represents who are now perhaps at home having less for dinner, less accommodations, who do not have the ability to use programs or shelters being built for battered women and not able to provide for a health care system?

If they cannot think of it in those terms, they can think of it in terms of the young people of this province who are crying out to us: "Enough is enough. We are tired of what the adults of this world are doing to our environment. We want it changed." This may be a very small segment, but I think it is a signal that is sent out loud and strong to the young people of this province that we do not care: "We'll tax you. We'll add tax to your fuel to have you use a fuel that is perhaps more detrimental to the environment because we want the money. We want the money. We want the money because we want to do all these good things we say we're going to do."

I have sat here and listened to some of the measures of the government. Some of them are good and some of them are bad. The major concern I have is they seem to be directed towards a very singular group, as much as the Minister of Labour tries to profess they are not just labour-orientated. He says there is a partnership with business. He may believe that, others may believe that, but I am sorry, I cannot buy that. Even if I could buy it, the difficulty that exists is that every time a policy of this government is put forward as a trial balloon, the people who create the jobs in this province, the small businessman, the large businessman and so on, go absolutely wrangy.

There is a sound that reverberates through the small desk with papers on the little nail the independent businessman who is really just eking out a livelihood for himself and his family sits at. It reverberates through the modest desks of perhaps the medium-income type of business and certainly through the boardrooms of this country. We have seen it in terms of the stock market and what happens to it when there is some proclamation from this government that demonstrates business is no longer acceptable in this province. We hear it every time someone speaks in this House in terms of authority because he or she is in government. That has an impact.

We hear it as well in the press. The entire blame cannot be laid at the feet of the government. I will take on the press, too.

The press in this country and in this province have a great desire for using hyperbole in terms of the economic disaster we are facing and defending principles at times espoused by the government as not being all that terrible or supporting causes that perhaps are changing our entire environment, our entire province. I challenge them. They do not take up causes such as the fact—I am going to get

slightly off topic but I will get back to it—there are schizophrenics who are not being serviced in this province. The only time the press gets excited about it is when the schizophrenic jumps off a bridge and kills himself or kills his family. That is big news for the press.

You do not see any here tonight. They have gone. They got their story. That is all they want. We feed off them; they feed off us. If that is a democratic process, if that makes sense, if that creates a safe and comfortable environment for the people of this province, there is something wrong. The press have the same responsibility we do as elected representatives. They have the obligation to be here and write about the tax. They have probably gone home. It is Thursday night. They have gone to write their stories. They got their quick fix, their quick story, and they are going to write it. They do not stay here for the important issues in this House. They get their quick fix and they leave.

1740

I know what I am saying is going to put me on the bad list of the press. So be it; I think that is great. But I challenge them to start demonstrating the obligation they have to the public in terms of reporting what really goes on in this House instead of just reporting the quick story and then they are gone, or the quick bite on television.

They should be here to look at what is being said about the impact of Bill 85. Do they not care about the truckers? They reported the truckers when they parked their trucks on Highway 401. That was big stuff, that was exciting, that was a big news item for them. But when it is being debated in the House, the economic impact of the increase in the diesel fuel to put these people out of business, where are they? They are not here. They do not care. It is not an important issue.

I am not going to castigate members for not being here. It is Thursday night. There are only so many who have to be here. Many members of the government and the opposition come from faraway ridings. Unlike any time in the history of this province, we are debating tonight that a 1.7-cents-a-litre increase twice on a trucker in this province could very well be the straw that breaks the camel's back.

It is not like the past when it was fat cat Ontario, where we could pass a tax and who cared? It did not matter; it did not have an impact. People still kept their homes, people still fed their children, people still were able to do other things—but not today. Every three or four cents the government adds to the cost of doing business for a small business trucker in fact has doomed that trucker's family and himself to being on welfare or on unemployment. Members should think about that.

We casually pass pieces of legislation in this House, and I think part of the reason we casually pass them is because half of us do not know what the bills are all about. That is understandable when we have so many bills coming in all the time. That is one of the reasons this place needs reform.

I notice the former Minister of Energy is over there reading Designs. I hope it is an interesting newspaper. She is not even listening to the debate. She should be, if anybody



is, very interested in this because she carried the responsibility in this vein.

If people came into this House and truly understood the process and what is going on and what their representatives—who are not badly paid for the job—are doing for their constituents, they would make the French Revolution look like a picnic. Maybe it is time the people of this province started to sit down—I think they are looking at it. They see we are debating Bill 85, which is a tax measure. As I said, before it could have meant nothing in fat cat Ontario, but today three or four cents to the average Joe in this province means a great deal. It is something we should look at very carefully.

When we decide to spend X dollars for computer equipment that is not even taken out of the boxes by the government, the government defends it on the basis that every caucus gets a certain amount of money to deal with; this was raised by the member for Timiskaming. That is great. But take them out of the boxes, at least use them and at least use them to the benefit and the advantage of the people who paid for them.

I think it is time this Legislature reformed itself, started to recognize and take account of the fact that we are using tax dollars. We are using trust dollars. We are using dollars coming from people who are rich and poor. The rich perhaps can afford it. The poor certainly cannot, whom the members opposite claim to represent. What are they doing about it?

What is the government doing about the programs for rape victims, for women and children who are sexually abused? Where is the government going to get the money to do that?

**Mr Johnson:** Raising taxes on the fuel.

**Mr Callahan:** The parliamentary assistant says we are going to do it by raising taxes on fuel. If he thinks that is the way to do it, they could have had \$500 million annually if they had not taken a blatant political promise not to put the GST on the PST. That was a great thing. The government stood here and thought, "We finally accomplished the first line of the Agenda for People and everybody is going to love us." Now here they are. They are going to nickel and dime the little people in an economy worse than it was when the government members stood up here with their roses on or whatever they had and said, "We're going to give up that \$500 million because it is a good political promise."

The government had better think about it because I can say that the people in this province and the people in this Legislature, the people who have their heads screwed on properly, are going to be looking at it and saying, "We want programs that make sense."

I do not say this in a pejorative fashion to the Minister of Colleges and Universities. I asked him and the Premier and I hope this is something that is going to be looked at by the minister: Young people who have learning disabilities cannot get back into a university until two years have passed if they flunk out. That is a rule that makes sense in terms of kids who have screwed around; that space should be made available for another child who wants that space.

But we should clear the path totally for kids with learning disabilities and let them get back into the university immediately. We should encourage them in every way possible.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Please come back to Bill 85.

**Mr Callahan:** If they do not, then they need the taxes from Bill 85 to pay for the correctional systems, for the welfare and for the drug treatment and alcohol clinics these children will wind up in because they have been forced through a system by the Hall-Dennis report, which was a totally idiotic approach to education in this province.

Where was it that Eddie Shack said, "If you count the pennies"—something about the dollars will follow. I think that is what this government has to understand.

Interjection.

**Mr Callahan:** If Eddie did not say it, I said it. I think that is the approach we have to take. In the final analysis, I have never seen tax bills really debated. As I said before, that may have been a reasonable approach to take in the past because we were a wealthy province. We had the ability to be able to fund our programs. We had a plan.

I sit here day after day and I have to say I get more depressed every day I sit in this House. I watch the lunacy. The process makes no sense. It has absolutely no involvement of each and every member of this Legislature. It adds cost to it. If the government had meaningful debate in its committees by the people who know the bill best, it would not have to spend the dollars in terms of debating it in this place, where there is a lot more expenditure.

I mean that on all sorts of areas. We seem to think nobody bothers to look at it. I think the Provincial Auditor is a fine man. He investigates the expenditures of everybody except us. I chair the standing committee on public accounts and I think one of these days perhaps we should do that.

**Mr Cousens:** You're an excellent Chairman too; outstanding.

**Mr Callahan:** Thank you very much. I think we should perhaps take a look at that. Let the people out there who voted for us make their own appraisal of whether we are overpaid or underpaid in terms of what we do for them every day in this House or in committee.

I do not see how we can just let this slide through and say to the truckers of Ontario: "Sorry, we don't want your business. We don't want your contribution to society. You can go on welfare or on unemployment and lose your truck. If you're complaining about your ability to compete with the United States, it's not our fault. It's the fault of the federal government in terms of GST and free trade."

I do not know. That answer was probably a good one before we started to see the cross-border shopping, when we recognized that in fact the magnet was drawing them across the border simply because of the low cost. There is no question that this is a made-in-Ontario recession.

I have a note here saying that during the truckers' blockade, the Treasurer was quoted as acknowledging that the industry wants the diesel tax put on hold. The Treasurer acknowledged that, so he has admitted this is a made-by-the-NDP crisis. That was the trucking crisis. What has he done about it? The bill is still here. He



promised them nothing. Maybe they will be back tomorrow morning with their trucks. That might be a good idea. If they come back tomorrow morning or before we pass this bill and re-emphasize the fact that they are fed up, that they have had enough and that they are not about to allow us to get away with this, maybe we will sit up and take notice.

I would like to know what measures the minister or the government has initiated to offset the impact of the diesel tax increase. I throw that out to the parliamentary assistant too, in questions and comments on my speech.

1750

**Mr Johnson:** We haven't had a chance to respond.

**Mr Callahan:** I will give the member a chance, and I hope he has an answer, because if he does not have an answer, it means the NDP government of Ontario does not have any measures to offset the impact of this diesel tax grab on the truckers and small businessmen of this province.

I asked the parliamentary assistant about studies. I hope he will respond to that. I would also like to know, because it is really important, if the minister or her parliamentary assistant can provide information as to how many more small and large trucking firms can be expected to go bankrupt because of this tax increase. Has there been any study done? Has there been any concern about it? Or is bankruptcy the new name of what the government does these days? Perhaps it is big business these days, I do not know. Bankruptcies without a doubt have increased tremendously, and it has been echoed by many members in this chamber that they have increased significantly.

We have about 10 minutes left. I would like to hear the comments from other members of the chamber. Most specifically, I am very interested in the questions that I am going to reiterate so the parliamentary assistant, who is occupied in conversation right now, will be able to answer them. If he does not answer them, then I will leave the rhetorical answer to the public.

First, does the government have any studies in terms of what this diesel fuel tax increase will do to the trucking industry in this province? If he has no answer to that question, could the minister provide information as to how many more small and large trucking firms can be expected to go bankrupt because of this tax increase? If he does not answer that one, I have to believe there are no plans and no studies. There are three questions; it is three-question time. Third, what new measures has the minister or the government initiated to offset the impact of the diesel tax increase?

I thank my colleagues in the House. I have said my piece. Perhaps some people will say amen. But I want an answer, and I think the people of Ontario demand and are entitled to an answer to the three questions.

**Hon Mrs Coppin:** Can they phone in?

**Mr Callahan:** Sure they can phone in. What is the parliamentary assistant's telephone number? We will put it up tomorrow on a card so they can call him and the minister. That was the whip of the government caucus saying, "Can they call in?" Of course they can call in. This is a democratic chamber.

**Hon Mrs Coppin:** The number is 325-1900.

**Mr Callahan:** Is it really 325-1900? I will have to check before I accept that. I am sorry about that.

Finally, I just want to ask: Does the parliamentary assistant understand those three questions? Have you heard them or would you like me to repeat them? Should I repeat them once more for you?

Interjection.

**Mr Callahan:** I want to give him a fair chance.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Order, please. Address the Chair.

**Mr Callahan:** Just one more time, because he was engaged in important conversation, I will give him those three questions again and I would like him to respond to them for the people of this province.

Has the Ministry of Revenue conducted any studies on the impact of the 1.7 cents per litre now and 1.7 cents per litre on January 1 on the trucking industry? That is number 1. Could the minister or his parliamentary assistant provide information as to how many more small or large trucking firms can be expected to go bankrupt because of this tax increase? That is number 2. Number 3, what new measures has the minister or the government initiated to offset the impact of the diesel tax increase?

I have said that three times. I am sure the parliamentary assistant, who is a bright person, has got those and will answer those. If he does not answer them, then I believe all of them are in the negative and he has no answer.

**Mr Cousens:** As I listened to the remarks of the honourable member, I thought his speech reminded me an awful lot of the antlers of a moose. The reason for that is there is a point here and a point there and a lot of bull in between. I just have to say that when we have the kind of presentation we just had from an honourable Liberal, the member for Brampton South, it leaves me wondering where he was during the Peterson years.

[Applause]

**Mr Cousens:** I thank the members. It is nice to see all the dippers applauding a Conservative.

The member was there when they came out with tax increases. They increased the Ontario provincial sales tax, they had the health tax and they had gas tax increases. Those guys had the halcyon days when there was more money rolling into Ontario. Part of the reason we are into this recession now is the lunacy of their policies, which these people are trying to implement, but the member comes along now and pontificates.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** You had us on your side there, Don.

**Mr Cousens:** I know. I just lost the New Democrats.

The member comes along and pontificates as if he had nothing to do with the sins of the present. The fact of the matter is the four or five years of their reign under David Peterson, the late David Peterson, are part of the problem we have today, but I did not hear the member bringing that up in his presentation.

I realize we have a problem and I think the member addressed that rather well. He could have been a little more articulate. The New Democrats are making a mess of things and I do not think he said that enough. He could



have at least highlighted the way they are spending money in their cabinet and their offices, with extra staff and extra levels of assistant deputy ministers. I do not know why the member did not bring out some of the excesses the New Democrats are having.

They are doing a dreadful job of managing the economy. Their confidence is disappearing. What this government should do, and I wish the member had highlighted this, is cut back on the cost of gasoline taxes. That is what he should have been saying and he did not say it.

**Mr Johnson:** I do not know where to begin to answer these three questions in two short minutes. I will try but I may not get through.

What economic impact studies have been done by the Ministry of Revenue? None, I will tell the member for Brampton South quite frankly, but the Ministry of Treasury and Economics certainly and obviously takes into consideration all the implications of any taxes or budgets it is going to bring about in the province. Let's make that perfectly clear.

We cannot tax the American truckers, but let me tell the member that when I am going home to my riding tonight, I will pass more American than Canadian truckers on the highway. Is it not good that we are able to levy this tax against the fuel they use while they are in this province? That brings in some revenue from them that we do not get. We cannot tax them, but they certainly bring a lot of money into this province by driving back and forth in Ontario and paying their fair share of tax on fuel.

What number of small and large trucking firms can be expected to go bankrupt? That is a very difficult one to analyse. Certainly there are many factors and variables that would lead to the bankruptcy of any company, and I do not know that this additional tax would ultimately be the reason for that.

I would like to say to the member that Deloitte and Touche did a study for the Ministry of Transportation. I quote from their study: "With respect to taxes, the Ontario-based carriers appear to be at a marginal advantage over their American counterparts when all major federal and state/provincial taxes are considered." I will conclude with that.

**Mr Stockwell:** To comment on the comments made by the Liberal, the responses also seem to be bordering on the insane. Here we have a government suggesting it is really a good idea to raise gas taxes, because what we will do is raise taxes for the American truckers who are coming in here delivering stuff. We will charge them more money and thereby create more revenue.

The government members should get a grip. That is so hopeless. It is so fraught with pitfalls. They should think about it: The reason for raising a tax on gas is to get the Americans. Somebody needs to explain something to this government. When it is raising taxes on gasoline specifically, truckers in Ontario are going to pay the bulk of those costs, because, believe it or not, most of the trucks that operate in Ontario are Ontario. Crazy as it sounds, that is just the way it is. I think that is a bold assumption that I will make right here today.

The next one is, this tax is not going to drive anyone out of business. Nobody has ever suggested one tax or one increase is going to close operations. The problem is that it is a number of successive taxes that continually oppresses the private operator. He is thinking about taxes on gas, on his tires, on his truck. All these taxes that have been created by many levels of government cause him to be uncompetitive, so no one tax ever drives anyone out of business. Cumulatively they make him uncompetitive.

Last, members should never use that argument of, "Let's get the Americans; we'll raise their gas taxes." They will laugh you out of town.

**Mr Mills:** In the two minutes that I have to respond to the member for Brampton South I want to say I found it rather amusing, Mr Speaker, that the member for Essex South, who was the last Minister of Revenue in the late Liberal government, was hiding behind that post just down there to your left. When the member from Brampton South started to speak I saw his head poke around the post as though he was going to come into the chamber. Then he thought better of it and he vanished and I have not seen him since.

I do not blame him, because here we have the member for Brampton South, in his self-righteousness, talking about reducing taxes when we all know his party, in its short time, increased taxes about 32 times. There are about 400,000 people who watch the proceedings in the House, I am told by the research people. They turn on the channel and they stay with it for about four to five minutes. I am sure that this afternoon, as they watched the member for Brampton South, they must have thought they tuned into the comedy hour, because I have never in my life heard such a bunch of claptrap about taxes since I have been here.

He and the member for Etobicoke West can smile. They are the masters of tax increases, because when they were in government they put the diesel taxes up not once or twice, but every three months for the whole time they were in. They socked it to the people of Ontario. They put the taxes up every three months the whole time they were in, and that accounts for why that party is so diminished and why so many of them have been slung out. The people could not take it. They remember it and these members will never get re-elected. The people will remember this lot too.

**Mr Callahan:** It is obvious from the response that we have gotten that I have hit a chord, both in the government and in the third party, and for that I apologize. They seem to be upset. But I think, in reiterating matters, there is no question that our government raised taxes. If you look at my record in the House, I think you would be surprised that sometimes I spoke against them; very often I spoke against them. But we did that at a time when, as was acknowledged, the economy of Ontario was in a good state. That is not the situation now, and that is the point I am trying to make.

I want to leave members with this thought: Some 228,000 workers are directly employed. That does not count the indirectly employed people. That is 5% of the



provincial labour force. Truck transportation is responsible for over 70% of our trade with the United States. The increase the government is imposing represents a 30% total increase in fuel taxes for both railway locomotive and other diesel fuels. Finally, the NDP move to increase diesel fuel taxes is another example of the catch-22 the NDP finds itself in with its anti-business policies. Their mismanagement of the economy leads to unemployment and plant closures and lowers the government's revenues. Then they try to raise more revenue by increasing taxes, which forces more businesses to close, increases unemployment again and leaves them with a further revenue shortfall. This is a vicious circle of high taxes leading to higher taxes.

What the government is doing is chasing its own tail. With all the things I have just suggested, they are forcing businesses to close. They are trying to buttress it through wacko economic policies and they have to increase taxes to support them.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

**Hon Mr Cooke:** Pursuant to standing order 53, I would like to indicate the business of the House for the coming week.

On Monday, December 2, we will conclude the adjourned debate on second reading of Bill 85, the Fuel Tax

Amendment Act, and begin second reading of Bill 86, the Gasoline Tax Amendment Act.

On Tuesday, December 3, we will deal with the opposition motion standing in the name of Mr Harris.

On Wednesday, December 4, we will give second reading to Bill 144, An Act to amend certain Acts administered by the Minister of Agriculture and Food, and Bill 158, An Act to amend the Labour Relations Act with respect to the Industrial, Commercial and Institutional Sector of the Construction Industry, followed by Bill 86, the Gasoline Tax Amendment Act.

On Thursday, December 5, in the morning, we will deal with private members' business: ballot item 49, standing in the name of Mr Christopherson, and ballot item 50, standing in the name of Mr Sorbara.

In the afternoon, we will call second reading of Bill 123, An Act to amend the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton Act; Bill 151, An Act to amend the Ontario Municipal Employees Retirement System Act and the Municipal Act; Bill 150, An Act to provide for the Creation and Registration of Labour Sponsored Venture Capital Corporations to Invest in Eligible Ontario Businesses and to make certain other amendments, and Bill 143, An Act respecting the Management of Waste in the Greater Toronto Area and to amend the Environmental Protection Act.

The House adjourned at 1807.



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 O'Neill, Yvonne (Ottawa-Rideau L) opposition deputy whip/  
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 Sutherland, Kimble (Oxford ND) parliamentary assistant to  
 Chairman of the Management Board of Cabinet;  
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 of Industry, Trade and Technology with responsibility for  
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 au Commerce et à la Technologie
- Ward, Margery (Don Mills ND) parliamentary assistant to  
 Minister of Government Services/Adjoint parlementaire  
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- Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley** (Port Arthur ND) Minister  
 of Revenue/Ministre du Revenu
- Warner, Hon/L'hon David** (Scarborough-Ellesmere ND)  
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 Tourism and Recreation; Vice-Chair, standing committee  
 on resources development/Adjoint parlementaire du  
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 ministre de la Santé
- White, Drummond (Durham Centre/-Centre ND) Chair,  
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- Wilson, Gary (Kingston and The Islands/Kingston et Les Îles ND)  
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 minister responsible for native affairs/Adjoint  
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- Wiseman, Jim (Durham West/Durham-Ouest ND)  
 parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional  
 Services/Adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services  
 correctionnels
- Witmer, Elizabeth (Waterloo North/-Nord PC)
- Wood, Len (Cochrane North/-Nord ND) parliamentary  
 assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/Adjoint  
 parlementaire du ministre des Ressources naturelles
- Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine** (High Park-Swansea ND)  
 Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human  
 rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race  
 relations/Ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux  
 Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes  
 handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux  
 Relations interraciales



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COMITÉS DE L'ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE**

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**Rôle de l'Ontario au sein de la Confédération**

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Clerk/Greffier: Smirle Forsyth



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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

First Session, 35th Parliament

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Première session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

## Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Monday 2 December 1991

## Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le lundi 2 décembre 1991



Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers





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### Numbering of Hansard

Effective with the opening of the Second Session of the 35th Parliament, Hansard issues and pages will once again be numbered on a sessional basis. Hansard numbering therefore will become consistent with Orders and Notices and Votes and Proceedings, and with other parliamentary publications throughout Canada.

For the last two years Hansard has been numbered according to the calendar year. Under this system, the numbering of issues and pages was restarted with the first issue in the calendar year, regardless of session or Parliament.

Under the new system, the sequence of numbering started in January 1991 will end with the final House and committee sittings of the present First Session. A new sequence will begin on the opening day of the Second Session, and each succeeding session, which will be issue 1 and begin with page 1. Committee reports likewise will be numbered from the first sitting of each committee in a parliamentary session.

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## Table des matières

La table des matières des séances rapportées dans ce numéro se trouve à l'arrière de ce fascicule, ainsi qu'une liste alphabétique de députés de l'Assemblée législative de l'Ontario.

Il existe un index cumulatif des numéros précédents. Les renseignements qu'il contient sont à votre disposition par téléphone auprès des employés de l'index du Journal des débats au (416) 325-7400.

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Depuis deux ans, le Journal des débats était numéroté par année civile. Avec ce système, la numérotation des numéros et des pages recommençait au premier numéro de l'année civile, quelle que soit la session ou la législature.

Avec le nouveau système, la numérotation commencée en janvier 1991 s'arrêtera à la dernière séance de la Chambre et des comités de l'actuelle première session. Une nouvelle série commencera le jour de l'ouverture de la deuxième session et des sessions suivantes : numéro 1, page 1. Les rapports des comités seront également numérotés à partir de la première séance de chaque comité pour une session parlementaire donnée.

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Monday 2 December 1991

The House met at 1330.

Prayers.

## MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

### VIOLENCE FAITE AUX FEMMES

**M. Grandmaître :** Je lève mon chapeau aujourd'hui aux organisateurs de la Campagne des rubans blancs qui a lieu cette semaine. Le ruban blanc est le symbole de l'appel des organisateurs à tous les hommes pour qu'ils déposent les armes de la guerre contre les femmes, nos sœurs.

Il est en effet effrayant qu'il ait fallu attendre que le massacre à l'École Polytechnique se produise pour que les hommes prennent conscience d'un événement qui peut se passer à tous les jours chez les femmes. Ces événements incluent le viol au foyer ou lors d'une sortie, des coups que les femmes reçoivent sans pouvoir se défendre, du harcèlement sexuel au travail ou à la maison, des agressions sexuelles contre les enfants et des menaces qui peuvent finir par des meurtres.

Les femmes ne peuvent plus se sentir en confiance lorsqu'elles sortent le soir, et maintenant elles ont peur de se promener toutes seules pendant la journée après ce qui s'est passé au Collège Humber en fin de semaine.

Il est important que les hommes sachent qu'ils sont partie intégrante du problème et de la solution. Je les incite à porter un ruban blanc, d'attacher un ruban blanc à leur maison ou dans leur lieu de travail. Je les invite aussi à lire la déclaration des organisateurs et de participer à cette campagne dont le slogan est «Rompons notre silence d'hommes pour mettre fin à la violence faite aux femmes.»

J'espère que je n'aurai pas à faire d'autres déclarations comme celle-ci au cours des années à venir.

### LABOUR LEGISLATION

**Mr Carr:** I have an open letter to the NDP government from the Burlington Chamber of Commerce. It starts out:

"When is enough enough?

"The NDP government is planning a major overhaul of Ontario labour and employment laws. It has been said that many of these laws must be changed to level the playing field between management and labour. The NDP government says these drastic changes are an integral part of the government's vision of a partnership....

"Ontario already has North America's most comprehensive labour and employment laws. We urge this government to review the chart below which compares only a few of the proposed amendments, and some existing conditions, with some of the other industrial provinces of Canada and selected American states which are presently attracting Ontario business. A review of the chart leads to one inescapable conclusion—Ontario does not need an overhaul of these laws. Existing businesses cannot afford additional costs and restrictions....

"The people of Ontario will most benefit by efforts by the government to invite and retain employer investment in Ontario.... Let's avoid giving prospective investors one more reason not to invest in Ontario.

"Please—enough is enough!"

It is signed by the Burlington Chamber of Commerce, ACS Plus, Bailey Canada, Ball Packaging, Bonar Inc and all the other members of the Burlington Chamber of Commerce.

### VICTIMS SERVICES OF HAMILTON-WENTWORTH

**Mr Morrow:** I am pleased to help announce the opening of Victims Services of Hamilton-Wentworth. It was on May 1, 1990, that the member for Hamilton West asked the former government to fund the program. I am happy to announce that my government has recognized this need and funded this group.

This venture, funded jointly by the regional municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth and the Solicitor General, along with the co-operation of the regional police department, breaks new ground in services for victims of crime. The office of this program is located at the headquarters of the police department at 155 King William Street.

The community board brought together lawyers, workers in transition homes, information counsellors, community developers and concerned citizens to make the original submission.

With the recent hiring of a project supervisor and support staff, a process and manual will be developed to recruit and train volunteers to work with victims of domestic violence, sexual assault or traffic accidents. They will also set up a protocol for agency referral to help people in these circumstances. It is hoped that in 1992, after the framework is completed, a 24-hour service for victims will be funded.

During this commemorative week of the Montreal massacre, I am glad that my government is using local solutions to help women who have been victims of violence.

### VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

**Mr McGuinty:** This week marks the second commemoration of the Montreal massacre. This tragic event reminds us all of the violence directed against many women in our society. The official opposition shares in the pain felt by women who have faced violence as well as the pain felt by those left behind, especially by their families.

Today we would like to join with the men and women of Canada in extending our commitment to all those women and children who have faced violence and to those who might face it in the future. We are committed to working with all Canadians to ensure the safety of women in this province.

Nearly two years ago 14 women students in Montreal met a violent death on a quiet December evening. This horrible act of violence and anything remotely similar to it must never be allowed to recur in our society, because in a



just society one act of violence against even one woman is one too many.

The Montreal massacre emphasizes in a terrible way how crucial it is that violence against women be stopped. Our hearts, our thoughts and our prayers go out to the families and friends of these young women whose lives were filled with great promise.

Regardless of our political views, I feel certain that all members of this House will agree that violence against women must cease immediately. We challenge the government of our province to work with us, with women and with the many good men who oppose such violence to educate the public as to its role in bringing about an end to it.

Much of this needs to occur in the form of public education and we, the official opposition, are committed to doing whatever we can to help others understand that they must not only speak up against such crimes against women but encourage others to speak up as well.

1340

#### GOLDEN HAWKS FOOTBALL TEAM

**Mrs Witmer:** I rise today to congratulate coach Rich Newbrough and the Wilfrid Laurier University Golden Hawks football team. On Saturday, Laurier defeated Mount Allison University 25-18 to capture the Vanier Cup, symbolic of supremacy in Canadian intercollegiate football.

This was a particularly rewarding victory for Wilfrid Laurier University, a small school of about 5,000 students in my riding of Waterloo North. The team commenced its journey to the Canadian championship by defeating its long-time rival, the University of Western Ontario Mustangs, at the Ontario final played in London. One week later, Laurier came back from a huge half-time deficit to defeat Queen's University and gain a well-deserved spot at the Canadian final. In Saturday's Vanier Cup victory, Laurier running back Andy Cecchini closed out a remarkable career by scoring three touchdowns and earning selection as the game's most valuable player.

On behalf of all Laurier alumni and all residents of Kitchener-Waterloo, I would like to congratulate the Laurier Golden Hawks on a thrilling season. Your accomplishments have been a great source of pride for your school and our community and I wish you continued best wishes in your future endeavours, both on and off the football field.

#### CANADIAN AUTO WORKERS LOCAL 200

**Mr Hayes:** On the weekend I attended the 50th anniversary celebrations of the Canadian Auto Workers Local 200, along with my colleagues the member for Windsor-Riverside, the member for Windsor-Sandwich and the member for Windsor-Walkerville. I stand in the House today in recognition of this landmark.

I joined that local in 1964, long after the founders of the movement achieved great human and civil rights victories through courageous and often selfless determination. Born, as all unions are, out of often unfair and undemocratic treatment in the workplace, Local 200 was one

of many unions that won victories such as gender employment equity, job security, seniority and hospitalization benefits, pension plan and health and safety regulations. To reach these goals many men and women risked not only their jobs but also the mental and physical health of themselves and their families.

Unions, especially Local 200, have toiled for much more than just the membership. As a long-time community activist, Local 200 has been a driving force behind the United Way fund-raising, supporting and developing housing and fighting poverty and assisting the unemployed.

I am very proud to be a member of CAW Local 200, because it was through my involvement with Local 200 that I learned the true meaning of social justice. I now would like to publicly congratulate CAW Local 200 on its 50 years of dedicated service to workers and the community of Essex county and the city of Windsor.

#### VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

**Mr Offer:** Today I would like to commend the men of the white ribbon campaign and those who join them to stand up and publicly denounce the violence that occurs in society against women. Today we would like to join with all Canadians to work towards a society where violence against women is not tolerated and is dealt with in such a manner that the victim has the necessary support to recover not just physically but mentally.

We invite Canadians to work together by speaking out when violence against women is seen, by encouraging those living in violence to speak up and seek support and refuge elsewhere and by making it clear among colleagues and friends that this simply cannot be permitted or tolerated in our society.

The white ribbon campaign was so accurate when it titled this year's campaign Breaking Men's Silence To End Men's Violence. Those who are in violent situations are often made to feel that by speaking out they would be the offenders. In many cases women lack the necessary emotional and financial support to speak up against their circumstances. In other cases, those who do speak up but lack sufficient support are often victimized once again.

The willingness to speak out must not be from women only. It must not occur only in isolated groups. Men and women of all nationalities must join together and speak out so that women feel safe once again.

#### UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

**Mr Jackson:** I rise today to mark a momentous occasion in the lives of all Ukrainian Canadians and all Ukrainians worldwide. On Sunday, December 1, the people of Ukraine voted unanimously in favour of independence from the Soviet Union. Many polls reported that as many as 80% to 90% of voters supported independence. What is also most significant is that the Russian and other minorities in Ukraine likewise voted in favour of independence.

Ukraine now becomes the fifth-largest country in Europe, with extensive industrial and agricultural resources at its disposal to re-establish firm links with the West which it once enjoyed as the breadbasket of Europe. As a member of the United Nations, Ukraine has been and will continue to be



a great pioneer in the promotion of international understanding and co-operation. Ukraine will continue, for example, to remain solidly behind the removal of the UN resolution which equates Zionism with racism.

As someone whose Ukrainian ancestors arrived in this country almost 100 years ago, I join with members of our Ukrainian community in celebrating this great and long-awaited occasion. I now join with the free Ukrainian government in calling on all nations, and our Canadian government especially, to recognize Ukraine's independence as a fact and as the expressed will of the Ukrainian people.

To the members of the Ukrainian Canadian community I say congratulations, and to the citizens of Ukraine I say [Remarks in Ukrainian].

SUSAN CHIN

**Mr Malkowski:** I attended the class of 1991 graduation event at Marc Garneau Collegiate Institute in York East riding on November 22, 1991. Susan Chin, a young deaf student, received four awards: outstanding leadership, academic letter, outstanding achievement and the Loyal Order of Solomon, which I was very proud to present to her on that evening. Susan is an extraordinary example of educational achievement and leadership.

Susan is currently a student at the University of Guelph, studying environmental engineering. This university is an excellent environment for education and employment equity. To show its commitment to equality, the university this year addressed the importance of equal access to education at its third Abella Lecture. I am sure we all wish Susan the best of luck in the future.

**Hon Mr Hampton:** Mr Speaker, I believe we have unanimous consent to speak about the white ribbon campaign at this time.

**The Speaker:** Do we have unanimous consent?

Agreed to.

#### VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

**Hon Mr Hampton:** I want to say a few words today about violence against women in our society. As you may have noticed, my male colleagues in the House today are wearing white ribbons and will continue to wear them until Friday, December 6, the second anniversary of the Montreal massacre.

These ribbons symbolize our desire, as men, to lay down our arms against women, be they our partners, our sisters, our daughters, our mothers, our colleagues or simply our friends. For too long our community has ignored crimes such as rape, battering and sexual harassment. Each day women are the victims of savage, brutal and often unspeakable acts, and the sad truth is that most violence against women is committed by men they know.

An equally insidious side to abuse against women is a more subtle one. Through comments and gestures women are made to feel inferior, vulnerable and harassed, ending up psychologically and emotionally battered. Members may ask themselves what kind of men would do such things. It is men of every social background, every colour,

every age and every interest. It is men on the factory floor and men in executive offices. Simply put, it is all of us.

Today is not the first time this government or this House has called attention to the appalling way men often treat women. When launching Wife Assault Prevention Month in November, the minister responsible for women's issues told this Legislature, "Just as no man has the right to assault a woman, no one"—and that includes men—"has the right to ignore the reality of assault." One of the campaign's TV ads shows a man confronting his wife-beating friend at a backyard barbecue. Confronted by his friend, the wife beater falls silent. He knows that what he did was wrong, but hearing it from a friend is what makes the appalling effect of his violence clear to him.

It is horrific to contemplate that one in four women will be battered in her lifetime. What that means is that each of us, whether we are aware of it or not, knows women who have been physically battered, psychologically abused or sexually assaulted, and we have been silent. We can no longer remain silent while women are made to feel inferior, vulnerable and harassed through comments and gestures made by male colleagues at work. We can no longer remain silent while women are being assaulted by their partners in their own homes. We can no longer remain silent while women are sexually assaulted as they walk to and from work or school. We can no longer remain silent while women are being killed.

#### 1350

Because men are central to the problem, men can be central to the solution. Every one of us is chiefly affected by the people we know and the events we personally experience. So I ask my male colleagues in this House, you in the public and press galleries and you watching at home, to make a commitment right now to the women in your lives. In a show of support and concern, start speaking out about the indefensible problem of abuse and violence against women. Only by speaking out can we change a culture where the women we love are imprisoned by a cycle of violence. This week we can start speaking out to our friends, our colleagues and our relatives.

This Friday, on the second anniversary of the Montreal massacre, members of the government will find a forum to talk in their communities and members of this Legislature will find a forum to talk in their communities. Between 4 and 5 pm we will be distributing materials, white ribbons, and the message that it is not okay to threaten, intimidate and batter women. We invite all members of this House to take part. Indeed, we ask everyone to stop, pause, contemplate and start talking about how to end violence against women. It is a very important start, but our efforts must continue every day of the year.

When we see someone behaving inappropriately, whether that means making sexist jokes or making degrading advances, challenge him; ask him to stop and think about what he is doing. I urge every man listening to seriously consider speaking out. I would like to commend the organizers of the white ribbon campaign for speaking out. I know what choice many of us have made. That is why we are wearing white ribbons.



**Mr Phillips:** In joining our party in support of the campaign, I think there are some things in life that one rages against and says, "I wish I could do something about it." I think the minister's statement today and the campaign show us a road to do something about it. All of us—I have a wife and a 27-year-old daughter—do rage against this. I was struck by a comment I think Edmund Burke made, that all that is needed for evil to triumph is for enough good people to do nothing. I would like to think that Ontario is filled with good people who will not do nothing, but who will do something.

In just the last couple of days I was struck by three or four things that indicate the things we can do. The minister mentioned the commercial, which I thought was quite effective, that shows an individual speaking out and doing something about it. I was struck by that commercial.

Yesterday I had the chance to be with some people in the Greek community the Premier would be familiar with: Bishop Sotirios and someone called Lucy Gregoriades. The two of them spearheaded a program on wife assault in the Greek community. It had the full support of the bishop and of the church and of the community, and there is an example of a community that is doing something about it.

I think it was one of the labour leaders who just a few days ago said: "Several years ago I would sit and listen to sexist jokes and do nothing. Then I removed myself when I heard them and now I speak out against them."

Those are three examples for all of us of how we as individuals, as we rage against this, can do something and take at least some measures to attack this most significant problem.

On the other levels, I would encourage the government to continue to apply the full weight of the law to correct it. There are certain things we as individuals can do, and certainly all of us will attack it, I hope, to the best of our ability. We will be supportive of the government as it moves in a legal sense to tackle it. I would hope that as the time goes by in this Legislature, the need will decrease over time. We have a long way to go. We in this party fully support the campaign that is being launched today and have many examples of things we as individuals can do to tackle it. As I say, we will support the government as it takes collective action on behalf of the people of Ontario to eradicate a blight on our society.

**Mr Jackson:** I am also very pleased to be able to stand in the House this afternoon in support of the white ribbon campaign. It is a conscious effort by men to begin combating the violence perpetrated against women by members of their own gender.

The need for men to join with women in this battle has never been more compelling than it is today. Today we recall the horror of the Montreal mass murder that claimed the lives of 14 women, and today we also recall the tragically short life of Nina de Villiers and Leslie Mahaffy of Burlington and countless other women who have died tragically at the hands of men.

Violence against women is unlike any other crime that exists in our society today. Unlike other forms of violence, violence against women is rooted in the values and assumptions of a society which is controlled by men who have

tipped the scales of power between the genders in their favour. The psychology of male domination views women as objects, as male property and as extensions of men. Those of us who have been to the altar to be married know of the offensive connotation, the possessiveness of being referred to as "husband and wife" or "man and wife," denoting possession. Male socialization therefore has traditionally reinforced this attitude and has even been used as a basis for affirming a form of male identity. Pornography, along with other sanctioned means by which women are continually denigrated, promotes this form of male socialization as a legitimate enterprise behind the subtle cover of freedom from censorship.

The symbol of the white ribbon also runs the risk, however, of being overly simplified at best and problematic at worst. The wearing of a white ribbon does not even begin to address the problem of male-dominated values and of our institutions in society if it is left simply at this symbolic level. Many women wonder how far men are actually able or willing to separate themselves from their privileged position of domination in society in order to begin to address the suffering experienced by them at the hands of men who tend all too frequently to see acts of violence against the females as individual acts, unconnected to wider society values and of their gender role conditioning.

Women have a role in helping men understand how their positions of power and domination over women are a source of oppression for both genders. Men must begin to see what they lose as human beings in their relationships to themselves and to women as a result of their possessive and abusive attitudes towards women before they can start to assist with the reorientation of their own sense of self.

1400

Towards this end, we must begin to practically realize a goal of our educational system which I was pleased to put forward during the deliberations of the select committee on education—I placed this 14th goal of education in Ontario in the name of my daughter Amy—and that is to develop an awareness of those stereotypes and assumptions that contribute to the unequal position of women in contemporary society. Today I remind the Minister of Education that it has been on the books for two whole years now, and we are hopeful that curriculum changes are coming immediately to address this issue.

The white ribbon is also a call to men to lay down their arms, which they continue to use against women. These arms include not only guns and other physical means of inflicting harm, but also the weapons of officially sanctioned attitudes of male domination buried in our laws and in the men in our legal system who deliver uneven justice to abused women simply because they are women, including the attitudes of any government which is afraid of taking decisive action against hard-core pornography, or to hear the cries of battered women seeking access to basic shelter and support. The very fact that men are beginning to take a collective responsibility for their gender and for violence against women is a positive step in the right direction.

It is now time to move from ribbons to legislation and from legislation to program implementation, to practically



begin addressing violence against women and its root causes in our society. The fact that Ontario is the only province in Canada without a crime victims' bill of rights sends just one more message that the rights of men who are the perpetrators of violence against women enjoy greater protection in our courts than those of the women victims.

For the truly sobering reality of violence against women is that it is the only form of violence which has more subtle societal sanction in its favour than against it. We, as legislators, therefore have a greater responsibility than most to move quickly and decisively to ensure a speedy resolution to this societal crisis.

## STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

### CHILD CARE SERVICES

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** I would like to report to the House today on the two-part strategy I have outlined to the child care provider community over the past few days.

First, I am pleased to be able to tell this House that staff in non-profit child care services across the province will receive, within the next few weeks, up to \$2,000 each in wage enhancements, which were announced last January. The child care wage enhancements will affect all staff, including child care workers, office staff, cooks, drivers, cleaning personnel and others employed by non-profit child care services. These enhancements will be paid from the \$30-million fund announced by my predecessor. The payments I am announcing today will be prorated and retroactive to January 1, 1991.

Second, this government is allocating up to \$75 million for a variety of initiatives in the child care service sector. These are designed to facilitate the conversion of for-profit child care operations to non-profit services and to strengthen the non-profit sector. Because of difficult financial times and because our child care system is under increasing stress, this money will be allocated in a strategic way over the next five years so that the needs of families for high-quality licensed care can be met effectively by the non-profit sector.

The estimated expenditures will include \$16 million for non-profit organizations to allow them to purchase toys and equipment from for-profit child care services wishing to convert to non-profit; \$31 million to staff of child care services that have converted to non-profit so that they receive the benefit of full direct operating grants and the \$2,000 salary enhancement once the conversion process is complete; \$10 million for replacement of for-profit services which may close as opposed to converting; \$10.8 million to assist non-profit services currently in financial difficulty because of declining enrolments, attributable partly to the recession and partly to our current distribution of subsidized spaces. The remaining money will be available for such things as legal fees for the incorporation of new non-profit organizations and assistance to new non-profit boards of directors.

The funding I have announced reflects this government's determination to focus government spending on non-profit child care services. This government has a long-standing conviction that taxpayers' dollars are best

spent in the non-profit child care sector. We will continue to work towards pay equity solutions for all low-wage women workers but will honour our commitment to accelerate the wage redress for staff in the non-profit child care sector.

Our intention with the conversion strategy is to provide provincial assistance to facilitate the conversion of up to half of all existing for-profit child care operations in the province to non-profit over the next five years. Our funding will be carefully targeted to ensure that conversion occurs most expeditiously where no non-profit spaces are available. Once conversion is achieved, the new non-profit organization will be eligible for enhanced government funding through wage adjustment and the full direct operating grants.

The ministry will continue to license for-profit child care centres where they meet licensing requirements. Those centres, however, should base their funding and their business plans on non-reliance on government funding. For-profit centres which currently receive direct operating grants will continue to do so. Those for-profit centres currently having subsidy contracts with municipalities will continue to be eligible for subsidy payments. After January 1, 1992, however, we will ask municipalities to agree that any new fee subsidies be directed to non-profit child care programs unless the municipality is able to show the ministry that non-profit child care is unavailable.

As well, the ministry, in consultation with the for-profit sector, will develop mechanisms to ensure that financial and program information is accessible to parents whose children are served by those providers. In this way we will address the persistent problem of accountability to consumers in the service sector where those served are highly vulnerable children.

The government recognizes the considerable contribution the for-profit child care sector has made and continues to make in this province. Prior to 1981, when this ministry began funding new non-profit child care services to help with startup costs, most non-profit services were municipal or charitable organizations. Historically, for-profit organizations filled a vacuum in the absence of government funding and policy. Even today in some communities, for-profit child care services are the only services available.

For-profit child care providers have made a substantial investment in time, effort, dollars and care for the children in their charge. We understand their concerns and we will make every effort to take these issues into account in our deliberations with for-profit services wishing to convert.

1410

## RESPONSES

### CHILD CARE SERVICES

**Ms Poole:** Obviously the minister's announcement today does not come as a surprise. I too can read the newspapers. I also remember when the previous minister made the same announcement about the \$30 million 10 months ago. That \$30 million to improve child care workers' salaries is long overdue.



We must all acknowledge that child care workers are terribly underpaid, but if we agree that our children deserve quality child care, then surely we must also agree that their care givers deserve a salary that compensates them fairly and recognizes the important contribution they make. That is why the Liberal government targeted \$60 million to enhancing child care workers' salaries in both the non-profit and commercial sectors.

Perhaps we should put this more in perspective. If you look at our highest-paid professionals, our physicians, our doctors, they received \$484 million from this government. The average doctor in Ontario is making \$125,000 and the average increase was \$12,000. I do not begrudge the doctors anything, but I wonder where this government's priorities are, because it gives \$30 million to child care workers, who are the lowest-paid professionals in the province, earning an average of \$19,000. That \$2,000 they will be getting is not an average. The highest amount they will be getting is \$2,000.

While I am pleased the minister was finally able to extract this money from the clutches of the Treasurer, I am dismayed by the cynicism and arrogance that has been displayed. First of all, the government stalled for 10 months after announcing last January that it would provide this money for child care workers. The workers waited and waited, and until now they have not seen a dime. Then on the eve of the annual lobby for the Ontario Coalition for Better Child Care, the minister came through. What a surprise.

I can tell members that the reaction the NDP caucus received in the coalition's lobby this morning would have been far different had that announcement not been made. I also doubt that the Premier and 11 cabinet ministers would have shown up at the coalition's lobby had that announcement not been made. At the same time, the poor Minister of Community and Social Services was left to fend for herself at the lobby with the private child care operators. The Premier and the cabinet ministers did not want to show up for that one.

That leads me to my second point. The minister has also announced that the NDP government will be spending \$75 million to convert commercial child care centres to non-profit. What the minister and this government have done is to declare war on the private day care sector. Just as this government's rigid ideology has thrown the housing sector into chaos, just as it has threatened to eliminate the private sector involvement in auto insurance, this NDP government has now set out to destroy the jobs of 6,500 workers in the commercial child care sector. The worst part of this particular war is that it is being waged on the backs of children.

The real problem with this announcement is that it totals \$105 million, yet it will not put one more child into the child care system; it will not help one parent get back into the workforce; it will not create one subsidized space and it will not create one job. Not only will it not create one job; it has the effect of losing 6,500 jobs.

What about the NDP's much-vaunted desire to consult before making major changes? There was no consultation. In fact, the minister did not even have the grace to let the

private sector know it was out of business in Ontario before she made the announcement. They found out because the media came to them and asked them what was happening. The minister admitted today that to include the private providers would have been a pretence. She had no intention of compromising. She had made up her mind and did not want to be bothered with the facts.

What this government has to realize is that child care providers, parents and children across this province are not content with piecemeal solutions and offerings. We want a long-term strategic approach so that our child care sector will not be thrown into chaos.

**Mr Jackson:** Words cannot express how angry we are at this declared war the government has undertaken with the private child care sector, its workers and the children who benefit from its services.

I am pleased that the Premier and Treasurer are here in the House today, because I want them to realize one important element of this: Not one job is going to be created with this injection of almost \$100 million that the government is now committing; not one more child will gain access to a day care centre in this province with that expenditure. In these economic times, one would clearly have expected that this government's priority would be to improve access for children and their families who do not have access to these day care spaces.

When he campaigned in the last election, the Premier said he was going to bring in pay equity for all day care workers in this province. When the Premier campaigned, he promised 10,000 subsidized day care spaces per year. Last year he announced, "We've changed our minds." He did not lie about it; he simply changed his mind. He said, "We're now only going to pay day care workers in non-profit centres."

This government decided it was going to discriminate against these 6,500 women in this province, and then the Premier said, "By the way, we've got only enough funding for 5,000 day care spaces instead of 10,000." Here we are a year later. He did not give the money to the day care workers in the last year, as was promised, and I understand the 5,000 subsidized spaces are something in the order of 3,100 or 3,400 spaces because municipalities are not taking up the program. Where is the sense of real commitment to day care in this province?

Now we have a Premier who tells us he is going to spend \$30 million to pay for back salaries for a year. I want him to know there are dozens of day care centres in the non-profit sector alone which have gone bankrupt and gone under and collapsed in the last year. There are hundreds of workers in welfare lines or on unemployment insurance who will not get the benefit of this payment. Why? Because this government played politics with those women workers. This government said they were expendable in its campaign to drive the private sector out of social services. That is what this government has achieved with this money.

A year ago the Minister of Community and Social Services said they were going to develop a fund to help convert the private sector into non-profit. She did not lie. She actually believed the Treasurer was going to give her the



money. When we asked, we found out there is no money. How can we believe that today's announcement is any different from what the minister said at the time of the election, what she said a year ago to day care operators and parents in this province or what she said during estimates of her own ministry, that she in fact was going to help? She has not; this ministry cannot.

Earlier last week I indicated there were Orders and Notices questions that have been sitting there for seven months, basic questions about which centres are closing, private and non-profit, and the sizes of their deficits. Do members know what this government says? "We don't keep these statistics." Yet we are led to believe the Treasurer is going to spend \$10.8 million to help out of their morass the non-profit centres that are going bankrupt. This government cannot even tell us how many are in trouble and how deeply they are in trouble, yet it is going to throw that kind of money at it. This government has no accountability, no sense of understanding about how these day care centres are trying to survive.

In the last year, this government has spent millions of dollars in Hamilton to build seven new day care centres, yet 12 day care programs collapsed in Hamilton in the last year. How can this government abuse taxpayers' dollars in such a cavalier fashion? These centres are sitting there today half empty, and all that money was spent allegedly in the best interests of the taxpayer.

The truth is this government is throwing millions of dollars down the drain. Not one job will be created with this announcement. Not one child will gain access. This is an expensive, made-in-Cuba day care policy, and this government shall be held accountable for driving 6,500 workers out of the marketplace and for driving 600 predominantly female owners of businesses out of business in this province. The minister should be ashamed of her announcement in this House. It is nothing for her to be proud of.

1420

## ORAL QUESTIONS

### GOVERNMENT POLICY

**Mr Bradley:** I have a question for the Premier. The Treasurer is bothering the Premier at this time, but I am going to try to ask a question of the Premier.

I would like to refer to the secret NDP memo which was leaked last week in the name of the chief government whip, the one that had to do with the Consultation Central Co-ordinating Committee, which I call the political consultation committee, the one, as members will recall, that talks about how the government could increase its profile using taxpayers' money.

It says in the document that on December 3 this is going to the NDP caucus. This committee, which was to maximize the government's profile, was to establish a new base or a broader base in Ontario and it was for mailing out documents, keeping lists and using names creatively. It was all to be based on the budget committee approach of last summer, which is very interesting. When caught in the

act, the Premier fired Jill Marzetti, who is the NDP secretary, from this particular committee.

I ask the Premier, now that he has had the weekend to reflect upon this—he has had a week in fact to reflect upon this—will he either discontinue this committee completely, or will he at the very least replace the NDP political operatives on the committee with public servants who can carry out an appropriate, non-partisan consultation with the people of this province?

**Hon Mr Rae:** The government is going to continue to try to consult with as many people as it can across the province. We are going to do this in a fair way. Of course, there will be people who are on ministers' staffs who are involved in this, as there will be people who are public servants. It is only natural that this take place in the life of a government.

**Mr Bradley:** Also last week in this House we talked about polls. One would not have expected this action with this committee on the part of the government from what we heard in the election campaign and certainly in all the years in opposition. Nor would we have expected this government to be spending money on public opinion polls, mainly because the Premier, when he was opposition leader, indicated that he was opposed to governing by public opinion polls. He had all the answers then and he had all of the policies that were necessary for Ontario.

Again, having reflected over the past weekend about this issue, is the Premier either prepared to go back to the policy he enunciated in the opposition of not conducting public opinion polls with taxpayers' money and then keeping the information for himself and the NDP caucus or, at the very least, if he is determined that he is going to abandon that particular policy, prepared to table immediately today the results of those public opinion polls so that all the people in the Legislature and all the people of Ontario who paid for them can see the results?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Again, the policy and practice of the government are clear. When the material is ready, it will be tabled in the House in the ordinary course of events.

**Mr Bradley:** My final supplementary deals again with the policy that one would have expected. I know many of the NDP members who are sitting in the House today ran on a policy of openness and allowing expression of opinion among government members of the Legislature.

When the member for Lincoln exercised his right to vote against a bill which in fact was bad for his constituents from his point of view, and when the member for Welland-Thorold expressed a viewpoint in the standing committee on administration of justice which was contrary to the line put out by the Premier's office on Sunday shopping, both of them were turfed from the committee, one as the Chairman, with a loss of over \$9,000 in pay, the other as a member of the committee.

Again, upon reflection, is the Premier now prepared to reinstate these individuals—they have been in the penalty box long enough—and demonstrate to the people of Ontario that the Premier's office is not going to use a sledgehammer on all government members who dare to dissent from him and his group in Toronto?



**Hon Mr Rae:** I am delighted to respond to the question by saying to the Leader of the Opposition that he knows our House leader has made a proposal to the other House leaders, with respect to intensive work we want to see carried on over the next few months with respect to parliamentary reform, which will deal with a number of issues he has touched on today.

**Mr Bradley:** The only thing that has to be reformed is the attitude of the Premier to this particular issue.

#### ONTARIO ECONOMY

**Mr Bradley:** Now that the Premier has recovered from the jet lag from his trip to Europe that obviously plagued him last week, from the answers he gave in the House, I would like to ask a neo-isolationist question. I am a neo-isolationist—I plead guilty to that—because I am someone who is more concerned about London, Paris and Oxford, Ontario, than I am about those same communities in Europe.

The province received more bad economic news on the weekend. Statistics Canada said that the national economy shrank in September for the second month in a row. Canadian consumers spent only 0.2% more in the third quarter than in the second. If things are that bad across Canada, we can be sure they are that bad in Ontario.

In this province, October business bankruptcies were up 36%. Dylex, one of the province's largest retailers, decided to close its Town and Country women's stores across Canada, including 23 in Ontario. IBM—you will be interested in this because you are from Toronto, Mr Speaker—announced the elimination of 2,000 Canadian jobs, 80% of them in Toronto.

While Ontario taxpayers watch credit agencies threatening to lower the province's rating, the Premier seems to be content to float as his main economic initiative antibusiness legislation that will only drive more companies away. What does the Premier say to the 470,000 Ontario workers who are without jobs and who are wondering where the government's economic renewal plan is and why the Premier is not getting them back to work?

**Hon Mr Rae:** The government is working with all sectors of the community and other governments across Canada to ensure we do have a strong renewal taking place across the province. I know it is the job of the Leader of the Opposition to run everything down, and perhaps he may feel that way, but there are companies across the world choosing to invest in this province. There are businesses around the world investing in Ontario and increasing their investment in Ontario.

The Leader of the Opposition cannot have it both ways. He cannot condemn us for economic policies and at the same time ask us to spend even more money than we are now investing in the economy. We are investing as much money as we possibly can and we are engaged in as much work as we possibly can be with other governments and our private sector partners to ensure we have a healthy and strong recovery in Ontario.

**Mr Bradley:** To get the economy moving again, this government must gain the confidence of the business community, which is the main employer in Ontario. Instead of

gaining their trust, the Premier is driving companies away with his NDP policies, his legislation, his regulations and his rhetoric and that of his ministers.

Groups from New York state which are interested in economic development say they are getting many calls from Ontario companies asking about moving to the United States. More than 35% of the Canadian companies actually going to northern New York state are high-employment manufacturing companies. In Ontario, 36% of small companies say they might relocate in the United States because of the policies of the Rae government.

As more employers complain about the government's economic program, can the Premier tell the House what policies he has in place that will attract new investment to this province and keep those employers from thinking of closing their doors and heading south?

**Hon Mr Rae:** It is interesting to hear the former Minister of the Environment. It is the first time I have heard him speak in the House with such certainty about various statistics and information being passed around with respect to the policies in the province.

We are working very closely with the private sector in a number of areas. I can point to examples where our policies on training, our policies with respect to research and development, our policies with respect to new investments in the province and our policies with respect to worker investment—our policies in place today—are helping not only to save jobs but to encourage new investment. If the Leader of the Opposition has the time I could go through a list of companies that even as recently as today have decided they want to invest in the province.

1430

**Mr Bradley:** Business continues to talk about a crisis of confidence with this particular government. They look at a government that has had to cut and delay its spending in order to meet its bloated \$9.7-billion deficit target.

Interjection.

**Mr Bradley:** The Treasurer should listen to the question. Business looks at a government that has increased capital spending as part of its anti-recession package and then cut capital spending to stay within that forecast. They look at a government that goes on a spending spree and then when the cupboard is bare starts slashing indiscriminately. Business people, taxpayers and workers are all wondering whether this government has any idea, any inkling of how to run its finances.

With companies already nervous about Ontario as a place to do business and competition for the investment dollar at its fiercest, is the Premier aware of how many employers, particularly large employers, are seriously contemplating closing down their Ontario operations, with disastrous consequences for various communities and the workers? If not, will he meet personally with the presidents of these companies to determine what it will take to keep them in Ontario? The Premier should mark my words: There are companies in this province that are going to close their operations with thousands of jobs gone unless he does so.



**Hon Mr Rae:** First, with respect to public finances, it is passing strange to hear such comments coming from members of the Liberal cabinet who went to the electorate last summer telling them there was a surplus in the budget. That is the way they campaigned in the last election. That is the basis of their last election campaign. Their last election campaign was built on sand. In answer to the Leader of the Opposition's question, I have met already with dozens of business people—

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order. Would the Premier take his seat, please.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order. Before anyone issues a writ, perhaps we could hear the response from the Premier.

**Hon Mr Rae:** The Leader of the Opposition no doubt is not pointing out the fact that the largest commitment the Ford Motor Co made anywhere recently was with respect to its expansion here. He has not noticed the fact that Chrysler has made its major decision with respect to expansion in Windsor and Brampton, which is a very substantial contribution to the province, or the fact that General Motors has decided to locate its methanol production in terms of new cars in Ontario.

It is important to take a balanced view. Yes, our economy has had a rough year, there is no question about that, but it is also important to stress to the Leader of the Opposition that we are taking steps and doing everything we can not only to keep businesses here but to expand the amount of investment in Ontario today.

#### CHILD CARE CENTRES

**Mr Jackson:** My question is to the Minister of Community and Social Services, but I could not help but take note of the Premier's shot at the Liberals having their election campaign built on sand. I want to assure the Premier that the province is quite aware that his Agenda for People was built on quicksand. My day care question will illustrate that point very well, I hope.

**The Speaker:** Would the member place his question, please.

**Mr Jackson:** Seven months ago I put a couple of questions in Orders and Notices asking the minister to tell the members of the House and the media just how many day care centres have closed in this province. I asked her to advise us how many were closing, by profit and non-profit sectors, and I also asked her a series of questions about the size of their deficits and how much financial trouble some of these centres are in.

Could the minister please give this House the benefit of any of those statistics, to which, I might add, as per my point of order the other day, we are legally entitled to under the House standing orders? Could she just honestly bring forward that statistic for us right now, please?

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** The answer to that order paper question was initially signed by my predecessor, and I resigned it when I became minister. It was rejected by the opposition because our ministry does not collect the kind of statistics the member was asking for in the way he was

asking for them. The answer is that we cannot get the kind of financial information he is asking for from the for-profit sector because, of course, they do not have to report that. That is one of the reasons we are directing our funding at the non-profit sector.

**Mr Jackson:** Just for the record, nobody rejects an answer he does not get, and we are still waiting for this information.

The point simply is this: The minister's field offices are allocating subsidized day care spaces according to need, so they say. Perhaps they are not telling the minister that they have these data; they are just unwilling to share it with the public. But the concerns of all day care centres in this province, regardless of whether they are for-profit or not, are legitimate, and I might point out that the Treasurer has given the minister \$10.8 million to bail out those centres that are in difficulty.

How is it that the minister can stand in the House and throw around nearly \$100 million today in her announcement, yet by the same token can say she does not have a handle on the kinds of financial information required to spend that money? Is this not of concern to the Premier and the Treasurer? In these economic times, we do not have that kind of money to throw around. How can the minister announce that she is going to bail out centres when she herself does not know which centres are in difficulty or how deeply they are in financial difficulty?

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** In the non-profit sector we do know and we can direct those funds in a strategic way. That is exactly the point. In the non-profit sector we are able to get that kind of information and be very clear about the way in which we are doing it.

The member talks about the current distribution of subsidized spaces and the problems in the child care sector. We certainly do not deny that there are problems. That is why we are embarking on this full review of the child care policy with a view to really forming a child care system, which we have never had in this province; it has been a piecemeal, grow-like-Topsy kind of situation. We are doing that within the context of a non-profit child care system, and that is exactly what the announcement today was focused on doing.

**Mr Jackson:** The minister is missing the point. The point is that you cannot throw millions of dollars at a problem if you do not understand the problem. We are not asking for anything, at this point, other than accountability.

I know the minister attended the coalition meeting on Friday, but on Saturday, Kim Rudd, who works at Cook Day Care Centre, which is a non-profit centre, rose during the convention and spoke to the delegates and shared this information. She said that another non-profit centre had recently called her for advice. The centre's board had quit en masse on Thursday, just two days earlier. Apparently the Receiver General had not received the moneys that were owed under the law. Vacation pay for staff was not paid. The centre was not insured, nor was it incorporated. This centre wanted to know what they should be doing about it; they were calling another centre for advice.



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The minister announced \$10.8 million to bail out these centres. She states she does not know which centres are in trouble. I ask her again, how can she solve this problem, how can she prop up this problem if she does not have any basic understanding of which centres are in financial difficulty? When the for-profit centre goes under, it files bankruptcy. Eighty-five per cent of the operators are women; some are losing their residences because they mortgaged their businesses. But the non-profit centres just walk away and the kids are left standing there. How can the minister make this announcement when she does not know which centres are in trouble in this province? We call that financially irresponsible. What is she going to do about it?

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** I call that a statement with a little question tacked on the end.

The member is quite right. If there is any kind of lack of accountability in the system, it should concern us all, whether it is profit or non-profit. I could not agree with him more.

We will simply not be putting any of the \$10.8 million into any centre until we have a clear handle on its accountability process. We have made it very clear that it will be a strategic focusing of the dollars and that we want to use them to improve the accountability in the system. It is a very important point of what we are planning to do and I think it is very important that we have the support of our communities while we do that.

#### EMPLOYMENT EQUITY

**Mrs Witmer:** I have a question for the Premier. On May 29, 1990, as Leader of the Opposition, he introduced a private member's bill, Bill 172, that would have required all companies with annual payrolls of more than \$300,000 to develop employment equity plans which would identify barriers to employment and set targets for their elimination. His model gave trade unions full rights to participation in the development, implementation and monitoring of employment equity plans.

Last week, the Toronto Star revealed that the Workers' Health and Safety Centre, originally established by the Ontario Federation of Labour, has used personal connections as its main recruitment practice. Attractive \$57,000-a-year positions were not advertised to attract applications from all qualified candidates. Instead, these positions were offered to family and friends of board members. In the Premier's opinion, is this a classic example of systemic discrimination?

**Hon Mr Rae:** The Minister of Labour has already indicated that the matter is under review by his ministry and by the Workers' Compensation Board.

**Mrs Witmer:** It is unfortunate that the Premier did not respond to the question, but I will continue. Last week at its convention the Ontario Federation of Labour passed a resolution that calls on the Ontario government to introduce mandatory employment equity legislation. Mandatory legislation would dictate hiring practices to the private sector, when clearly the federation of labour's own hiring practices are not in order.

We have here a publicly funded agency that is rampant with nepotism. Does the Premier not feel it is hypocritical

for the Ontario Federation of Labour to call for mandatory employment equity legislation on the one hand while exhibiting discriminatory hiring practices on the other?

**Hon Mr Rae:** It is important to notice that the Minister of Labour has asked that a review take place. I understand that the deputy minister is meeting tomorrow with the co-chair of the occupational health and safety commission, and I think it is very important that all public agencies, all agencies receiving public funds and everyone act in a way that is fair and non-discriminatory. That is a policy I would promote.

**Mrs Witmer:** The Premier talks about the review the Minister of Labour has ordered to review the hiring practices. To me that sounds like an internal whitewash, because both Ontario Federation of Labour President Gord Wilson and Ontario Public Service Employees Union President Fred Upshaw, who both sit on the hiring committee, have already publicly denied any wrongdoing with regard to their daughters working at the centre. Since the serious allegations concern senior board members, will this government be sending in an independent third party to examine all recent hiring decisions at the Workers' Health and Safety Centre?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Under legislation promoted by the previous government and the previous government's policies with respect to the health and safety agency, we now have a health and safety agency. They have a job to do with respect to ensuring that public money is effectively spent and that the practices of various agencies under their jurisdiction carry on their work in a fair way. I am sure all this information will come out.

#### CHILD CARE

**Ms Poole:** I would like to place a question to the Premier about how such a terrible error could show up in his householder that he claimed his government had brought in pay equity when it had not, but I know he cannot and will not answer it, so instead I will ask a question of the Minister of Community and Social Services.

The Minister of Community and Social Services' reannouncement today of \$30 million to enhance child care workers' salaries was certainly welcomed, particularly since it has been nearly a year since the original promise was made to child care workers. We will be monitoring the minister's implementation of this commitment. She has promised child care workers they will have additional dollars in their pockets by Christmas and we hope that this time the government keeps its promise.

However, the minister's announcement has sealed the fate of many child care centres in Ontario which will no longer will be able to operate. At the same time, it has failed to address the two major issues, accessibility and affordability. Announcements will not help the thousands of families that are on the waiting lists in Metro and in Ottawa, and in fact there are 100 families in her own riding of London Centre that cannot afford to pay for child care services, that cannot afford child care. How long do we have to wait for the minister's plan to help make child care accessible and affordable to the families of Ontario?



**Hon Mrs Boyd:** I wish there were a simple and quick answer to that. I am not going to be sucked by the member of the opposition into trying to state a date, except to tell her that we have made a commitment that by the end of this first term, through our consultation process and our strategic planning, we will have developed a system that will work towards the provision of affordable and universally available child care.

It is extraordinarily difficult in this time of financial restraint to predict with certainty how quickly we will be able to move towards that. I can tell the member that we certainly intend to work towards it as quickly as the financial situation allows and as quickly as the need is apparent. A member of the third party last week was talking about the uneven distribution of spaces, which is causing vacancies in some centres, and that is one of the issues we need to tackle so that we know exactly how large our problem is.

**Ms Poole:** It is not a matter of my trying to sucker her into a date. There happen to be families right across this province that are suffering. They do not have enough money. They cannot afford it. The minister must know that across this province there are many vacancies, and those vacancies are there because there is an inability of parents to pay those high fees. The spaces are there; the subsidies are not. The fees for infants in 1992 will be \$200 per week. I challenge the minister to show me how a family with a total income of \$45,000 can afford to pay this fee.

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Has the minister considered that many centres are facing deficits due to vacancies that are a result of these high fees? Should this continue, we have heard from many participants, including people at the conference for the Ontario Coalition for Better Child Care this weekend, that if the situation does not change, then centres will be forced to close. This is a real problem and we need real solutions. How is the minister going to ensure these empty spaces are filled so that children can receive the care they need, so that staff can continue to work and not be unemployed, so that parents can continue to work, job-search and access training, and so that these centres do not close?

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** We will be working thoroughly throughout the entire process of the next year, during the consultation period on child care reform and through the strategic directions I have announced today, to try and readjust the distribution of those spaces. What the member says about the cost of child care is absolutely true. It is becoming financially difficult for many parents to afford those fees, particularly since they have to be paid up front. The tax credit, which is fairly substantial, comes in later. That really affects the cash flow of families and we recognize that.

Unless we get a strategic hold on planning for the sector, it is going to be extremely hard for us to turn this situation around. We insist on doing that within a context we can manage in terms of accountability, which is the publicly funded non-profit system.

LARRY FODOR

**Mr Runciman:** My question is to the Solicitor General and has to do with violence against women. We noted the Attorney General's statement earlier, very eloquent comments from an Attorney General who will not bring in a victims' bill of rights, which could significantly help female victims of violence. I am sure the Solicitor General is aware that more than half of all women murdered in Canada die because of domestic violence.

Is the minister aware of the case of Constable Larry Fodor of the Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Police who was convicted of assault against his wife? He broke his wife's nose. It is the second incident of this individual being convicted of assault against a woman. Following a suspension, he is going to return to street patrol next year, a job that involves handling domestic disputes. The Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Police chief, Robert Middaugh, has no qualms about putting Fodor back on the street. His former wife needed plastic surgery to repair the facial injury she suffered.

Is the minister aware of this? Hopefully he is. If not, I would certainly like to know why not. What is he doing about it?

**Hon Mr Pilkey:** Just as a point of clarification before responding to the question, is this a matter from the Hamilton police department?

**Mr Runciman:** The Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Police.

**Hon Mr Pilkey:** This would be a case where there would be a regional police services board, over which I have no direct authority. I am not familiar with the case the member cites. While I do not have any particular knowledge of this local matter, I would like to believe the police services board responsible would review the contentions that have been raised and see that the appropriate response is given.

**Mr Runciman:** Obviously a lot of attitudes need changing in this House. This matter was brought to my attention by the Hamilton Spectator, but the minister should be aware of it. His ministry went in last year to examine the police role in responding to domestic complaints and gave its stamp of approval to this force. The assault on this lady was the culmination of an ordeal which included grabbing, shaking, threatening, kicking, hair-pulling, punching, slapping, throwing furniture, hitting her with an ashtray and finally breaking her nose.

If all of these eloquent words are going to mean anything today, the minister should be prepared to stand up on his feet and say: "Yes, I'm going to take responsibility. I'm going to look into this and take action." Let's hear that response.

**Hon Mr Pilkey:** I certainly am prepared to do just what the member requested. If the comments that he alleges are in fact the case, they do require investigation and review and I am prepared to undertake that.

I know the member will be very pleased to hear this information: We as a government, with our concern about violence against women, have of course involved ourselves considerably in wife assault prevention initiatives



and in sexual assault prevention and victim services. We would hope that these kinds of initiatives will go a long way to eliminate and stamp out any abuses, whether we find them in Hamilton or anywhere in this province or across this nation of ours.

#### WILDLIFE PROTECTION

**Mr Duignan:** My question is to the Minister of Natural Resources. Last week the federal Minister of the Environment announced, as part of the Green Plan, a program designed to protect Canada's wildlife. I was wondering if the minister could indicate to this House what impact, if any, this will have on the work being carried out by his ministry.

Interjection.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** The former Attorney General is tempting me to refer to other elements of my life.

The federal government's national wildlife strategy is a welcome start for the protection of wildlife in Canada. It is in keeping with our initiatives with regard to a new wildlife strategy in the province. As the member knows, the Wildlife Working Group just recently reported and made a number of recommendations that we have consulted about across the province. We are committed to developing and bringing in a wildlife act. The federal plan calls for about \$35 million to be spent over a six-year period across the entire country. Ontario is expecting that we will get a share of that funding for research to develop more information on the protection of wildlife in this province.

**Mr Duignan:** While I am encouraged by the minister's answer and while it is encouraging to see some progress is being made in this area, I feel a lot more is needed from the federal government if we are to begin to tackle the task of increased protection of our natural resources. While I am aware that the ministry under his direction has been working on a number of initiatives to achieve similar goals, will the minister outline what concrete steps are being taken by his ministry?

**Hon Mr Wildman:** As I indicated a moment ago, consultations are developing and continuing with regard to the development of a wildlife act in the province. Last week I introduced the amendments to the Game and Fish Act, Bill 162, which will make substantial changes to the act. It will bring in widespread protection for wildlife other than game species. I am confident the approaches we are taking with regard to public consultation will be complementary to the wildlife strategy that is being developed.

Members know we are also involved in reviewing the consultation on the wetlands policy, which we hope to bring in in the new year. We are working diligently on the endangered species project of the World Wildlife Fund and improvements to the Endangered Species Act.

**The Speaker:** New question, the member for Oriole.

**Mrs Caplan:** My question is to the Minister of Municipal Affairs. Is he here for a question? I would be pleased to pose it.

**The Speaker:** Which minister?

**Mrs Caplan:** The Minister of Municipal Affairs. He was here a minute ago.

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#### EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

**Mr Curling:** Some ministers are ducking. Let me try another minister in my question here.

I want to ask a question of the Minister of Labour. I have tried another minister before; let me try this minister now. The Minister of Citizenship had promised specifically to produce legislation governing employment agencies, including tougher auditing of agencies, by the end of June and typically nothing happened.

Last month, following an appeal by the chief of the Ontario Human Rights Commission to the government to enact stricter laws governing employment agencies, I asked the Minister of Citizenship to keep that promise so that minorities and women are not denied access to employment opportunities.

At that time, instead of legislation the minister talked about conferences and also said she would be developing other guidelines, but nobody has ever seen them. Because the Minister of Citizenship would not come clean with me, I ask the Minister of Labour when he will keep his promise to introduce new, stricter legislation governing employment agencies.

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** The question of the employment agencies is one we are currently looking at and, as soon as we are prepared to move, we will bring in the legislation.

**Mr Curling:** I think this government has more eyes than action. They keep looking at things and we are not getting anything done. The minister is really unable to provide me with any specific answers. If the minister is working on it, and I know it takes time—obviously this commitment has been broken by the government. In the meantime, doors are being slammed in the faces of victims of discrimination; not only that, but we have seen the unions practising nepotism and discrimination. This is not acceptable. We need a government that acts. We need a minister who acts.

I have asked the Minister of Citizenship before and I am asking the Minister of Labour now if he will do something. If the minister will not keep his promise, he should introduce new legislation. There are regulations with regard to employment agencies. I am asking him to use his authority to enforce what is already on the books. I direct him to the Employment Agencies Act, clause 7(a).

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** I want to tell the honourable member across the way that I do not know of any other government, in terms of workers' matters, that has acted as much as this one.

#### ONTARIO ECONOMY

**Mr Sterling:** My question is for the Treasurer. People invest money to make money. In the 1950s, the 1960s, the 1970s and most of the 1980s, corporate profits were at about 10% of gross domestic production. Presently corporate profits are at about 4% of gross domestic production. Does the Treasurer agree corporate profits must increase dramatically in order to attract much needed investment and the resulting jobs?



**Hon Mr Laughren:** I thank the member for Carleton for that very helpful question. He is quite right. As a matter of fact, I was musing about that very problem with the governor of the Bank of Canada this morning, how corporate profits were about 50% the level they were 10 years ago. We were concerned about the need to have not only existing companies in this province increasing their investment but also companies from outside Ontario increasing investment and creating new investment in the province. The member is quite right. We are concerned about it and we are doing everything we can to encourage that kind of investment.

**Mr Sterling:** I understand from the Treasurer he agrees that corporate profits must increase. I see a nod in the affirmative from the Treasurer.

Governments in Canada seem to be doing everything within their powers to minimize the profits of corporations. The former Liberal government introduced an employee payroll tax, there was a commercial concentration tax for this area, and by offloading down to municipalities and school boards there have been higher property taxes. The government has brought forward labour law changes that are only going to increase the cost of doing business here in Ontario, whereas the present rate of return in the United States is about 6.3% to 7% on gross domestic product.

Can the Treasurer tell us what he is going to do to increase corporate profits, or does he believe we can still attract investors to Ontario and pay them a lower return?

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Mrs Caplan:** You're against profits.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** If the member for Oriole would allow me to answer I will make every effort to do so. I know the member for Oriole is agitated, but perhaps she could contain herself.

In response to the member for Carleton, I say that the best encouragement for investment in the province is to create the kind of environment that says to the business community: "You are welcome here. We have a skilled labour force that will help you in your attempts to produce productively and deliver services productively."

We believe, and we are told this time and time again, that the quality of our educational system, the quality of our health care system and the quality of the environment have a lot more to do with creating investment in the province than does picking out one particular tax or another and saying, "That particular tax is higher than a tax in another jurisdiction."

If the member puts all of the taxes together that the corporate sector pays in the province and compares them with those south of the border or compares them with jurisdictions in the rest of Canada, he will find that this province is as competitive as any jurisdiction in the world. As a matter of fact, I think it is the best place in the world to work, to invest and, yes, to play as well.

#### ONTARIO WASTE MANAGEMENT CORP

**Mr Hansen:** My question is to the Minister of the Environment. As the minister knows, residents in my riding of Lincoln have been fighting a proposal—

**Mr Carr:** Ron, ask the Premier why you got fired.

**Mr Hansen:** Are you giving the go-ahead, Mr Speaker?

**The Speaker:** Go ahead.

**Mr Hansen:** Thank you. As I was saying, residents in my riding of Lincoln have been fighting the proposal by the Ontario Waste Management Corp to build a toxic waste facility in Lincoln. The proposal is currently being debated before the Environmental Assessment Board. Last week the Provincial Auditor said that OWMC spending practices were less than satisfactory according to the provincial standards.

What has the minister done or what is he prepared to do to make sure the financial abuses outlined in the report do not continue?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I am glad to have the question and I too applaud the member for Lincoln for his strong concern about the Ontario Waste Management Corp and his ongoing interest in the work of my ministry. I am happy to be able to tell him that I share his concern about the way in which OWMC has been operating.

Long before the auditor's report became a public document, I had indicated to OWMC that I expected restrictions on overseas travel and scrutiny of consultants and legal expenses as though it was a ministry of the government as opposed to being a crown corporation, as it had been established by the members opposite.

On receipt of the auditor's report I met with Dr Chant and indicated to him very strongly that in a time of restraint, and in fact at any time, expenditure of public funds is something that has to be done most carefully and that the kinds of incidents reported by the Provincial Auditor were not acceptable.

**Mr Hansen:** Over the past five years I have been very active with the Toxic Waste Research Coalition. I have spent over \$10,000 fighting this proposal. I realize the proposal is currently being reviewed before the Environmental Assessment Board and the process should not be prejudged by the government.

Can the minister tell us what measures she will take to ensure that all the money spent on the Ontario Waste Management Corp is spent responsibly?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** In response, I can take the kind of day-to-day administrative measures I have outlined in my response to the member's first question. I am pleased to be able to add that OWMC will be following the Management Board guidelines with respect to the letting of consultant contracts and the salaries of senior management, as though it was a line ministry and not a crown corporation.

In addition, I would like to make it very clear that should the Environmental Assessment Board approve the current proposal made by Ontario Waste Management Corp, that does not indicate automatic approval of construction of that facility. I have said that publicly. I have told the corporation that the approval of this particular



project is one decision. The decision the government will then have to make, should the proposal be approved, is whether or not to proceed with the project as planned.

1510

## TORONTO ISLANDS COMMUNITY

**Mrs Caplan:** My question is to the Minister of Municipal Affairs in my capacity as critic for the waterfront. Last week the minister and the NDP announced they had solved the Toronto Islands issue at no cost to taxpayers, but there are a growing number of questions from people such as myself who have been supportive of an island community about the fairness of this deal the minister has struck. He stressed fairness at his press conference.

The minister knows that even though market rents were projected to be about \$1,000 per month, this deal allows for rents of \$30 to \$40 a month for current residents. Some are saying that is not fair. The fact is that rents are obviously not based on income levels and the ability to pay, because 15% of the island population earn in excess of \$70,000.

In light of the fact that island residents have not paid any rent for the past decade—and people say that is not fair; taxpayers are going to have to cover that cost—will the minister explain whether the \$30 a month these island residents are paying is the same as other tenants are paying in government-owned leases and properties? Is that fair? Is it the same?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I certainly appreciate the support in principle that the member expresses for the people living on the island and the solution we have come to. I would like to point out to the member a couple of things I think are important to remember.

First, the people who live on the island are not going to be able to pay the \$36,000 to \$46,000 for the land leases in upfront cash. They are going to be mortgaging that money, like the member or me or anybody else in the province would. If that amount of money is mortgaged over a 25-year period, we can look at the cost of the mortgage being more in the neighbourhood of \$5,000 to \$6,000 a year to the residents. In addition, the residents will be paying property taxes. We also expect the residents on the island will be expending considerable amounts of money to bring the homes up to standard so we have a good, clean, affordable community on the island.

**Mrs Caplan:** Obviously the minister's answer is that the \$30 to \$40 rent a month the islanders are paying is substantially less than other tenants are paying for government property and homes. There are many who think that is not fair.

There are a number of outstanding disputes regarding the ownership of the residences on the island and who will benefit from this deal the minister has struck. How is his legislation going to resolve the ownership dispute and the tenure in the existing island homes in a way that will be seen by the taxpayers of this province, as well as people who have an interest in the properties, to be fair? How is the minister going to make sure the disputed ownership is fair and that the taxpayers of this province see it to be fair?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** The member reiterated her claim that the cost of the lease was going to be \$30 to \$40 a month. That is simply not the case. When the financing takes place, the monthly costs are going to run more in the neighbourhood of \$333 to \$425 a month. In addition, there will be the cost of the property taxes, which any tenant in the community would also be paying, plus the cost of sewer, water and other services that are provided to the island. It is quite conceivable that the cost of living on the island under our plan will be very comparable to the cost of living on the mainland when all those services are put into place.

I am not quite sure what the member is suggesting. Is she suggesting the land leases should go for \$100,000 or \$200,000? If she is suggesting that, then the island proposal would not be feasible, the island would not be affordable and her support for this idea in principle would not be worth the time it took her to ask the question.

## EDUCATION LEGISLATION

**Mrs Cunningham:** My question is for the Minister of Education. Bill 125, An Act to amend the Education Act and certain other Acts relating to Education, has raised a number of concerns with interested parties and many parents. I am sure other members in the House can boast this kind of mail on this one piece of legislation. There are many parents who believe their existing right to request religious education for their children will disappear if section 50 is deleted from the act.

Is there any special way the minister is going to deal with this bill? If he has any special plans for section 50, it would certainly help all of us in answering our mail.

**Hon Mr Silipo:** I too, like the member and others, have received mail about that particular section of the bill and others. What I can say to the member is that the provisions of Bill 125 are ones I am looking at now with my officials. We are still trying to deal with this bill between now and the end of the legislative session. In fact, my office, if it has not already been in touch, will be in touch with the member as the opposition critic, as well as the Liberal critic, to discuss some possibilities around this. My hope is that we can resolve this and some other issues in this legislation before the session is over.

**Mrs Cunningham:** As the minister has been so co-operative on the first question, I will dare to ask a second one. There are other sections of the bill causing great concern. It helps all of us to hear the minister respond to these questions in the House.

There are some 18 separate and unrelated changes to the Education Act. Extremely controversial are some of the school transfers under Bill 30. The other one I am getting a lot of mail on is the compulsory senior and junior kindergarten programs.

If the government is really planning to get this through before the end of this session, I hope the minister can tell the public today that we will be putting this bill out for public consultation; judging by the requests I am getting, the people will be satisfied with nothing less. Will we be publicly consulting on this bill?



**Hon Mr Silipo:** That also is part of the discussion I have asked to happen that we want to have with the opposition critics and, obviously, through the House leaders' offices. I know various sections in the bill are of concern to people. My sense is that we can address a number of the concerns, as I have heard them, even in the time between now and Christmas, but if we get a different sense in the discussions we have been having and will continue to have over the next few days, obviously that is something I would like to be able to give some clear indication on to the House and my critics in the days to come.

#### YOUNG OFFENDERS

**Mr Kormos:** I have a question of the Minister of Community and Social Services. I do not think I am going to get a supplementary, so, please, a little bit of indulgence, Mr Speaker. I am going as quickly as I can, but this is an important issue for people who live down in Niagara.

A week ago today a kid appeared in young offender court. He received a disposition of 60 days' open custody. Nobody quarrels with that. The family is grateful to the presiding judge and feels it is appropriate. The family wants to participate in the treatment, rehabilitation and counselling for this kid. He is a child. That is why he was in young offender court and undoubtedly why the judge gave him 60 days of open custody. The family wants to participate. The family are good, hard-working people, but they are not rich people.

The kid is sent to David S. Horne up on Highway 20. There is no room at David S. Horne, so they move this kid from Welland to Hamilton, to Dawn Patrol Group Homes. There is no room at Dawn Patrol. Where does this kid get shipped? The kid gets shipped to Windsor. Nobody is quarrelling with the 60 days of open custody. Everybody, family and friends, are hoping it is going to be fruitful and beneficial to the kid's wellbeing, but the parents cannot participate in the rehabilitation and counselling process; the kid is removed from family and community. Everybody is fearful that the 60 days is going to be time ill spent rather than being productive and beneficial and that the kid is simply going to suffer more because he is being pulled out of his community. Nothing against Windsor, but Windsor is an entirely alien community to the kid.

**The Speaker:** And the question?

**Mr Kormos:** Does the minister really think that shipping kids from Welland all the way to Windsor, away from their families and community, is conducive to the rehabilitation we should expect from open custody facilities? What can the minister do and what will the minister do to help this family and make sure that kid gets open custody treatment and counselling in the community where he deserves to be?

1520

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** I share the member's concern. Certainly the policy of the ministry is that wherever possible, a young person will be placed in his or her own community. Certainly there is no question that rehabilitation does occur better in the community, especially when the

family is prepared to participate. There is no question about that.

We obviously are in a situation in some parts of the province where places may not be available upon the disposition of the cases, in which case the authorities look at any kind of shift being the shortest possible length of time. I would assume that in a case like this, because it is a very short sentence, the decision was made on those grounds. I cannot tell the member how frequently this happens, although my information is that it happens as infrequently as possible. I can tell him that I share his concern and the family's concern and will do everything I can to ensure that this happens as seldom as possible.

#### NOTICE OF DISSATISFACTION

**Mr Curling:** I want to give notice to the Minister of Labour to answer further my question. As I pointed out to him today, I feel it was inadequately addressed, and I now give notice that I would like to have him address those questions.

**The Speaker:** I trust the honourable member will file the necessary document at the table.

#### MOTIONS

##### STATUS OF BILLS

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I would like to move the following motion by unanimous consent. I have shared the motion with the opposition House leaders and they have agreed.

Mr Cooke moved that with respect to all government and private members' public bills remaining on the Orders and Notices paper following the meeting of the House on December 19, 1991,

(a) the office of the legislative counsel shall, as soon as possible

(i) revise the bills to refer to the Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1990, and to include French translations of any provisions that are in English only,

(ii) reprint the revised bills, and

(iii) provide the reprinted bills to the Clerk of the House as each bill is reprinted, and

(b) after a reprinted bill is provided to the Clerk of the House, the reprinted bill shall be deemed to be at the same stage of business for the House and its committees that the bill was at before it was reprinted, and all further steps taken by the House or its committees with respect to the bill shall be based on the reprinted bill.

Motion agreed to.

#### NOTICE OF DISSATISFACTION

**Mr Jackson:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Following the member for Scarborough North, I had risen on the same point and you failed to recognize me and went directly to Mr Cooke. I too wish to serve notice of my dissatisfaction with a response from the Minister of Community and Social Services and would be pleased to file the necessary documents with the clerk.



## PETITIONS

### POLICE SERVICES

**Mr Drainville:** It gives me great honour again to come to this Legislative Assembly and present on behalf of the constituents of Victoria-Haliburton a petition which is to the Legislative Assembly and to the Solicitor General.

"We, the undersigned citizens of Bobcaygeon-South Veralum police district, Victoria county, are concerned about the increase of incidents requiring police attention in our community. We feel that the Ontario Provincial Police are not currently able to provide adequate services for these problems. We are concerned both for the safety of the citizens in our community and for the safety of the Ontario Provincial Police officers who patrol this area. We feel strongly that our community would be better served by a greater police presence in the form of additional officers to be added to our Lindsay Ontario Provincial Police detachment and we look forward to your immediate attention to these concerns."

There are 1,400 signatures here, Mr Speaker, and I have affixed my own signature.

## REPORTS BY COMMITTEES

### STANDING COMMITTEE ON RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

Mr Kormos from the standing committee on resources development presented the committee's Report on the State of Emergency and the Income Crunch in Ontario Agriculture and moved the adoption of its recommendations.

**Mr Kormos:** It is important to acknowledge the participation of any number of people: farmers and their representative groups across the province, and also people who participated in the committee—of course, the member for Muskoka-Georgian Bay as Vice-Chair, the members for Wellington, Cornwall, Windsor-Sandwich, Sarnia, Lanark-Renfrew, Huron, Sudbury, Mississauga North, Timiskaming and Cochrane North. A special contribution was made by the staff: Harold Brown as clerk and Tannis Manikel as clerk, Lewis Yeager and Lorraine Luski.

Once again, this is a report that flowed from members' concerns about the state of crisis, especially in the south-west of the province, where drought this past summer created real hardship for a lot of hard-working, honest farmers who have been looking to government for a long time for some relief from the difficulties they face.

The report is an interesting one. It contains a number of recommendations. All of us on the committee are hoping the Minister of Agriculture and Food and, more important, the Premier, read the report and give effect to those recommendations and make sure they become realities.

The report is available to anybody who is interested. I urge farmers, farm families and people in rural farming communities to write to their MPP or to the office of the Clerk here at the Legislative Assembly, Queen's Park, to receive a copy of it.

I thank those people who participated in the hearings. I am proud of the committee and of the report it has prepared, and I am proud to be able to present this report to you this afternoon, Mr Speaker, hoping that farmers work-

ing so hard to grow food to feed our families will get some relief from the hardship they endure through no fault of their own; let's not forget that. It is incumbent upon government at all levels to come to the aid of those very same farmers.

On motion by Mr Kormos, the debate was adjourned.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY

### FUEL TAX AMENDMENT ACT, 1991

#### LOI DE 1991 MODIFIANT LA LOI DE LA TAXE SUR LES CARBURANTS

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 85, An Act to amend the Fuel Tax Act, 1981 / Projet de loi 85, Loi portant modification de la Loi de 1981 de la taxe sur les carburants.

**Mr Cousens:** This debate will come to an end shortly. Even though many of us will have stood in our place and spoken against this bill about another tax increase in the province, the government, without considering these points or any other points, will go ahead and vote for it. None the less, I feel constrained to speak out and, once again, to challenge the government to consider what it is doing and to consider the impact.

I know the member for Welland-Thorold is capable of thinking for himself. I wish he could get a few of those other guys to do the same. It is dangerous when you have other honourable members who start to think, because in the New Democratic Party they all come in here and do it one way, that is, the way of the Treasurer or the Premier, without thinking for themselves.

To get elected, they will go out and say just about anything to win the hearts and minds of their voters. Then they will come back here and who knows what will come through? It is too bad they are not the same free agents they once were. Now they are under the control of a whip and a government forcing them to bring forward legislation that has a very serious impact on our economy.

Before I get into the bill, I would like to compliment the government for at least one part of this bill. Very often when we discuss legislation in opposition, all anyone can do is condemn the legislation as being totally bad. It is not. I think there are some aspects of this bill that are important.

I want to commend the Minister of Revenue for bringing forward some changes that will force those people who are trying to escape paying taxes to be caught up in what this bill is going to require them to do. There are a number of measures in this bill that will crack down on tax evasion. These measures proposed in the Fuel Tax Amendment Act closely parallel previous proposals that have been brought forward earlier for gasoline, but what it will do now is force mandatory registration of importers, exporters and interjurisdictional transporters, providing for separate registration for persons permitted to dye fuel and the provision for the seizure of fuel from unlicensed interjurisdictional transporters. Really what they are trying to do with this bill is clean up those practices that have allowed some people to take advantage of the loose system we have had up until now.



1530

It is too bad we have to have more and more regulations and laws. I think what has happened, though, is that there are some people who are able to interpret the existing legislation to their own advantage, in fact to such a degree that they find it easy to break. It becomes very difficult to catch them and then the province loses revenue we should have.

On the one hand, before I come along and criticize, as strongly as I can, other parts of this bill, I can go on record right now and say that I support the efforts by the government to control those who would try to break the law. This Bill 85 certainly has a large section in that regard.

None the less, in thinking about this bill, I have posed six questions. I will try in my own mind to come forward with the answers to those questions, and if the government, our honourable Treasurer—it is not the Minister of Revenue who brings forward this legislation; it is the Treasurer and Minister of Economics for the province who determines how he is going to raise the necessary revenues for the government. I raise six question of my own and if the Treasurer had the answers to them and the answers were affirmative, then he might not bring forward this legislation. Let's just take a moment or two to look at these questions and just see if there is a good reason for another fuel tax in Ontario.

The first question I pose is, are Ontario's fuel taxes less than in neighbouring jurisdictions? My assumption there is that if Ontario is paying considerably less or some degree less than other jurisdictions, it therefore might seem natural that we are going to want to raise our taxes. If we are offering such a competitive advantage to other people who are transporting within the province, we would not want to be giving something away where we could get a little more claim to some extra revenues.

The Treasurer is coming over. Has he changed his mind?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** Not yet.

**Mr Cousens:** Oh gosh, the honourable minister. We might get to him yet.

The point we then look at is that when you see where Ontario's rate for fuel taxes is compared to other jurisdictions, the fact of the matter is that Ontario's new general rate of fuel taxes for trucks and for diesel engines in the railway system will be the fourth highest in Canada. Effective January 1, 1992, Ontario's new general rate of 14.3 cents a litre will be the second-highest in Canada, assuming there is no change in any other province.

Where that comes to, in our understanding, is the fact that this bill is really broken into several parts and I should just explain it. The bill implements the budget proposal to increase diesel fuel taxes by 1.7 cents a litre effective April 30, 1991, and by another 1.7 cents a litre effective January 1, 1992. At the start of next year then, when this bill comes into full force with the second hike, the tax from the pre-1991 budget rate of 10.19 cents per litre will be increased to 14.3 cents a litre. This bill will also subject the tax rate applied to railway fuel to a similar two-phase increase in 0.55-cents-per-litre increments, which will push the tax

rate from its pre-budget level of 3.4 cents per litre to a rate of 4.5 cents per litre as of January 1, 1992.

Our point is very simply this: Ontario is pushing itself to a new high level from previously in the costs for people doing business.

I asked the question, is the province coming in now and as a province, in this jurisdiction, charging less or more than other jurisdictions? By January 1992, Ontario will have the second-highest rate in Canada for fuel for trucks and for diesels and for railway. How can we as a province continue to attract investment or business if we are going to be in such a position as to have the highest rates?

Newfoundland has a different set of problems than we have. Ontario, the heartland of Canada, the engine that really drives the economy of this country, is being driven into the ground. You can almost say the engine has stalled. In the recession through which we are now trying to make our way, instead of there being relief, instead of there being something that opens the door of opportunity for businesses, the government continues to push down on the economy so it becomes tougher and tougher for business to prosper, to thrive, to just stay alive.

The high cost that goes into the operation of business, of the vehicles and the operating costs alone, amounts to a significant part of what a business is all about. You really see that it is approximately 75% of what it is in the large trucking companies to just maintain their equipment. When the cost of fuel is such a large component of what it is to do business, this, what seems to be an insignificant increase in diesel fuel, becomes something that is going to be passed on in the cost of goods and services that we buy in the store. It means that if the trucker has to pay more for fuel and gas taxes, then the consumers, who are receiving the delivery of those goods, end up having an escalated increased cost in the goods and services they buy.

No one can meet these costs, and these costs amount to a significant increase. I just wish I had the numbers from some of the trucking companies that would show us what it is doing to them, but I will tell members what it is doing to them. I do not happen to have the numbers at hand, but in talking with truckers from my community in Markham, I have the great sense that they are finding the increased competition from US carriers to be so large that they are ending up not expanding their operations in Ontario or Canada at all. In fact, they are giving up business to US carriers whose total costs are less than theirs.

It costs them less to buy a vehicle in the United States of America. It costs them less to feed that vehicle with fuel in the United States. Therefore, when we now have an open licensing system where there is far more cross-border traffic and when there are trucks and vehicles going back and forth delivering goods in this free trade agreement, the Canadian truckers are being disadvantaged. They are being disadvantaged because the cost of doing business in Canada—in Ontario in particular—exceeds what it costs south of the border in Buffalo.

The problem existed before this bill, when Ontario had the fourth-highest rate of tax for fuel. The kindness of this government should have some sense of the need for business



to at least carry on, but now instead of doing something positive it has brought forward another negative, a strong negative, that makes it more and more difficult for business to carry on as before.

We are talking about the age of competition, when it has never been more difficult for business to just stay alive. When they end up having an added cost and burden to their operating costs with an extra fuel tax, this in itself becomes another one of those negatives that makes it unattractive for business to come into Ontario.

In answer to my first question, are Ontario's fuel taxes less than in neighbouring jurisdictions? no, I am afraid not. With this bill coming in come January, less than a month from now, we will be the second-highest fuel tax levier within the neighbours we are trying to do business with. For that reason, I suggest the Treasurer should not bring forward this bill.

The next question I want to ask is, is the province using the money for this fuel tax on road maintenance? We no longer have the situation where gas taxes are dedicated revenue for road maintenance and for the building and construction of roads and bridges. We do not have the position now in Ontario where we have special toll taxes on roads or bridges. It would really be a treat for drivers in Ontario if they knew some of the fuel tax they were paying was being applied to the removal of potholes.

Thank you very much. Someone sent me a candy. If I suck the candy I will not be able to talk and then it will put me to sleep. It is probably full of codeine or something. I have to watch that.

1540

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** You can't suck and blow at the same time.

**Mr Cousens:** The honourable Minister of Community and Social Services says that you can't suck and blow at the same time.

**Mr Stockwell:** Not from the same opening.

**Mr Cousens:** That is right. I am not a New Democrat.

**An hon member:** Thank God.

**Mr Cousens:** Then I get a "Thank God." This is not a laughing matter.

The moneys that are being collected through these road taxes and another fuel tax could be applied to some of the things we need. Just look at our roads and the deterioration that is going on. We should have some emphasis by this government to maintain our roads in better repair so that the system is not collapsing around us. We are dealing with an infrastructure that is in a state of disrepair. If the government does not begin to do something about potholes, signs, ruts, barriers, lights on the roads and subsidies for the municipalities trying to do their share, the roads will continue to be a greater and greater problem.

On the balance we are dealing with a stage where we have a chance right now in this jurisdiction of Ontario to do something about the infrastructure. In my community of Markham we are talking about the building of a whole new community of some 600 acres where 15,000 to 17,000 people will be moving. One of the major concerns about adding to the numbers in our community is not so

much the fact that we need affordable housing—we need that—but the concern coming through from the community is whether we are going to have the road system and the network to allow those people who come in to the east end of Markham to hook in to Highway 407. Highway 407 is not even planned to go that far yet. Are they going to have rapid transit so they can get down into the city?

**Mr Mammoliti:** They don't want co-ops.

**Mr Cousens:** Our community is supportive of new housing and affordable housing. We are also demanding that if the government is going to be adding these homes and these extra people, it should also be building the facilities, the services and the infrastructure to make it possible for them to come in. We see the government of Ontario has not decided to invest in transportation in the way we need.

The third question I want to ask is, does the fuel tax help Ontario's competitive position? One of the most cost-sensitive industries we have in Ontario is our tourism industry. How do our roads and the whole structure of roads and services right now stack up? How attractive is it for tourists to come and spend their money in Ontario right now? Tourism, as many of us know, is the second-largest business we have in the province, and yet one of the major complaints by visitors to our province from south of the border is the cost of gasoline, the cost of fuel. I cannot believe we are adding to that concern with another tax.

This is a tax that does not do anything to assist our province. What we really are doing is making it easier for people in the border areas who are going across the border. One of the first things they do is fill up their gas tanks in the United States. Here it may cost \$30 or \$35. If you go down there you can fill it up for under \$15 and have change left in your pocket. The cost of fuel in the United States is so much less than it is here in Ontario.

What we have done is to separate ourselves even further from that competitive expectation we want to have so that people will stay here in Ontario rather than go south of the border, and likewise come north from the United States, from New York and Michigan and Ohio and other states, and spend their money here in Ontario. It is such an important part of our economy that we want to make it attractive for them to come here and spend. I think we want that.

I have friends with stores in Midland, in Markham and right across the province and they are suffering right now. There were 11 different families that traditionally came to Georgian Bay, on this one island where they had set up a common dining room and it was just a great family get-together. This last summer only one of the 11 came and spent a few weeks here in Ontario. The rest did not bother to come.

What we saw through Ontario last summer was a deterioration in the tourism industry. We are going to continue to see that kind of deterioration because we are not spending the money in the right places to draw them in; we are not making it attractive for them to come and spend their time here in Ontario. It is already costly to stay in our hotels; it is already costly to buy food and eat out. But on this issue of fuel taxes, if we had some competitive advantage,



would it not open the door for people from other jurisdictions to come here?

Just the other day, in response to this bill, one of the New Democrats was saying, "The advantage of this bill is that it gives us more money in the Treasury for those Americans who come over and spend their money in Ontario." That was the most unbelievable statement. Yes, the few Americans who come will be paying a little more in tax, but the great number who stay away means there is less overall revenue for the province.

Does this fuel tax help Ontario's competitive position? The answer has to be a categorical, unequivocal no.

**Mr Bradley:** No.

**Mr Cousens:** I have to commend the member for St Catharines; he happens to agree with me on this. He and I agree on some things. It is just that when he was in power, in government, when he had the chance to do things right, he could not do it. Now that he is in opposition he is full of good ideas. But that is the way it is, is it not? That is part of the reason people are so jaundiced in dealing with politicians.

A fourth question I have is, has the government tried to cut back on other costs before levying another tax? I have to ask that question. If we had seen some effort of restraint by this government of the Premier, then we would have a sense that he is trying to do something or that his Treasurer is trying to do something, but all these people can do as New Democrats is defer the tough spending decisions. They are not able to make them now, so when we ask them what they are going to do this year to begin to face up to the economic reality that a government should be living more within its means and not having a deficit of \$9.7 billion—which is going to escalate far in excess of that. We are seeing none of the internal controls that are going to make a difference—modest internal controls, I give some credit for that, but nothing of the type that would begin this government moving in the right direction to try to balance its budget.

All one has to do is look at what other jurisdictions are doing. In Saskatchewan they have layoffs. In the federal government, in Newfoundland and in the province of Quebec there are special limits on pay increases to the civil service. Instead of saying, "We're going to have a few modest cuts which will bring down our deficit by \$150 million," if the government froze a number of the budgets in Ontario, it could save well over \$450 million. It is very simple. If the government were to set an example now and early so that municipalities and hospitals and school boards would begin to understand that someone at the top is being frugal and careful, it would give them a reason to stop expecting more and more increases and making more and more demands.

What we really have to do is to see some tough decisions. Instead of the government making decisions, the taxpayers themselves are making the tough decisions today, and they are not pleasant ones. We are talking about a reduction of people's morale. We know through a recent Angus Reid survey that 42% of the people of Ontario will be spending less money around the Christmas season this

year because of their concern about the future and because of the recession.

1550

Many of the people having tough times are out of jobs; our unemployment rate has never been higher. We are in a position where, in order to deal with the problem, the government continues to increase its taxes and people have no money left over for themselves; they do not have it, so they are not spending.

I think what is happening is that our Minister of Revenue and the Treasurer are looking for an economic miracle. There is not one; there is not going to be a miracle to solve the economic state of Ontario. It is something we are going to have to work through and carefully and deliberately develop a strategy for the long term, instead of talking about tax hikes next year. That is what I understand the Treasurer has indicated, that there will be tax increases next year. I have not had a chance to discuss it with some of my colleagues—the member for Etobicoke West may well be aware of some of the increases they are talking about because he was in charge of our economic portfolio in our caucus for a while—but there is a strong rumour now that there will be a 1% increase in sales tax and possibly a 2% increase in personal income tax next year. What a demoralizing thing for the business community, to have the government bringing in more taxes to go into effect in 1992, and then further into 1992, the Treasurer is saying, "Yes, and I will have to have further increases then."

Has the government tried to cut back on other costs before levying another tax? That is not evident. What we have seen instead is that the costs of government continue to explode. The ministries are spending more money on their offices and on their people and on their services than ever before. We are talking about an increase of 74% in office spending in the Attorney General's ministry. We are talking about the salary and wage bill in the main office of the Ministry of Financial Institutions being up by 126.7%. The salary and wage allocation for Management Board has jumped by 85.9%. We can go through different areas in this government where they spend more and more, so no doubt it needs more and more money from the taxpayers of the province. I plead with them, I implore them not to continue this escalation in taxes.

Has the government tried to cut back on its own? To me the answer is an unequivocal no. Had there been some effort by this government to cut back on its own spending, then we might well be able to justify some of the increases it is now talking about.

I want to ask also, is adding another increase to the fuel taxes of the province the correct action the government should be taking on fuel? I would like to refer to a booklet put together by our leader, the member for Nipissing. It is called A Blueprint for Economic Renewal and Prosperity in Ontario: New Directions. If anyone would like to have a copy, I would be pleased to obtain one for them.

What the member for Nipissing has said in this document is: "As the tax base shrinks, the temptation grows to increase the tax rates and impose new taxes to keep revenues steady. However, this succeeds only in reducing business



competitiveness as well as the incentive to expand and invest."

He indicates in this document a number of things he would do. I would like to read into the record the policy of the Ontario PC Party with regard to gasoline and fuel tax. We have a number of other strategies outlined very clearly in this document trying to develop a long-term blueprint for economic survival and prosperity here in Ontario, but I want to read two paragraphs from this booklet, on gasoline and fuel tax.

"Gasoline and fuel taxes should be immediately cut by 10%. This would benefit all sectors of the economy, including transportation, tourism and manufacturing. Combined with a reduction in PST, these cuts would begin to address ongoing concerns and job losses associated with cross-border shopping.

"The full-year cost of a 10% gasoline tax cut would be approximately \$160 million. For fuel taxes, it would be \$37 million. Again, both costs are in the form of forgone revenues to government; and can be fully offset by new revenues generated by economic activity, along with expenditure controls."

There are ways in which we should address the needs of the province, and one that could have long-term benefits to the people of our province is that instead of increasing the tax, we reduce it and increase usage.

Another fuel tax is very much a consumption tax. It is a regressive tax and it is something that affects people who can barely afford to pay it. The poor in Ontario drive cars too, yet they must pay regardless.

The fact is that here in Ontario we are continuing to take a gouge right out of the whole economic sector by continuing to make our fuel rates among the highest on the continent.

I ask a sixth question: Does the government have the right priorities? If the government had the right priorities, it would begin to set an economic climate for business to begin to prosper and do better. Instead of that, we have the kind of climate where people are losing their confidence in Ontario. We are not seeing the investment in capital. We are not seeing people bring their money in and start up new activities.

Two of the great bellwethers that tell us things are going well are housing and the automotive sector. In the two of them right now we are seeing no great activity, though something is beginning to happen. Certainly General Motors is showing some signs of increased activity and we are seeing some activity going on in Ford, but we are not seeing outside investment coming into Ontario right now.

Talking just a few weeks ago to the president of the Chinese businessmen's association in Scarborough, I asked where the money is now that was coming into Ontario from Hong Kong and China just a few years ago. He used a rather good term. He said right now it is "floating." The money is there and the investors are looking for an opportunity to invest in something, but until they have the confidence in a jurisdiction they are not going to put their money down and invest.

That confidence ceases to be present in Ontario, not only because of the taxation level, and I think the taxation level is one of the severe reasons people have lost confidence in Ontario's long-term future. I know that confidence will come back, but in the meantime, the harsh reality of the way New Democrats are running this province—an increased deficit and new taxes being proposed next year and the sense that the future is not going to be good for business in Ontario—is closing doors. They do not want to take a chance on Ontario as long as we have this negative spirit coming out of Queen's Park.

If we had some way in which we enticed businesses to come here and showed them that there is a climate for business to invest and prosper, that the government is not going to take every cent it can from them, that in fact some of that money can be plowed back into their own business for more jobs and for more equipment—but that is not the case.

The case here is that the province feels it has to skim off the top every cent it can. I sense it from the New Democrats. I sense that they have a disdain for business, a disdain for economic prosperity. Their agenda for a social welfare state would be commendable if we had the money to provide. What the government has to do is somehow balance off the need for the social agenda of the Bob Rae government with the reality of what we can afford.

With the announcement over the weekend of another \$30 million for child care and the almost guaranteed elimination of child care as provided by the private sector—this is a government that wants to take over everything. It is not going to have room for private enterprise. That is a signal to private enterprise that says, "We aren't going to take a chance on bringing our money into this province." If the private sector in other jurisdictions had a sense that Ontario was spending its money wisely, it might come along and do something about it.

1600

I just raise a few points. If it turns out that Ontario is going to help buy de Havilland for \$150 million, is that where we should be spending our money? If it is true that the Ontario government has made a \$250-million commitment to Elliot Lake for 650 jobs until 1996, using Ontario Hydro to administer the social conscience of the government, is this the kind of thing Ontario Hydro should be doing?

Is the province doing the right thing spending \$5 million on auto insurance and then not doing it? I am glad they did not do it, but how much money have they continued to pour into that hole where they had an increased staff, increased reports, consultants and other people in the Ministry of Financial Institutions. Then fortunately they backed off, but how much are they continuing to spend and what decisions are they going to make?

Civil service salaries over the past year have increased by 14% in one year. When you add in benefits, it works out to an increase of 16.1% just for civil service salaries in Ontario. I will tell you, Mr Speaker, the salaries of MPPs have been frozen for this year and next. Why not pass it along so that everyone has a sense of knowing there is a lid on expenditures and expectations?



I have to be grateful to one of the members of our caucus who raised the high cost of spending at TVO, where they spent over \$70,000 for 72 chairs at \$700 a chair. That costs an awful lot just to sit a person down.

We saw in the Provincial Auditor's report last week further examples of a government whose spending has gone awry. We have seen it with the Ontario Waste Management Corp. In that example, we have seen high costs by the chairman and other members, yet there is still not a shovel in the ground to provide a centre to look after liquid and hazardous waste in Ontario.

As we look at the issues, we ask a few questions and we add answers to those questions: Is it going to help Ontario's competitiveness? No. Is Ontario doing a good job managing its own dollars and cents right now? No. Is Ontario going to survive into the future as a competitive, strong economic state? No, not if we continue to have this kind of overtaxation by a government that is not even able to use the money correctly.

There are many others who want to speak on this bill. It is an important bill. It is just another illustration of a government that is greedy for money from a public that is already broke. We do not have it any more. We have lost the ability to pay in the way the government is taking it away from us. All I can say to the Minister of Revenue and the Minister of Financial Institutions is: "Please slow down your spending, slow down your expectations. Give the people in Ontario a break so that some of the money they earn will stay in their own pockets and they can spend it on their own lives, their own families and their own retirement funds. May this province just slow it down and understand you are doing it the wrong way."

**Mr Johnson:** I listened with great interest to the debate by the member for Markham. His debate reminded me of the antlers of a moose—in fact, I may even be quoting him: There is a point here, a point there and a lot of bull in the middle.

I have a great deal of difficulty listening to the comments from the members opposite. They are very quick to criticize but they do not offer a lot of advice that would really go a long way to help us with the situation we find ourselves in. I think it is clear that the state of the province is not the result of the New Democratic government that is in power today. It is the result of many things that have happened up to this point in time. We can certainly talk about free trade and how the global economy has exacerbated many of the problems we have here in the province, but they do not mention that.

They do not mention the fact that maybe the governments that were in power before us did not do a particularly good job of managing, and certainly they were in power when times were much better than what we find ourselves in right now. It is very difficult for the government today to deal with all the problems we face. The members on the other side will tell us we need more money to look after many of the social problems we are faced with, yet they do not tell us where we are going to get this money from. All they talk about is cutting and cutting staff, and that is not right.

**Mr Bradley:** I think the member made some valid points in his speech this afternoon on this piece of legislation, which is bound to be detrimental to Ontario. When the government was elected, and certainly when it was in opposition, we heard a lot about how it was going to help the trucking industry in this province, yet we have in effect a 30% increase in the diesel fuel tax, totalling 3.4 cents per litre.

It not only affects the trucking industry, which is important enough because it is under tremendous stress at the present time and every new tax or every new initiative which is a roadblock to it is going to be a problem in terms of its competitiveness, but it also affects other modes of transportation using diesel. We think of train travel, for instance, and freight that has to move.

What is happening is that this increases the cost of doing business not only directly to the truckers, not only directly to those operating trains, not only directly to those operating boats in the province—

**Mr Grandmaitre:** And flying.

**Mr Bradley:** —and of course, as the member for Ottawa East says to me, flying in the province as well.

It not only causes increases directly to those people and makes them less competitive, but it also has the indirect effect of making the cost of goods and services in this province even more. It adds up to about \$4,000 a year, we think, for a truck or other vehicle, other modes of transportation which travels a long way. So this is certainly not helpful in a very competitive world. It is yet another tax that is part of the \$1 billion worth of new taxes that this government is putting on the province, dampening the economy of the province at the very time when what it needs is a boost that comes about by avoiding new tax increases or cutting appropriate taxes to get the economy moving once again.

The Premier was in Europe. I thought he might pick up some of these ideas when he was over in Paris and London and in West Germany. Apparently he did not, and it is to the detriment of this province.

**Mr Stockwell:** I would like to compliment the member on the comments he made regarding this particular tax. There is an interesting article in the *Globe and Mail* today written by Mr Peter Cook. What is interesting about it is it should deal with some of the concerns that I think we as a party, and the previous member, brought forward with respect to taxes and their impact on profitability of corporations.

In the 1981-82 recession, Canadian profits as a share of national income dropped below 7%, which is a really telling figure; 7% was the floor at that point. It was very much a concern to corporations when they were getting a 7% return. Now we are faced with a return on corporate profit of some 4%. Across the floor they may think it is good that corporations are not profiting as much as they were in the past.

The difficulty is that it is much like the tax we are discussing here today. When you introduce a new tax, it erodes the profit base of those corporations that in fact need to abide by these laws, these gasoline taxes, etc. Every time you put a new tax on, it just sucks the money



out of the profitability of the corporation and takes it on to the government.

The difficulty is that only profitable companies can expand or even maintain their workforce and reinvest. Profitable, operating companies are the lifeblood of any free enterprise system, because unless you are making a profit, you cannot reinvest, rehire or do any of the good things you need to do to get out of the malaise we are in today.

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Therefore, it is interesting the comments made by this member on this tax that will again cut to the bottom line of anybody involved in the trucking industry. What we do not need, and I think this was enunciated pretty clearly by that member, are new taxes on the citizens or the businesses in this province. If anything, there should be a look at reducing the taxes so the businesses become more profitable once again and rehire and rebuild this province's economy.

**Mr Bisson:** I listened with great interest to the member for Markham go on at length about the question of what happens to the confidence within the economy when such things are done. To a certain extent, what the members of the opposition are doing is almost a self-fulfilling prophecy. Obviously one of the things of great interest to the opposition parties is for one day to sit on this side of the House, and what better way to attempt to do that than to demoralize and take away any confidence within our economy.

All of us on this side of the House recognize that if consumers have confidence in the economy and see some positive signs, at the end of the day they will start to spend the money to buy the goods and services so necessary to build a strong economy in these days. The members of the opposition are really trying to attack, not only because they are the opposition but for political gain.

That is not to say we should not sit in this Legislature and debate questions of policy and what they mean, but after sitting one year in this House I have yet to hear—or on very few occasions—the members of this Legislature from the opposition try to instil some confidence in the consumers of this province.

It is interesting to note that this morning I met with a general manager and vice-president of a major employer within my riding, and also with a small business person of quite significant confidence within our business community. They said they wished for once the members of the opposition would try to instil some confidence in the consumers, because when people do not have the confidence they will not spend the dollars. Neither the person from industry nor the person from small business supported me in the last election and probably will not because their political stripes are different, and I recognize that. They said to me, "Please, people from the opposition, try to do something to instil some confidence and stop your rhetoric."

**Mr Cousens:** Let me start with the last speaker because that is who everyone will have been listening to last. Horrible comments. I do not think he knows where it's at when he starts making statements like those. The fact of the matter is, we sit here in opposition and see a govern-

ment that is taking Ontario down the path of destruction. That is what they have been doing. They now have everybody standing up and saying what it is they are doing and how wrong it is. Blaming us in the opposition for that horrible leadership just cannot be countenanced. For the member to stand up there and make that kind of statement is just hogwash.

I think he should go back up north and have his head aired in the good northern air and have a better sense of what is going on. The fact is that what the member is saying and thinking down here just does not add up. If he talks to the people in our communities from the greater Toronto area, his government is shutting down Ontario and there is no doubt about it. They should not blame us for what they are doing. There is no doubt about it at all. And the member for Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings stole my joke. That was my joke and he has taken it. I stole it from the CBC on a Saturday morning, but never mind, that is okay. Any time something is added to this House you can always claim it for yourself.

I cannot believe I am starting to agree with the member for St Catharines. He and I have been on opposite sides of the fence for a long time, and I thank him for complimenting me on my speech. I appreciate the way he added to it and shed extra light on it. The member for Etobicoke West is brilliant and when someone from the city of Toronto has that kind of insight into business, an understanding of it, and is willing to share it with this House in such an enlightened way, I want to take, enjoy and cherish it. Let's hope there will be many other opportunities for the member for Etobicoke West to share his wisdom.

This government is sick and we are just not going to let Ontario get any worse. We are going to make sure they know the temperature, and it is going to get hotter and hotter for these guys. They have not begun to understand how angry we are with what they are doing to the province. It is our province too.

**Mr Tilson:** It is a pleasure to rise today to speak on Bill 85, the Fuel Tax Amendment Act. Before I commence, though, I would like to comment on the reaction of the member for Cochrane South in particular. It is as if he is blaming this side of the House for the problems caused by the NDP government. It will be interesting to hear where some of the transport people in his area believe he feels the province is going. The members of our caucus certainly are not criticizing the government for political gain, as the member suggests. We are criticizing them because they have a bad bill. They are creating a terrible financial situation, specifically for the transportation industry in this province.

It is not our fault at all that the government has put the province in the condition it is in. It is the government's fault. There has been a lack of confidence in investment in anything with respect to investment in the retail industry in this province. It is a most serious situation indeed when you see the tax rates that are being implemented with respect to the trucking industry. There has of course been some considerable concern by the trucking industry. There is no question some of that has been related to the federal government with respect to deregulation, but at the same



time they are concerned about where this government is taking them with the increase in the diesel fuel tax in this province.

The government has increased the diesel fuel tax with Bill 85 by 1.7 cents a litre, effective last April 30, and another 1.7 cents a litre, effective New Year's Day 1992. At the start of next year the bill will have hiked the tax from its pre-1991 budget rate of 10.9 cents to 14.3 cents. That is an astounding increase for an industry that is collapsing around us, what with the comparison of the trucking costs in the United States to the trucking costs in Ontario. It is no wonder people are going out of business. It is no wonder people in the trucking industry are moving to the United States when they have to compete with the difficulties the government is creating.

As well, this bill will subject the tax rate applied to railway fuel to a similar two-phase increase in 0.55-cents-per-litre increments, which will push the tax rate from its pre-budget level of 3.4 cents per litre to 4.5 cents as of January 1, 1992. That too is going to have serious ramifications in the business community, and more particularly in the transportation community.

The bill does have a number of other items, but it is mainly the increase in diesel fuel that concerns members of the Progressive Conservative caucus. As of January 1992, Ontario will share with Nova Scotia the second-highest fuel tax in the country. Only Newfoundland will have a higher fuel tax rate of 15.6 cents per litre. We are getting very close to being the highest in the country. The tax increases imposed by the bill, it has been estimated, will raise an additional \$45 million this year and \$90 million in a full year.

When we hear those statistics, we have to look at where the province is going. We have seen the tremendous increase in salaries in the civil service and in other expenditures we are going to have to pay for, and the government is damaging industries as a result of that. I do not think the government has thought out specifically the effect of this tax on other industries and businesses.

My riding, which is a semirural-urban area, has some trucking industries in it: very few, but some. It will be affected seriously by this type of tax. It will destroy many of the small businesses. Small business people have already indicated what it will do to their businesses and the effect it will have on other industries that need the transportation industry.

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Ontario truckers objected to the tax increase, which they maintained further undermined the precarious competitive position they already were in vis-à-vis their US counterparts, and they have been demonstrating all year round. We have had the truckers surround this building. We have had the truckers surround the buildings in Ottawa, and obviously for different reasons in Ottawa. But one of the reasons they were surrounding this building was because of the tax increases that are being put forward by this government.

With respect to the tax increases, Ontarians pay two and in some cases three times more fuel tax than most American jurisdictions. The difference between what the

Americans and the Ontarians pay for fuel tax—this would be as of New Year's Day 1992—is rather startling. For example, in Ohio diesel fuel per litre—this is as of January 1—will be 6.1 cents per litre; in Ontario that will be 14.3 cents per litre; in Michigan, 4.6; in New York, 5.8; in Pennsylvania, 5.3—all rather astounding figures. This information was in a publication known as Update, June 1991. I am sure it has been referred to.

I think we need to emphasize those statistics and the unfair competitive advantage the Americans have over people in Ontario. We are seeing that in all aspects as a result of the taxation and cross-border shopping issues. It would seem to me that what the Treasurer did and the Minister of Revenue did was sit down and say, "How are we going to pay for all these programs we are going to put forward?" They decided to pick the fuel tax as one of them. I do not think they thought out all the various effects that tax is going to have on other industries.

The Canadian carriers are reminded that as of July 1 last, the US tax on commercial heavy vehicles that will be travelling 6,000 miles or more in the US per year is due. The cost will be at a rate of three quarters of the US rate.

As a result of this government's first budget, as I have indicated, we are now going to be paying an extra 1.7 cents per litre now and a further 1.7 cents as of January 1, 1992. That, as has already been indicated, represents a 31% increase in unleaded gasoline and diesel fuel tax and a 24% increase in leaded gasoline. That is a tremendous increase for the transportation industry to bear, along with all the other problems it has had.

There is no question this is not the sole cause of the problems the transportation industry has, but it is something that needs to be considered by this government, and I do not believe it has when we start realizing what these people are simply trying to do is to survive, to compete. Why would one have Canadian carriers when they are going to have to charge that much more than the Americans? The Americans are going to be making untold profits compared to the Canadians and will undercut them substantially.

There is no question, in other words, that motorists and people in the trucking industry are subsidizing this government. The budget and spending estimates show that the province expects to collect about \$2.8 billion from road users this year while they only expect to spend \$1.9 billion on road and highway maintenance and expansion. That is something we need to look at: the maintenance of our roads. We are taxing our people to death as far as gasoline is concerned. I say "to death" because they are either going out of business, are going bankrupt or are moving to the US.

What are they doing about road and maintenance expansion? What they are spending on roads certainly does not nearly match what they are collecting. Take a look at that, because that is all part and parcel of it, unless it is just one big grab-bag: "Where can I grab money? Can I grab money from gasoline? Can I grab money from booze? Can I grab money from tobacco and other such things?" Is that how they are running the system? Have they not analysed



the effect this type of tax is going to have on our overall economy?

Therefore, looking at those figures, when you compare the \$2.8 billion that is being collected from road users to the \$1.9 billion that is being spent on road and highway maintenance, that means motorists are subsidizing the government by \$900 million. That is the only way you can look at it, because certainly it does not match. The additional money is going on something else, probably some of the salaries the government has increased over this past year.

When the next round of tax increases come into effect on January 1 of next year, Ontarians will be paying the highest taxes on unleaded fuel in North America and the third-highest diesel fuel taxes in North America, and I do not believe it is clear that truckers can afford these increases. Truckers will be shelling out an additional \$2,000 per year per truck in diesel fuel tax. For many carriers, fuel costs make up as much as 30% of their operating costs. Given the current state of the industry, this is a cost truckers cannot afford. How can they possibly afford it? What with the recession, fewer people are buying and fewer people are shipping, yet the government is taxing them to death. The government wonders why people are moving to the United States. They wonder why businesses are going bankrupt.

The strange part of it is that because of what they are doing, there are going to be fewer people using things. There is going to be less revenue coming in. They blame it on the feds. They say, "We didn't expect the revenue would be down."

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** Oh, of course not.

**Mr Tilson:** That is what they do. They point their fingers at the opposition or they are point their fingers at the federal government. For once, why do they not look at their own policy?

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** Get your facts straight.

**Mr Tilson:** The facts are there.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** I'll tell you what the facts are.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order.

**Mr Tilson:** Basically, this is part of the overall mosaic—

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** Untruths have to be corrected.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order. The honourable Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology will please refrain from interjection. The member for Dufferin-Peel has the floor.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** On behalf of the minister, who is absent, I will withdraw the remarks, sir.

**Mrs Y. O'Neill:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I would like to ask the Speaker to verify that there is a quorum present.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** A quorum is present. The member for Dufferin-Peel has the floor.

Interjections.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** We can get on with the business of this House—this is what the people of

Ontario expect from us—or we can continue with meaningless interjections.

**Mr Tilson:** One of the concerns many of us have in this province is the number of industries moving away from this province, and it is because of policies such as we have seen in this bill that they are doing so.

There was an article quite recently—not that recently; it was on October 4 in the *Financial Post*—that gave statistics for an exodus of businesses moving out of the province. It specifically was a survey of small- and medium-sized businesses which are thinking of leaving the province is because of the New Democratic government's policies. The statistics were quite alarming. Transportation and communications are at the top of that list, along with manufacturing. Almost 55% of those surveyed give that as one of the reasons they wish to consider moving out of the province. This came from a survey of a little more than 3,500 business people in the province in which 85% of those surveyed said: "Ontario's political climate is unfavourable for business. Most businesses complained about too-high taxes, the provincial budget, a bias against business and proposed labour legislation."

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This bill is just one of many components of why businesses are moving out or contemplating moving out of Ontario. The federation survey said that as many as 500,000 jobs could be in danger. This is not just transportation; this covers a wide range of areas, but it is part of it. I do not think it was broken down into the specific sectors.

**Mr Bulloch,** I believe it was, made a number of comments. "'Of the top four problems facing small firms at present, three of them are actually under the control of the Ontario government, and one, the total tax burden, is significantly affected by provincial government policies. What is happening has profound implications for the province of Ontario and Canada,' he warned, condemning the government for adopting policies which are misguided, ideological and antibusiness."

I think that is what it finally boils down to: This is part of this government's antibusiness philosophy. To them, business is evil. If you can tax it, tax it; it does not matter what the effects are. It is a philosophy. I am saying the government should reconsider its philosophy, that business is not evil. They need business to operate this province; they cannot drive the business in this province away. They must realize that what they are doing is eroding Ontario's competitiveness. Their budget outlook predicts unemployment rates will drop by 184,000 in 1991. Their budget boosts provincial spending by 13.4%; government operating expenditures increased more than \$5 billion from last year. Their budget brings business tax rates up to 30% higher than those of similar companies in Quebec and New York state. Ontario has been losing \$360 million a year in retail spending due to cross-border shopping, and their budget makes the situation worse.

All these things, of which this bill is part, are part and parcel of the economic collapse in this province. I hope the government will reconsider its position after the submissions that have been made by representatives of the trucking



industry. They are faced with high operating costs and difficulty competing with the Americans, because clearly the entire system that has been created and emphasized by this government is unfairly tilted in the Americans' favour. Deregulation allows American truckers to haul goods between Canadian cities, while Canadians cannot do it in the United States. There is no question that is part of the problem.

In its budget, the government has hurt the trucking industry with this tax increase on diesel fuel at a time when it is suffering more than at any time in its history. The tax hike may have been unnecessary had the government implemented wage restraints on civil servants, as other provinces have done. It did not do that. It went ahead and willy-nilly raised the wages of its civil servants. I suspect this is one of the taxes it is implementing to pay for those high wages it has created.

Last year there were 655 bankruptcies in the trucking industry. This is a 74% increase from the previous year. As I understand it, this trend has been predicted to expand, and it will expand if this bill is implemented and this addition of operating costs continues.

Industry costs for trucking in Canada are 15% to 20% higher than in the United States. Again, this is not the sole cause, but it is part of it. I do not believe this government really analysed what this tax is going to do to the trucking industry. The industry was deregulated in 1988 and US truckers have had access to the Canadian market since 1989. This tax on diesel fuel should not be put forward at this time. The federal government certainly did not raise it. Minister Wilson did not raise it in his budget in February.

**Mr Perruzza:** The GST; you forgot about that.

**Mr Tilson:** The member of course is completely ignoring the downside this is having to the trucking industry, the effect this will have on the shipping costs of all industries and on all Canadian businesses, many of them facing the economic crunch brought on by the government's policies.

Those are my comments. I hope the government would reconsider this bill in light of the serious implication it is having on the economy of this province.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Before we move on to questions and comments, I want to have the record put straight. I made reference to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology being out of order. He is not present in the House, and my remarks should have been more appropriately directed to the Minister of Transportation.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** I will not rise with my responsibility as minister for francophone affairs this afternoon, but more to the point the previous speaker has raised. I want to set the record straight. When we talk about fuel taxes, if there is one area where the playing field vis-à-vis truckers is level it is this subject. We are talking about an inter-jurisdictional carriers' agreement, if you wish. Simply put, for every kilometre a driver from Buffalo, for instance, would drive in Ontario, he would pay an equivalent price, so there is no advantage one way or the other.

Ours has not been a record of excellence, in monitoring compliance, but a record of improvement. So yes, mem-

bers can take for granted that each and every driver who comes from the USA and drives rigs in Ontario pays the same price for fuels. But the member is correct when he talks about the playing field not being so level. He did not, because of the time constraints, I am sure—or maybe he simply did not know about the negative effects of deregulation; the systematic and deliberate undermining of truckers because of free trade; the high Canadian dollar; high interest rates still, although they have been declining compared to the interest rates available in the United States, and depreciation allowance, where it takes you more than twice as long to depreciate the cost of your trucks in Canada than it does in the United States.

**Some hon members:** The GST.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** The GST indeed—many components, but perhaps the GST is the catalyst. It has become the proverbial straw, if you have to add 7% on the price of a truck, and that price is in the neighbourhood of \$100,000. I could go on, but suffice it to say that when you set the record straight, all the components become a matter of record.

**Mr Stockwell:** After listening to that—the minister may believe it. I guess the reality is that when it comes to gas tax and saying the American pays just as much as the Canadian, it never dawned on this minister or this government that before a trucker crossed the border he would fill up. Guess what? That is exactly what they do. They fill up before they cross the border. If they can make that delivery before crossing, they get into Ontario, make their delivery and get as close as they can to the border and put minimum amounts of gas in to get back, and therefore they have avoided the tax. That can happen very often. If those members do not think they fill up before they cross the border at a tremendously reduced rate, of course they do. They must realize there are ways you can move around this.

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With respect to the other comments made on the high Canadian dollar and the high rate of interest, those are directly tied to the amount of money you borrow. Any economist—left-wing, centre or right-wing—is going to tell you that if you borrow a lot of money as a country or a province, you are driving up the interest rates to attract the money to borrow and you are driving up your dollar because outside forces are buying your dollar because of the attractive interest rates. The best way to get the dollar and the interest rates down is to stop running deficits and stop borrowing money against those deficits, because then you would reduce the dollar and interest rates.

**Mr Johnson:** Where did you study economics?

**Mr Stockwell:** He asks, "Where did you study economics." He should take Economics 101. Any professor will tell you that, whether he is NDP or Conservative. Anybody will tell you that if you want to reduce interest rates and reduce the value of the dollar, the first thing you should do is reduce your deficit and debt. Then you will not have to borrow, thereby making your dollar attractive and your interest rates artificially high to attract that investment.



What does this government do? In four years they run up the biggest deficit and the most debt that any government has done in Ontario, and they wail about high interest rates and a high dollar. They cannot have it both ways.

**Mr Wiseman:** It is always a pleasure to follow such an animated speaker as the member for Etobicoke West.

I would like to make a couple of comments about the doom-and-gloom scenario that has been painted here all afternoon about taxes. It is not as the members opposite would have people think. In fact, there are a number of programs we are doing that are very positive and very supportive of the business community.

I would like to draw reference to, for example, the tax-supported manufacturers' recovery program, which was written about on the weekend. It is \$57 million in money to Ontario-based small and medium-sized manufacturing companies. This will allow them to hire and produce more goods than they do now, especially for export. This has been written about before and I think it is a very good program to encourage the development of small businesses.

As a matter of fact, the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology has a number of offices throughout Ontario that put on small businessmen's seminars to help residents of Ontario start their small businesses. On two occasions I have used their expertise to help small businesses begin in my riding and a third occasion is coming up. I have had two seminars and a third one is coming up.

I think we have to be a little more measured in the way we talk about the climate in terms of business, because I think there are a number of people out there who are seizing the opportunity now to become entrepreneurs and to start their businesses. This comes out of the taxpayers' dollars and I think it is important we see that there are positive things happening in the business community and that it is not all as doom and gloom as the opposition would have people think.

**Mr Turnbull:** I am absolutely alarmed to see comments being made about the GST increasing the cost of trucks. For any member in this House to suggest that shows a great intellectual dishonesty. In fact, the GST reduced the cost of trucks, because trucks were subject to a 13.5% manufacturers' sales tax. The GST reduced it down to 8%.

**Mr Mammoliti:** Nice try, David.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order.

**Mr Turnbull:** If members across the floor do not know anything better, then quite frankly they should not be in this House, because they are incapable—

Interjections.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order. The member for Yorkview lowers the tone of the debate by this type of interjection. The member for York Mills will continue.

**Mr Turnbull:** I have very little else to say, other than the fact that it would behoove members well to at least be honest with the taxpayers and not perpetuate this fraud.

**Mr Wiseman:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I think it is unacceptable in this House to imply that the

motive of any member is to mislead the public and be dishonest.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order. The member for York Mills will continue.

**Mr Turnbull:** I have said my piece.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Further debate? Sorry, my apologies. We can go back to the member for Dufferin-Peel for a final two-minute summation.

**Mr Tilson:** It is very easy, of course, for their side to point to the GST and free trade. The whole gist of what we are talking about is operating expenses. What is causing the operating expenses of the Canadian trucker to be unfair as opposed to the American operating expenses? One of the causes is taxes. The people of this province are fed up with taxes. The government has just seen what their reaction is through the last municipal elections around this province and how they are very concerned about the effect of taxation on their way of life. I can tell members that the trucking industry is in the same boat.

This is a tax of 3.4 cents per litre. It is just another tax grab. It is just another tax grab that is going to extend this recession. It is going to continue to devastate the trucking industry. It is going to pick the pockets of workers. It is going to pick the pockets of workers in industries that rely on the motor vehicle transportation system and the whole shipping industry. There will be no beneficial impact on the environment. There will be no effort to spur on the improvement of our roads—there is some, but remember, we are still subsidizing the government by \$900 million as a result of what it is doing.

I do not think the government has thought it out. In all the response that has come back from the other side, they seem to be federal-bashing. Again, the government is not looking at its own policies and the effect of its own policies on the trucking industry of this province.

**Mr Bisson:** I was not going to get up and debate today because I figured enough would be said on this subject with the points that were being made by the opposition, but I sat here and listened to what the last two or three honourable members said on this particular bill and there is no question that Ontarians, and I think Canadians generally, are looking at the question of taxation with a certain amount of trepidation.

One of the things I would like to point to is something we talked about in a previous debate; that is, the reason that governments in Canada have much more commitment, I think, towards the people within our society generally than what you will find south of the border. South of the border, they do not have things like health care and many other programs that we are used to in this country. Consequently, we have to pay for those programs. I think the other thing we need to keep in consideration is that the level of population for the amount of geography we have in this country is quite significant when it comes to the question of taxation. We have the second-largest country in land mass in the world, with the smallest population per capita in the world. That does have an effect with regard to the ability of the government to deliver services.



For example, it is generally much more expensive to deliver services when it comes to the construction of roads in Ontario than in the state of Minnesota or the state of New York. For example, the state of New York is much smaller than the province of Ontario and has a much larger population base, so obviously it is much more expensive to do those things here in Ontario. If we want to provide those services to the people of this province in a way that people would like to have them with regard to good service, there is a price tied to that.

The previous member spoken with regard to the unfair tilt towards the Americans when it comes to the transportation industry. I would tend to agree that this is quite right. There is an unfair tilt when it comes to doing business with people in the United States. There are a number of reasons the member failed to talk about. He did talk about one, and I was glad to hear that. The member for Dufferin-Peel spoke of the effects of deregulation on the trucking industry, and for that I commend him. For once I heard somebody in this House, from the opposition, get up and actually admit that one of the problems in this province is not because the NDP took power, but actually because there is a problem with regard to some of the regulations that previous governments have put in and the effect those have on the Ontario economy.

I was glad, and I support the member in what he is saying. It is true. I agree with him and I think everybody in this House will agree with him, along with most Ontarians, that deregulation of the trucking industry and transportation generally has been quite devastating to the people of this province and to the industry generally. For that I thank him. It is the first time I have seen a member get up and actually say something something about the reality of what is happening out there.

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There are a number of other things that put that tilt very uneven when it comes to competing with the Americans. We talk about a level playing field. We are witnesses now, some 250,000 jobs later, to the effects of the free trade agreement on the economy of Ontario. Of course they will say, "Let's not bash the feds." Excuse me, but every morning when I wake up, until the next general election in Ottawa, there is a Tory government there and it does have an effect on what is happening in this country. For them to sit here and try to blame all the woes of the economy on the Ontario government presently in office is quite wrong and unfair.

The reality is that we inherited a mess. A number of things have happened in our economy in regard to rules and regulations that were put in place, yes, by the federal government and by previous governments. Members should take a look at the question of taxation. It is true that people in this province, along with people all over this country, feel that taxation is quite an issue, but I would remind Ontarians and all Canadians that it was not a New Democratic government that set up the system of taxation in this country. No, 44 years of Tory rule in Ontario and another five years of Liberals have built us quite a taxation system, and many of the points the member for Dufferin-Peel raised are quite true.

Our government is attempting and working at bringing together various people from our economy, the business sector and the labour sector, the people who are generally interested in questions of the economy, in the Fair Tax Commission. We recognize as a social democratic government that if you are going to have an economy that is building, you have to have certain things there to encourage business.

Taxation is one of them, not only for the business people but for people in general. I think taxation should be fair. Most people agree that everybody should pay a fair share of taxes and we should have a progressive tax system to reflect that. I commend the efforts of our government and the honourable member for Nickel Belt, the Treasurer, for putting together the Fair Tax Commission. Over a longer period of time we will be able to come to some of the solutions.

[Applause]

**Mr Bisson:** The member from the Liberal Party applauded, and for that I say thanks. I hope the member will participate on the Fair Tax Commission and bring forward suggestions, and say thanks again.

The other thing I noticed today is that both Tory members talked about intellectual dishonesty on the part of this government in dealing with the problems within the province. I say again, let's get with it. This province did not end up in the shape it is in overnight. Why did it get there? Because of policies put up in the past.

I spoke a little while ago to the whole question of building up confidence within the province through our consumers. There are a couple of facts we need to remember. Roughly 90% of people in this province are still working, and because those people are working they still have disposable income. If we undermine their confidence, they will not spend that disposable income. If they do not spend their money, the small business sector will not make the money it deserves, along with the manufacturing sector, until the government has the money to pay for our services.

Members of this House and people such as Mr Bulloch and others within the business community going around and speaking doom and gloom in Ontario because there is a social democratic government are doing a disservice not only to this government but to all people in this province. After all, I would think the business parties across the way, as they purport themselves to be, would do something positive to support small business in this province in industry.

I have yet to see them do anything other than sit there and yell "Chicken Little, the sky is falling in this province" and undermine any type of confidence the people have in the economy. They are really trying to fill out a self-fulfilling prophecy. I would say again for fairly political reasons, if the members want to get up on a point of ideological difference and debate that on whatever regulation they feel, I do not have a problem with that. But when it is a Chicken Little type of syndrome, I do not quite agree.

With that, I will cede my place to other members who want to get into this debate, but there were a few points I thought were important to make. Obviously the members opposite who will get up now will find all kinds of reasons



why they think what I am saying is not quite true, but I look forward to the two minutes afterwards to try to point out some of the inaccuracies they will come up with in the next two minutes.

**Mr Chiarelli:** Just very briefly, the member for Cochrane South seemed to indicate that the problems did not develop overnight. When we are looking at the question of the budget and the deficit, this government took over at a time when it said the books had been cooked by the previous Liberal government. They claimed at that time, and this was the Treasurer and the Premier, that really in effect there was a \$700-million deficit and not a balance situation.

**An hon member:** Yes, they were right.

**Mr Chiarelli:** One of the members says, "Yes, they were right." If this government was correct, how does it get from a \$700-million deficit to \$9.7 billion? It is on their table. It is on their desk. Even if we accept their accusation that they came to government with a \$700-million deficit, which their Premier and their Treasurer said, then they should tell the people of Ontario whose fault it is that this government went from \$700 million to \$9.7 billion. It is their fault, it is their budget, it is their fiscal mismanagement which gets us from \$700 million to \$9.7 billion.

We are getting sick and tired on this side of this government continually pointing fingers at the Tory government before us and at the Liberal government. They thought they were being cute and they were being smart saying, "Yes, we took over with this terrible \$700-million deficit that Mr Nixon left with us." The fact is that there was a balanced budget, but even accepting their position when they took over of a \$700-million deficit, let them tell the province how they have gone from \$700 million in terms of a deficit to \$9.7 billion. They refuse to tell the people of Ontario how they have got to that point.

**Mr Tilson:** My guess is the deficit has climbed a lot higher than what the member has just reiterated of \$9.7 billion. My guess is it is much higher.

I was not going to rise and respond to this member's finger-pointing, but I must say that his comments are full of inaccuracies. I would like to remind him of three points, as a result of what his government has done since it has taken office. His budget includes \$1 billion in tax hikes. If members think, two summers ago, how the members of this government went around telling what a terrible thing the Liberal government had done with its series of tax increases, yet here, in one year, there has been \$1 billion in tax hikes. The provincial debt will double to \$77 billion by 1994-95. Their government will collect \$18.6 billion in taxes more than the Conservative government did in 1984-85.

The member should get his facts straight before he starts pointing fingers. That seems to be their way out of all their problems, pointing fingers. That is not the way to deal with problems in this province. The way they should be dealing with problems is to analyse their difficulties before they start putting forward these very regressive tax policies.

**Mr Wiseman:** I would like to make a few comments about the way money is spent and what the results would be if we were to just all of a sudden follow the path of the members opposite. In Michigan, for example, they elected a Republican governor, and what ensued was a 20% increase—

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order, please. I have to remind the member that he must direct his comments to those made by the member for Cochrane South.

**Mr Wiseman:** Exactly, and I will do that in terms of, as he mentioned, the services that were involved in Ontario in terms of what our tax dollars are supporting. It is interesting to draw comparisons to other jurisdictions. For example, we would have to have a 20% decrease in the police force and the firefighting. We would have to look to decreasing all the expenditures our hospitals are making. All this money has to come from somewhere, and unfortunately we need taxes in order to get it.

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In my riding, for example, there is a very strong concern for the expansion of Highway 401. My residents would be particularly upset if Highway 401 were not widened to gain greater access to Toronto. We are having a hospital expansion of almost \$22 million. My constituents, in a growing area, need to have an expanding hospital in order to take care of the needs. There are women who are having babies in the halls of the Ajax and Pickering General Hospital. It is important that we understand that to meet the objectives of the balanced budget and cut \$9 billion out of the current expenditures, as the Liberals and Tories would do, would reap untold hardship on huge sections of the population.

**Mr Bisson:** I listened with interest to a couple of points that were made. It was quite interesting that the member from the Liberal caucus—the riding escapes me; it is buried underneath the work I am doing here—really had a selective memory with regard to the little surprise we were left with on taking office in 1990. I would remind the member that it was not \$700 million; it was \$2.5 billion.

What happened to the extra spending? What happened is that the revenues of the province went down because of the amount the economy went down with respect to what happened to our tax base. It is not very hard to figure out.

**Mr Chiarelli:** That excuse wasn't good enough for Nixon, though.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order. The member for Ottawa West has continuously, throughout the last 45 minutes, interjected inappropriately. You are out of order. I would appreciate having civility from all sides of the House.

**Mr Bisson:** Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. It is well appreciated.

Anyway, the point is that the member's memory was selective. It was not \$700 million that we were left as a little surprise; it was \$2.5 billion.

The other point is that as a government coming in we could have really made political hay with that. We could have pointed fingers at the past Liberal government and



said, "Oh, my God, look at what they've done," but no, we understood that part of what happened there was not totally in their control. The economy started to slide in 1990, and consequently the budget forecast they made going into the 1990 budget affected the outcome and that is why that \$2.5 billion was there. Let's be realistic.

The member for Dufferin-Peel talked about finger-pointing. All I can say to the member is that I certainly hope he takes the point well, and along with the rest of his colleagues stops finger-pointing and starts working for the people of this province for the salary he is being paid. It does not mean we will not disagree on some issues, but we have a lot of work to do together to make this a better province to live in.

**Mr Stockwell:** I will be very clear about the concerns I have specifically about this tax. We always seem to get sidetracked when debating this issue because the government members insist on bringing forward federal pieces of legislation that impact on the trucking industry—the gas prices and so on. To be fair, there were certainly some issues in the past that have had an impact on the trucking industry in this province. But the dilemma they are faced with today is that this government has the capacity to control, refine and devise taxes that will impact the industry in Ontario.

Make no mistake about it: The trucking industry in Ontario is on the verge of collapse; it is on the verge of collapsing around us. The closures have been astounding. I think the number used by the member for Dufferin-Peel was 74% more bankruptcies—listen to that number—74% more bankruptcies this year than last year in the trucking industry, and when the final numbers come in this year they are expecting that number to be up again. Surely to goodness this government and any government—I do not care what political stripe it is—could understand at this point that there are very serious problems in this industry.

Some would suggest that deregulation has something to do with it. I do not think we would get a debate. Yes, that has made some impact.

As I said before about the GST, there will be some argument there with respect to the reduction in the cost of manufacturing the truck and the removal of the 13.5% manufacturing tax, replaced by the 7% GST. That debate can get somewhat convoluted into the end value of the truck, but there may well be a debate there.

The tax rate on fuel and the competitiveness of the tax rate is truly an important issue we must discuss. In the United States, federal taxes on gasoline are lower than the Canadian counterparts, no doubt about it. That study was brought forward at the committee the members opposite sat on with myself. The major discrepancy involved the provincial or state taxes on gasoline. That is not a debating point; that is not something that needs to be discussed for any length of time. In cases with bordering states, the province of Ontario is charging nearly three times more in tax on a gallon of gasoline than our competitors. That is not a debate; that is a fact that was pointed out very clearly at the committee that studied the cross-border shopping issue. The discussion that took place at that time was how

best we can help this industry that is struggling and having very serious problems.

Mr David Bradley, the president of the Ontario Trucking Association, who is a very knowledgeable man when it comes to this issue, has said very clearly that the quick fix for the trucking industry at this time would be to not implement the gas tax hikes the Treasurer announced in his budget. The president of the Ontario Trucking Association said, "I don't blame you for everything, but the quick fix is that you can't keep hammering the taxes on gas without seeing repercussions in the industry."

We have major trucking companies that have gone bankrupt. We have major trucking companies on the verge of closing. We have major multinational companies on the verge of moving. No one is going to suggest that the gasoline tax is universally and singularly responsible for those decisions. But although one tax will not close a company down, and one tax will not shift a company from one country to another, it has added to the malaise of tax in the province of Ontario.

We are, by some accounts—again, it could be debated—one of the highest tax jurisdictions, if not the highest, in North America. Even if you are not the highest tax jurisdiction but in the top 10%, you are certainly losing a competitive advantage neighbouring states and provinces would have. Free trade is often cited as an example of concern in the trucking industry. But some of these associations, some of these outfits, are not moving to New York and Michigan; they are moving to Manitoba and Quebec. The question that must be asked by any fairminded individual across the floor is, if they are moving to Manitoba and Quebec, how could free trade or the GST have anything to do with that decision? The question is quite simple. There is some impact by those, but there must be some impact and there must be some responsibility taken by the government in power in Ontario.

The frustration level is obviously getting high across the floor when you get slammed as a critic for criticizing the government. It is frustrating, I suppose, to be constantly criticized by people across the floor. That is the way this system works. There is government and there is opposition. Opposition's role, a properly elected role, and a role that party itself took to the nth degree in criticizing—

**Mr Mammoliti:** We did it with a lot more style.

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**Mr Stockwell:** They suggest they did it with more style. There are a number of people out there who would suggest that is not the word they would use.

It is very difficult to take the comments brought forward by this group that the biggest problem it has is that the opposition parties are undermining the confidence of the consumer, thereby making its job more difficult, and that in some cases that is responsible for the tough recession we are in today. That is laughable.

We will get an opportunity over the next few days to discuss a few of the tax measures that have been announced by this government in its budget, and again it will hear from the opposition benches. I think what we must



bear in mind is that we are not federally elected politicians; we are not municipally elected politicians; we are elected in Ontario to this Legislature and there are some things we have control over and others we simply do not have control over.

It is interesting that when we debate the economy and we have trucking companies on the verge of collapse and trucking companies that have declared bankruptcy at a record rate this year and last, the response we continue to hear from this government is high interest rates and a high Canadian dollar and free trade. I am afraid this government does not have any control over the free trade issue. When it came to the GST, I thought they were going to have a public revolt in this province on the issue. They promised that, I think, during the election—there were a number of promises they dealt with during the election—and of course it was forgotten.

What is left? This government can control to some degree the high interest rate and high dollar problem, as I explained before. By borrowing less and running less of a deficit and less of a debt, they could certainly control the interest rate and dollar problem. Having their credit rating downgraded certainly does not help, because of course they have to pay more money in interest on the money borrowed, and a \$9.7-billion deficit certainly has not helped. All these things get folded into operating in this climate.

The other suggestion is on the gasoline, that any American trucker is going to pay the same price as a Canadian trucker. That seems like a really ridiculous reason to raise taxes, but we must respond to the rationale of this government, no matter how convoluted it is. We all know full well that before the American trucker crosses the border he or she fills up, as I suggested to the Minister of Transportation, I believe. He buys his gas in Michigan and then comes across the border and does whatever he does and tries to get back as close as he can to the border, and puts in only as much gas in this province as he needs because it is more expensive.

That is what they do. We all know that is what they do. He would be an idiot not to do it. So to make the suggestion that this tax will capture American truckers doing business in this province is lunacy. It is absolute lunacy to introduce this if that is one of their motives, if their modus operandi is to catch American truckers. They have to come up with a better reason than that. Even the weakest minds out there cannot buy into that one.

The other argument would be the increase in the unemployment problem. By having employment dropping the way it is in this province, hundreds of thousands of job losses—why are we losing those jobs? Specifically, the trucking industry is one hard-hit sector. The argument from the business community is it just does not have any confidence in this government. That makes this government mad and I am not really sure why, because at every opportunity this government has been given to prove that it has some concerns about business people in this province, it has fumbled the ball.

On a number of occasions they have been given the opportunity to prove they have the business minds to un-

derstand what it takes to operate a business in this province, and all they have done is introduce legislation that makes it more difficult to operate in this province. There is the labour legislation. They have introduced a budget to spend like no one ever has before spent in this province. They have run a deficit that is unparalleled in deficits in this province. They are increasing the debt at an alarming rate and, with this, they have lost the confidence of the business community. We have had collapses in the business community that have cost jobs and we have had taxes they find they have to increase next year to make up for the amount of money they could not collect this year.

One of the interesting articles—I mentioned it earlier—was on profitability. That is a word this government does not like to use, but it is another one that falls in line with the trucking industry. When the government increases the tax on gasoline and diesel fuel, it is taking that money directly from the bottom line of any trucker or trucking company. They simply do not have the capacity to pass that cost on because it is such a competitive market.

Government members themselves have suggested that deregulation and free trade have caused the competitiveness to tilt in favour of the Americans. If they truly believed that, the last thing they would be doing today would be to put the Canadian trucking industry in a far more untenable situation by increasing the tax on gasoline.

If they truly believe that, why are they supporting this tax today? Not one of them has answered that question. If they honestly believe the trucking industry is in such dire straits, through federal government policies, why are they nailing the last nail into its coffin? Because they are mad at the feds? That is a really good reason to drive the nail into the trucking industry's coffin—because they are mad at the government in Ottawa. The government is trying to settle a score with the federal government, so it increases the tax on gasoline. That is not going to help the truckers. That is not going to help the industry. That is not going to help all those people who are out of work and create employment.

The best of all is that this government staged this tax hike under the guise of an environmental tax. We on this side of the House and those truckers and businesses out there know full well that this was a cash grab because the government was short of money. Even to hint that this is an environmental tax on cars or trucks is absolutely insulting to the intelligence of the people of Ontario.

They can shake their heads all they want, but that is what their government said. When they increased the tax on gasoline for cars and the tax on trucks, they suggested this was an environmental concern. Let them as a government tell me exactly how much of the new money they are generating because they have increased taxes on gas and diesel fuel is going to the environment. They should break that number out and give it to us. I suggest it is precious little, if any.

It is much like what the previous government did with the tire tax. The NDP followed their lead, which I find tremendously disappointing. When they introduced the tire tax as an environmental tax to save the environment, it cost consumers and truck drivers and trucking companies money to buy tires on the explicit promise that the government



would spend this money on the environment. I heard one announcement, by my count—members can correct me if I am wrong—about how this tire tax money was going to be spent on environmental concerns.

The government has collected literally millions and millions of dollars. This government should not start hiding tax hikes behind the environment. If they are going to do that, then I insist they have audits and show exactly how much money they collected with this tax and exactly where it was spent on the environment. They know full well they will not subject themselves to that audit, because they are treating this tax, like the gas tax, as a simple cash grab. It is a cash grab to offset the high cost of their spending.

**An hon member:** To feed the children, surely.

**Mr Stockwell:** There is high spending involved. Do not tell me it is to feed the children.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Please address the chair.

**Mr Stockwell:** This is a tax that will be used to apply to the 14% salary hikes and hirings these people did in the civil service. That is what this tax is for. This tax could be used for the salary increases they gave senior staff, which amounted to huge sums of money. That is what this tax could be used for. They have frivolous and wasteful spending and they are trying to tell us that every tax they institute, including the gas tax or the diesel tax, is used to feed children. If that were true, they might find some support.

When they did a 14% payroll increase to the public service union last year, I am afraid it just is not going to cut it with the public. This tax represents a 31% increase in diesel fuel, a very substantial increase. After pre-budget consultations with the Treasurer, he did not mention this was going to happen. Fuel costs represent up to 80% of operating costs for a truck driver in a company that works in this province, which is an interesting statistic.

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When they add a 31% increase on something that is 80% of operating costs, they have fundamentally stolen money from the mouths of truckers, the profit they would use to stay in business, to buy their groceries, to pay their mortgages. They take the money out of their mouths when they put this kind of tax in place: a 31% increase in fuel, which is 80% of the operating costs for a trucking person or company or whatever.

The Ontario Trucking Association estimates that it will add \$2,000 in tax costs per truck per year. That is what this tax will mean. How would members or anyone they know like a \$2,000 reduction in their income? That is exactly what it represents to a trucker. By increasing this tax on private haulers who are in business for themselves, by increasing the tax on gasoline, which represents a \$2,000 increase in operating costs, the government has just reduced their salaries year over year by \$2,000. That is exactly what it means.

I do not think they gave any of the unions that work in Ontario a \$2,000 reduction in their salaries. In fact, I think it was quite the opposite. How would they expect an industry or employees within an industry to react when they just basically said, "We're cutting your salary by \$2,000"?

Worse than that, this is another reason exactly for the collapse of the Ontario trucking industry in Ontario.

Mark my words, the industry is collapsing. If the members opposite think this is scaremongering, if they think this is just to raise the level of debate in this House, I ask each and every one of them individually to go out and pick any trucking company they know of, any trucking company they choose. I would ask them to ask for a meeting with the president, vice-president or anyone involved in appropriating the costs of that company. I would ask the members to ask them what this gas tax means to their profitability, what this gas tax means to their ability to continue operating in this province. I would ask the members to do that. I would think that they, as conscientious members of this Legislature, would want to do that.

**Mr Mammoliti:** Calm down, Chris.

**Mr Stockwell:** The member for Yorkview is suggesting I should calm down. I am really sorry he would suggest something like that. Some tax is costing jobs, causing companies to collapse, causing people to lose their jobs from major trucking, movers, haulers, and he is saying: "Calm down. Don't get worked up. Don't get excited."

When people lose their work, which means they will lose their house or they cannot feed their family and they have to go on unemployment or welfare, that gets me upset. I think that should get him upset. The really sad part about it is that it does not get him upset. He sits in this House and snickers at all those people who have lost their jobs. That is shameful, absolutely shameful.

I put this to the member across, who says I should calm down, why does he not go into these associations, the trucking association, or go to a trucker's business? He should go there and he should ask them what this tax means, and then he should say, when they get a little excited, "Why don't you just calm down?" and see the reaction from those people when they are about to lose their jobs and he tells them to calm down.

My goodness, the reaction would be very different from mine, and it may in fact become physical at some point, because they would be so distressed with a member of this Legislature acting in such a cavalier manner when their jobs are on the line, not his.

**Mr Mammoliti:** Ask about what happened 50 years ago. You should be ashamed of yourself.

**Mr Stockwell:** It is very difficult, because you end up with a member from across the floor yelling about 50 years ago. In this debate, not only can we not stay at the provincial level, we have to move on to a federal level and then a global level because they are raising taxes, we now have to talk about things that happened 50 years ago. This member cannot even remember what he wrote in August 1990 in the Agenda for People, but he can recall what happened 50 years ago. Honest to goodness, it is a serious case of selective amnesia and it gets to be somewhat frustrating.

This will push more truckers already on the brink of failure into bankruptcy. Why not have more rigorous collection of the fuel tax charges on the US operators who fuelled up before they come over? I think that is a good



idea. Why do they not do that if they want to catch the American truckers? They should have more rigorous inspections to charge them the tax before they come over. Maybe that would be a way of catching the American operators.

We could probably ask for better enforcement, thereby creating a better situation. Maybe that would be a better situation. To be more vigilant would certainly be a far better attitude to the truckers who are crossing at the borders.

If we continue to force businesses, including the trucking industry, to pay more in taxes, to pay more money to do business in the province, then we are only doing one thing. We are reducing the profitability of those businesses.

This government points with glee to its Fair Tax Commission. The Fair Tax Commission was based on one assumption before they struck it. During the Agenda for People debate, which I think was the last election, this government said there should be a minimum corporate tax, and suddenly we developed the Fair Tax Commission. I am not really sure why this could not have been referred to the Fair Tax Commission and debated and discussed over a period of time, rather than implemented today, causing trucking industries to shut down. I would much prefer to see this government shut down than I would the trucking industry, to be perfectly frank.

But here we now have a government that says the reason it started the Fair Tax Commission was a minimum corporate tax. It is getting to the point where it is a colossal waste of time to be having the Fair Tax Commission if that was its premise. Do not worry about a minimum corporate tax; you have to have profits before you can have a minimum corporate tax.

As pointed out in the Globe and Mail today by Mr Peter Cook, as I said earlier, in the 1981-82 recession, which was again a recession in this province, corporations' profits were roughly 7%. They suggested it dipped to 7%. This tax again has an impact on profits, because it cuts into the profits. They rolled down to 7% in profitability, and that was a cause for concern. That was the floor. It had never dipped so low in the history of this province. There were many corporations that were concerned about that, many businesses that had concerns and so forth.

In 1991 profits have been hovering around 4%. As pointed out in question period today to the Treasurer, across the border in the United States the profitability levels are in the 6.5% and 7% range. These kinds of taxes go a long way in creating that disparity.

Whether we like profits or do not like profits, the simple situation is that without profits, companies do not prosper. Without prospering companies, they do not hire. Without hiring, people do not work, and without working, they cannot, I believe, fulfil their dream, which is to be a valued person in society who gives back some.

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What we are faced with today is lowering the profitability of the corporations due to the oppressive taxes and the uncompetitiveness in our society, in Canada and in this province specifically. What is happening, having investments so fluid, with no confidence, not just by the business

community but consumers as well—consumers are not spending. They have no confidence in this economy. They probably have no confidence in this provincial government. They are not spending at alarming rates.

The government can say to everyone that it is the federal government's fault, but no one is suffering through this economic downturn more than the province of Ontario. Surely to goodness there must be some responsibility accepted by this government for why we are suffering through this recession at such an alarmingly higher rate than neighbouring provinces.

Profitability is one answer. There is only one answer when the government talks about the labour legislation it is announcing. There is only one answer from business. They do not like it. They think it goes much too far. They have not been consulted. By ramming that through, the government is guaranteeing that another nail is driven into the business community's coffin in Ontario. They are leaving. Like the trucking industry, they are leaving, in some cases because they want to get out or, in some cases—as stated before, there is 75% higher bankruptcy—because they cannot operate in this climate.

If that is the kind of effect the government would like to see happen in Ontario, it is achieving that. But I do not honestly believe that is something the government is asking for. I do not honestly believe that is something they are heading towards simply because big unions tend to call the shots in their caucus. They are bringing forward legislation that is detrimental to the business community, and the trucking industry in particular.

We can talk about this tax specifically. During the 1982 recession, the Conservative government at the time ran a deficit. Why did they run a deficit? There are two ways to run a deficit, and this is another point to the increase in the taxes here. You can either increase taxes, and there is no deficit; you can spend money you do not have, and then there is a deficit, or you can realize a deficit by removing taxes. That is exactly what happened in 1982 by a Conservative government.

There are deficits that have been run by previous governments during recessions, but it is how that deficit is arrived at. If you run a deficit by reducing taxes—that is what took place. The retail sales tax, I believe, was one point, and temporary exemptions for sales tax on heavy trucks and trailer parts and labour. If you want to reduce taxes, that is good, in my opinion, to jump-start the economy; you are leaving money in the economy. But this is exactly the wrong thing to do in the middle of a recession to exactly the wrong industry. I do not think one could find six people in this industry who would say this is a good idea. I do not believe any of the unions involved in this industry support this tax. Any owners do not support it. Any owner-operators do not support it.

**Mr O'Connor:** Name a tax they like.

**Mr Stockwell:** I am not certain one could find a tax anyone likes, but at this time this is exactly the wrong tax to institute, because it is going to do one of two things: either force companies to leave to be more competitive or force them to go bankrupt because they do not have the



business. It is that simple. There is not enough business to maintain operations in this province.

A lot of the business has been taken by the Americans who are coming up and doing the trucking. Their costs of doing business where they are located are significantly lower than here; it may be their drivers or maybe the taxes of the state. Our industry cannot compete. In fact, some private haulers today, owner-operators, are taking jobs they lose money on just so they can have the cash flow to stay in business. Do members realize that? Do they know that is happening? Some owner-operators are taking jobs they are losing money on just for the cash flow to stay in business.

Does the government think that is a healthy economy? Do they think that is good? Do they realize that by implementing this tax in the next month or so, they are just going to drive another nail in the coffin of an industry that is reeling, an industry that I do not believe the government has met with?

I ask again, and this should be an ongoing request for government caucus members, that every time the government is going to institute a new tax it should be required reading, required as part of the course, MPP 101, to go out and meet with somebody involved in that industry and determine exactly how well the industry could handle a tax hike such as this. The government would find that of all the taxes it has introduced, the billion dollars or so, this specific tax is the least liked, the least accepted and the least allowed tax, in my opinion, the government has some forward with. This industry, as I said, is heading down a road that I am not sure it can recover from even after this government leaves office.

I mentioned the red herring about the environmental statement. Ontario does need a very viable domestic trucking industry. It is healthy; it creates work; it creates a tremendous amount of tax that it pays, outside of this, to continue to provide the valued services we have become accustomed to in this province.

By introducing this tax, which is a cash grab, they are doing nothing to build up a rather fragmented sector. By doing so and driving these numerous companies out of business, as I said, bankruptcies were up 75%. Not only do they have to replace the losses in taxes they would have generated on this new fuel tax, they have to replace a significant amount of tax truckers would have paid simply because they did business in this province. By looking for a very short-term cash grab and driving businesses out of the province or out of business, the government now has to make up a considerable amount of money they paid in taxes before they left or closed down.

The argument put forward by the other side is, "You're always finger-pointing and creating an unhealthy feeling outside in the community." If I honestly felt that by speaking in this House and bringing forward the kind of information we have in the last few days about this tax it would make any difference at all to this government, that members would maybe change their minds or would go out and speak to somebody in this industry on a personal basis, we might find opposition critics and opposition members a

little more interested in discussing these issues with members across the floor.

Clearly, as I think Mr Bulloch said, talking to this government is like talking to a tree. There is absolutely no point in talking to this government. They do not hear you, they do not listen, and from a business point of view, they do not believe you.

I invite members opposite to meet with just one person in the trucking industry—the minister as well. I am not sure how much clout the Minister of Revenue has at the cabinet table, but if she really takes her job seriously, I invite her to come out and talk to some people in this industry. I would ask her to defend the decision that her caucus and her cabinet made with respect to increasing the gas and diesel fuel taxes. I ask them to do that. I have not seen any of them stand up and defend this decision. All I have seen this caucus and this government do across the floor is finger-point at other levels of government that made this industry into what it is today, which is not a very viable one.

That is all they have done. If they think this is a good idea, why is it a good idea? Why is increasing the tax on this industry a good idea? I do not want to hear about deregulation. It is gone. We cannot recapture that. Those licences that were sold are gone. They are licensed. We cannot protect that. Whether we agree with the GST or free trade, it is over. That debate has ended. There is nothing we can do about it.

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The government should tell me why it believes increasing the tax by some 30% on an industry that is reeling is a good idea. What are they going to get from this besides money? Is it going to create any work? Is it going to boost this industry? Is this industry undertaxed? Is this industry declaring huge profits?

That was what I heard a minute ago, about the profitability argument, and someone said, "What about the banks?" I do not know about the banks, but this tax is not directed at banks. This tax is directed at the trucking industry. Can any members opposite hold their hands up and tell me they think the trucking industry—I would like to see a show of hands—in this province is healthy, viable, a going concern, and declaring huge profits that need to be taxed? Is that the case? I certainly do not see it.

It is very amusing to hear members opposite complaining about the opposition parties and their role in the fearmongering they suggest they harbour in trying to make this government look bad, when this government is not even prepared to debate an issue in this Legislature. This government is not prepared to answer a simple question. Whenever we ask, "Why are you doing this?" we get some misguided answer about the federal government's policies in the past, provincial governments from 15 or 20 years ago or Liberal governments from five years ago. It is over. Who cares? Why is the government increasing taxes at this time in this specific economy? That is the question I would like to have answered. That is the question that has not been answered.

In closing, we have given the government the statistics. Quickly, the statistics are 75% more bankruptcies from last



year. They think that level is going to be as high again. We have given them an industry, the trucking industry, that is virtually on the verge of collapsing. We have talked about a 30% increase in the tax on the trucking industry. We have talked about it representing 80% of operating costs. We have talked about major trucking firms on the verge of collapsing or moving, and we cannot even get their attention.

If anyone across the floor would like to take his two minutes and give me a brief explanation of why this tax is essential, and what benefits this tax is going to bring to the people in Ontario and the trucking industry in Ontario, I would be very interested to listen, because to date I have not heard it.

**Mrs Caplan:** In the two minutes I have I want to point out that this particular bill before the House today is of real concern to my constituents in the riding of Oriole. They are always concerned about tax increases, but I think people are especially concerned about the impact of gas taxes on cross-border shopping.

I have been discussing with a number of people the proposal of the mayors' task force for a differential gas tax which would permit those communities on the border to have a lower tax so they would not be enticed across the border simply by the differential in gas prices. My own constituents in the riding of Oriole would likely not be impacted by that, but they understand the devastating effects of cross-border shopping on the province. I think there is general support for anything which would encourage people to shop in Ontario so jobs would not be lost. We all know that when people cross the border and are enticed by lower prices for gas as well as consumer goods, this has an enormous impact on the economy of Ontario.

My constituents in the riding of Oriole do not feel taxes should increase at this time of recession in the province, but they are particularly concerned with the effects of cross-border shopping, that the government did not respond to the recommendations of the mayors' task force and at least try out the proposal, perhaps in a few pilot sites, to allow border communities to see if having a lower gas price would stop the flow of important dollars across our borders.

**Mr Turnbull:** I want to congratulate my colleague for an excellent presentation. Let's just talk about some of the things he spoke about. With respect to the suggestion by the Treasurer that this bill was brought in for environmental reasons, I have never heard of anything quite as silly in all my life. If anybody were to study the provincial government's own study on the trucking industry, he would conclude that this is an industry that cannot afford new equipment. You cannot afford to buy new equipment if you are not making any profits, and this, believe me, is an industry which is not making any profits.

We have an industry in absolute crisis. We have had many large companies collapse within the last few years and we have many independents which to make ends meet are having to work unusually long hours. There was an interesting article in the Financial Times some months ago

about truckers existing on a diet of pep pills and alcohol just to keep themselves going.

Finally, on the question of tax collection, it is true that truckers from out of province theoretically get money collected, but in fact the Ontario government is doing an extremely bad job with the existing legislation at collecting money in the US, particularly from the independents. We have only two man-years of auditing done in the US as compared with several hundred by typical US states. Indeed we are forgoing the revenue that could be had by tapping into those taxes that out-of-province truckers should be paying. This government should be doing that rather than further penalizing our own truckers.

**Mr Phillips:** I also commend the member's statement on a variety of counts. One is the jobs, and as all of us were home this weekend talking to our constituents, the overriding concern out there is jobs, jobs, jobs. Probably for the first time in many people's lives, they are seeing the possibility that the job they thought they had essentially for life is now under threat. Here is an area where it is clear: Taxes go up on fuel and jobs are lost.

The members may recall that the standing committee on finance and economic affairs spent a lot of time and energy looking for solutions to cross-border shopping. All the mayors in the cross-border areas who were before us said, "Give us some help." There was one key recommendation the New Democratic members of that committee moved, with the support I might add of ourselves and the third party, and that recommendation was that before any new legislation or regulations were put into place, such as this tax bill we are dealing with today, a jobs analysis be done, that we look at the impact on jobs before we pass it. That was not something that had just third party support. It was something that came from the government members on that legislative committee with our support.

This particular bill, if passed, will have a profound impact on cross-border shopping. If there is one thing this government should have done, it is a jobs analysis of the impact this would have had. Certainly all parties supported that. Had we had that, perhaps we could have dealt with this on a more rational basis.

1750

**The Deputy Speaker:** The member for Etobicoke West has two minutes to reply.

**Mr Stockwell:** It is rather shameful that if we ask members across the floor to defend a piece of legislation that calls for higher taxes, not one member can rise and give a simple explanation as to why they are doing this, simply because they only got briefed on GST, on free trade, on deregulation and on a few other items. They did not bother to get briefed on the legislation they are passing, which increases the taxes on an industry that is literally dying before our eyes. They will not stand up and defend the decision they are taking to increase taxes.

I begged them. I said to them, "Please stand up and explain to me why this tax at this time on this industry is so very important to implement." Not one member of the government stood up and gave us a defence of this legislation, simply because unless they are prepared to talk about



deregulation and GST and free trade, they simply cannot debate anything, let alone a tax on the truckers in Ontario.

Lastly, it is already available, if they want to be vigilant in collecting the taxes they are losing from the truckers crossing the border. It is available. They have got that capacity; they are just not doing it. Changing a word here and there is not going to make a difference. They have to become vigilant and collect it. In New York state they have got a mass of auditors out to collect. I think we have two.

**Mr Johnson:** We have to raise the taxes so we have more auditors.

**Mr Stockwell:** Look, if my friend is telling me he is going to raise taxes to collect from Americans crossing the border, that is one thing, but to raise taxes, not defend it and crush an industry that is dying is absolutely insane.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate? If not, the parliamentary assistant.

**Mr Johnson:** I would like to make just a few closing comments in response to some of the issues raised by members of the opposition parties during this debate and on other aspects of the bill that have not drawn too much attention. Most of the debate has focused on the increases in tax rates that are contained in the bill. Certainly that is not surprising. No one likes to see increases in taxes.

A number of members have commented on the impact or potential impact of the fuel tax increases on the trucking industry. I do not think anyone would deny that fuel costs are a significant component of a trucker's overall costs of doing business. However, I think most people also recognize that as far as interjurisdictional traffic is concerned, there is a level playing field for fuel tax purposes. Ontario, like all neighbouring provincial and US state jurisdictions, has in place a fuel prorate system for interjurisdictional carriers that ensures these truckers pay an amount of Ontario fuel tax that equates to their distance travelled within the province. As the member for Durham East pointed out in his comments on this bill recently, the system applies

equally to all interjurisdictional carriers, whether they are based in Ontario, other provinces or the United States.

It is interesting to note that in the Deloitte and Touche study on the competitiveness of the Ontario transborder trucking industry, the main factors favouring US carriers over Ontario carriers were listed as higher equipment utilization, lower unit costs for tractor-trailers and lower overhead costs. This report states, "With respect to taxes, the Ontario-based carriers appeared to be at a marginal advantage when all major federal, state and provincial taxes are considered."

I was pleased to see that the member for Carleton and the member for Markham commented favourably on the enforcement measures in Bill 85. There are no panaceas when it comes to dealing with tax evasion. However, we believe that the provisions in this bill requiring the registration of importers, exporters and transporters of middle distillate fuels, the bonding of importers and exporters and providing higher penalties generally for violations of the Fuel Tax Act will greatly assist the tax administration in its anti-evasion efforts. These particular measures were recommended by the standing committee on public accounts in 1989.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Mr Johnson has moved, on behalf of Ms Wark-Martyn, second reading of Bill 85.

All those in favour will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion the ayes have it.

Motion agreed to.

Bill ordered for third reading.

**The Deputy Speaker:** I would like to make an announcement before we close the House. Because of the celebration of Lights Across Canada, the main staircase is closed. I suggest that you either take the elevators or the fire escape. Thank you very much.

The House adjourned at 1756.



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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

First Session, 35th Parliament

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Première session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

## Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Tuesday 3 December 1991

## Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le mardi 3 décembre 1991

Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers





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### Numbering of Hansard

Effective with the opening of the Second Session of the 35th Parliament, Hansard issues and pages will once again be numbered on a sessional basis. Hansard numbering therefore will become consistent with Orders and Notices and Votes and Proceedings, and with other parliamentary publications throughout Canada.

For the last two years Hansard has been numbered according to the calendar year. Under this system, the numbering of issues and pages was restarted with the first issue in the calendar year, regardless of session or Parliament.

Under the new system, the sequence of numbering started in January 1991 will end with the final House and committee sittings of the present First Session. A new sequence will begin on the opening day of the Second Session, and each succeeding session, which will be issue 1 and begin with page 1. Committee reports likewise will be numbered from the first sitting of each committee in a parliamentary session.

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## Table des matières

La table des matières des séances rapportées dans ce numéro se trouve à l'arrière de ce fascicule, ainsi qu'une liste alphabétique de députés de l'Assemblée législative de l'Ontario.

Il existe un index cumulatif des numéros précédents. Les renseignements qu'il contient sont à votre disposition par téléphone auprès des employés de l'index du Journal des débats au (416) 325-7400.

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Avec le nouveau système, la numérotation commencée en janvier 1991 s'arrêtera à la dernière séance de la Chambre et des comités de l'actuelle première session. Une nouvelle série commencera le jour de l'ouverture de la deuxième session et des sessions suivantes : numéro 1, page 1. Les rapports des comités seront également numérotés à partir de la première séance de chaque comité pour une session parlementaire donnée.

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Tuesday 3 December 1991

The House met at 1333.

Prayers.

## MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

### UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

**Mr Ruprecht:** December 1, 1991, will long be remembered as a historic date in the life of the Canadian Ukrainian community, the Ukrainian nation, and indeed, all freedom-loving peoples. More than 90% of Ukrainians voted for independence, a very clear signal that the yoke of oppression and Moscow's control is finally over. Today, Ukrainians will freely join the council of free nations as equals. Their precious democratic rights will finally see the light of day: freedom of speech, press, religion and travel and, most important, the right not only to criticize but also to vote openly for the party of their choice.

The courageous determination of the Ukrainian people to regain this kind of freedom is a source of inspiration to all mankind. Having tasted liberty, neither the weapons of starvation nor prison walls could extinguish the torch of freedom and hope that has been resolutely passed on from one heroic generation to the next. Some members of the Ukrainian Canadian community who steadfastly supported independence at great personal cost by being reported to the KGB are with us today in the gallery:

Dr Hlibowych, past president of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Ontario provincial council; Mr Marko, representing the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Toronto branch; Dr Romanyshyn, president of the League of Ukrainian Liberation; Mrs Lesia Shust, president of the League of Ukrainian Canadian Women; Mr Kachmarsky, representing the Ukrainian Youth Association; and Mr Taras Pidzamecky, representing the Ukrainian National Federation.

To those who are here it is fitting that Ukrainian independence is declared in 1991, the very year Canadians celebrate the 100th anniversary of the arrival of Ukrainians in Canada. Their contribution to our nation has been exemplary. To all our friends from the Ukraine and in this Legislature let me simply say [Remarks in Ukrainian].

### ONTARIO ECONOMY

**Mr Sterling:** Last night when I went home and turned on the television news, I was amused to see Premier McKenna, Premier Filmon and our own Premier calling on the federal government to call a conference on the economy. What a joke, when we are doing nothing to encourage people in our province to invest, to work and to create wealth. Prime Minister Mulroney is quite right in refusing these premiers' silly call for a silly conference. These provincial premiers want to foist all the blame for our economic ills on our federal government while asking our federal government for more and more federal dollars to create larger and larger provincial debts.

Why does this government not do some positive things for our economy? Perhaps the greatest of all the things they could do to instil confidence in the business community of this province is to withdraw their ridiculous paper on labour changes. It is adding to the ills of business. It is chasing more businesses in eastern Ontario out of the province. Why do they not do something for a change besides blaming the federal government for all their ills?

### VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

**Mrs Mathyssen:** It is not often I take the time to look at the Toronto tabloids, because I find the small weekly papers in other parts of Ontario more balanced and the editors more interested in news, as opposed to the sensationalism that seems to be the trademark of papers like the Toronto Sun.

Unfortunately, I have been compelled to turn my attention to today's Sun because it has once again shown that it prefers to use the newspaper's space, energy and efforts to attack for the sake of attacking, rather than use its quite considerable power in a responsible way to speak out against behaviour that destroys the lives of women, children, men and families in this province. I refer to the Christie Blatchford article entitled, "Rae's White Ribbon Like White Flag." It describes the white ribbon campaign against violence aimed at women as feminist pap that does not deserve our collective attention.

In 1990, 234 women died violently at the hands of abusive partners. That deserves our attention.

On December 6, 1989, 14 women were slaughtered by a man who specifically sought out and victimized women. That deserves our attention.

One in four women in this country will be sexually assaulted. That deserves our attention.

I would like to praise those men and women in this House and in this province who have the courage to wear the white ribbon. That campaign for awareness deserves our attention.

1340

### REGIONAL GOVERNMENT RESTRUCTURING

**Mr Chiarelli:** The restructuring of municipal government in Ottawa-Carleton is long overdue. The previous Liberal government commissioned the Bartlett and Graham reports and introduced legislation which the current government has abandoned. Last January the current minister, the member for Windsor-Riverside, said that immediately after the municipal elections he would establish a new task force to restructure Ottawa-Carleton before the next election.

We understand that the task force will be established in January. The people of Ottawa-Carleton are concerned about the review process. The minister has an obligation to ensure his task force is objective, independent, professional and non-partisan. The member for Ottawa Centre is on record as supporting one-tier government. However,



there is a very strong body of opinion, perhaps even a consensus, that while the number of municipalities should be reduced, one-tier government may not only be undesirable but could be very divisive and fiscally counterproductive.

In fact, in the recent election for regional chairman, the one candidate who made one-tier government the main issue finished third while the two main candidates who did not support one-tier received about 70% of the votes. I say to the minister that he should not play politics with this issue. Ottawa-Carleton demands a professional and non-partisan approach.

#### RURAL ONTARIO

**Mr B. Murdoch:** For the past year, I have been pointing out to this government its lack of concern for rural Ontario and its lack of interest in learning anything about it. This government says it wants to work with all the people in the province, so you would think things would improve. But once again I have an example of Queen's Park ignorance of any place that is not Toronto.

The Ministry of the Solicitor General is presently looking for an appointment to the Hanover Police Services Board, so it decided to advertise in a local newspaper. You would think it would use the Hanover Post. After all, it is in the same town as the services board; it is 111 years old and it has grown to be one of the largest weeklies in the region. But no, the ministry chose to advertise in the Durham Citizen, a very good weekly, which appreciated the business, but is not in Hanover and is not the Hanover Post.

What are rural Ontarians to think? How can we blame them if they feel slighted? Why should they not feel the government does not care? This government is woefully short on geography and on sensitivity. This ignorance and apparent unwillingness to learn anything about the regions beyond the GTA does not and will not endear it to the hundreds and thousands of people who live there.

#### WOLFGANG SCHOLZ

**Mr B. Ward:** I rise today to recognize the lengthy contribution a citizen of Brantford has made to the beautification of our fine city. Mr Wolfgang Scholz recently retired from the parks department, after 34 years of service.

Wolfgang started with the city as a gardener in 1959 after serving his horticultural apprenticeship in his home country of Germany. He received various promotions, first to lead hand, then to foreman, and finally he was promoted to assistant superintendent of parks in 1980.

He was known throughout the city for growing his own flowers from seed, at a great saving to the city. Wolfgang could take an area of dirt in the early spring and transform it into a wondrous and beautiful sight, using various types of flowers and shrubs to obtain the effect he was looking for. Not a year would go by without someone writing a letter to the editor about how lovely our parks looked.

Wolfgang was a member of the Ontario Parks Association for 25 years and was well respected by his peers. In fact, he was invited across Canada to speak on the issue of horticulture and even to the United States, in Atlanta.

As Wolfgang enjoys his retirement, I would like to thank him for making Brantford a better place to live. I am proud to call him my friend.

#### CHILD CARE CENTRES

**Ms Poole:** My comments today are directed to the Premier, who unfortunately is not in the House again. That does not surprise me. Just as he avoids us here in the House, yesterday he refused to face commercial day care operators to tell them that they are now out of business in Ontario. But the Premier certainly made time to go next door, where the Ontario Coalition for Better Child Care was meeting, to accept the accolades of his union buddies.

There is an old saying, "No guts, no glory." This Premier has no guts but he still wants all the glory.

Yesterday the NDP announced it was spending \$75 million to force private sector day care to convert to non-profit. My biggest fear is that this is going to be the last concession the Treasurer will make to child care. With the province's books in terrible shape and the NDP's day care and union friends appeased for the moment, the Treasurer will close his purse.

Sadly, this latest attack against private business in Ontario is typical of how the NDP operates. No thoughtful analysis went into this decision, no long-term planning, and certainly no consultation, just rigid ideology.

Yesterday's announcement does nothing to address the real crisis in child care. Not one more affordable space has been created. Not one more child will have access to the system, and not one more parent will be able to get back to work. Welcome to the Premier's Ontario.

#### ENERGY CONSERVATION

**Mr Jordan:** My statement today is to advise the people of Ontario that Bill 118 has already been implemented.

The chairman and chief executive officer of Ontario Hydro has no intention of waiting to receive directives from his "lights-out" shadow minister. This fact was drawn out the other day in the House by the minister's complete ignorance of the marketing and conservation policies of the chairman and chief executive officer.

It would appear that this minister was hand-picked, not by the Premier but by the director, chairman and chief executive officer of Ontario Hydro. The policies being implemented are not in the best interests of Ontario Hydro customers, but only to serve a philosophy of a handful of people who are against nuclear power.

The result of this is negative marketing which brings increased costs, an abundant supply of power for the rich, and I say to you today, Mr Speaker, and to this government, and to the Treasurer in particular that I suggest he combine this ministry with the Ministry of Natural Resources and save the people of Ontario \$65 million a year.

#### ELINA ZAVGORODNAYA

**Mr Fletcher:** It is my pleasure today to recognize a guest in the members' gallery who is visiting Queen's Park from Estonia.

Ms Elina Zavgorodnaya is from the city of Tallinn. She is a guest in my riding of Guelph for the next few months. She has been visiting Guelph through the political studies



department at the University of Guelph where Professor Fred Eidlin has been quite active in bringing professionals and academics from Eastern Europe to speak at the university about the changes taking place there. The University of Guelph is organizing exchange programs at universities in Krakow, Moscow and Prague.

Elina is a broadcast journalist for Radio Estonia. While in Canada, she prepares stories on political, cultural and social issues for broadcast in Estonia and in Europe through Radio Canada International.

This is her first visit to the Ontario Legislature. She is planning a story on provincial politics for international broadcast and will also be talking to members from all three caucuses. I hope you will join with me in welcoming her to Queen's Park.

#### HANSARD REPORTING SERVICE

**Mr Harris:** Mr Speaker, on a point of order: As you may know, standing order 130 states, in part, that "full Hansard service shall be provided for all meetings of the House or the committee as the case may be."

I would like to bring to your attention briefly a case where full Hansard service was not provided. Last Thursday, November 28, I asked a question of the Minister of Labour about the rampant nepotism in the Ontario Federation of Labour. The title of this question shows up in Hansard as "Employment Equity." If standing order 130 is to be adhered to and full Hansard service is to be provided, I suggest the title of my question on November 28, 1991, be changed from "Employment Equity" to "Employment Inequity." Thank you.

**The Speaker:** To the leader of the third party, regarding the point he raises, the member may know that while Hansard is the official record of what is said in the House, the titling is not. It is a discretionary aspect of Hansard. Your point is certainly noted and of course noted by the people in Hansard who keep the records.

1350

#### VISITOR

**The Speaker:** Before proceeding with our routine business, members may wish to join me in welcoming to our midst this afternoon an MLA from the province of British Columbia, representing the riding of Fort Langley-Aldergrove, Mr Gary Farrell-Collins, seated in the members' gallery west.

#### ORAL QUESTIONS

##### VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

**Mr Beer:** In the absence of the Premier, my question is to the Attorney General. Today's Globe and Mail reports that between 1980 and 1990, over 2,500 women were victims of homicide in Canada and half of those women were killed by their male partners. Thousands of others are assaulted, abused and harassed. Indeed, a sexual assault is committed every 17 minutes in Canada.

Despite these horrifying statistics, there are three key areas in which the Attorney General has failed to address the real needs of women. First, due to the government's failure to respond adequately to the Askov decision, almost

800 sex-related charges, including sexual assault, have been withdrawn or dismissed. Second, the Attorney General has delayed implementation of the support and custody orders legislation until March 1992 and has slashed \$850,000 from its budget. Third, the Attorney General is considering radical changes to the legal aid system, including drastic cuts to family law coverage. This will seriously affect poor women, many of whom have been abused.

Will the Attorney General here today make a commitment to the women of this province that he will not cut the Ontario legal aid plan so that it cannot effectively help women in need? Will he speed up implementation of the support and custody orders enforcement legislation and replace the money slashed from its budget? Will he ensure that criminal charges such as sexual assault that are currently before the courts are not dismissed?

**Hon Mr Hampton:** The opposition members obviously think that because they come in here and recite something, it must be fact. Allow me to disagree completely with the statements from the member and point out a few things to him.

The vast majority of charges that were lost in the criminal court system were lost because they were overdue when we became the government. Somebody before should have looked at that and should have been taking care of that.

Second, the opposition members believe they can come in here and repeat over and over again that we are cutting funds for SCOE. The truth is otherwise. If they would like to compare the budgets for 1989-90, 1990-91 and 1991-92, they will see that the budget of SCOE, now called the family support plan, has grown astronomically. In fact, if that effort had been taken by the former government, we would not have the backlog in SCOE that we had to deal with when we became the government.

Finally, with respect to cuts to legal aid, absolutely no one in the review process has indicated any sort of cut to legal aid certificates dealing with family law matters, and that has been very clearly established. I can say to the honourable member that in terms of the mail I receive from the practising bar, it turns around questions of public defender or it turns around questions of whether or not we might set up a family law clinic. No one is even questioning at all some issue as to cuts in legal aid certificates for family law.

**Mr Beer:** I take it from the last comment that the Attorney General is indeed making a commitment to this House that legal aid will not be cut back and that the services for women in need will continue. I remind him that there was a real cut in terms of the budget of support and custody orders enforcement, SCOE, the \$850,000. Those dollars could have been used to help people who needed the money directly.

The second part of my question to the Attorney General is this: In May of this year, the provincial government announced initiatives to combat male violence. The Attorney General would know that many of the community agencies that were to receive funding are still waiting, and



in particular, none of the almost \$5 million that was to be directed to battered women's shelters and counselling services to assist the disabled, native and minority women has been flowed.

The Treasurer has already indicated that he is going to be cutting moneys to transfer payment agencies, and we can see at the universities, by the incident that took place at Humber College on the weekend, that there is a real need to ensure moneys are there to help these transfer payment agencies deal with questions of sexual assault and violence.

I ask the Attorney General if he will commit to this House to ensure that the moneys that were supposed to be spent beginning last May will in fact get through to the community agencies, and will he ensure that whatever help is going to be provided to universities to combat violence on campus, the provincial government will provide those dollars directly and not force universities to cut programs in order to find the money to do that themselves?

**Hon Mr Hampton:** Again, the opposition members seems to believe that if they come into this House and make an assertion, it must therefore be fact. This year, this government is spending over \$70 million dealing directly with issues of wife assault and battered women. My colleague the minister responsible for women's issues has pointed this out on many occasions and in fact more money has flowed to those organizations than has ever flowed before.

Second, the opposition members seem to insist that because a particular organization may not at this time have received funds it may be entitled to, this is somehow always the fault of this government. We are making up for cuts in the Canada assistance plan. We are making up for federal caps on the legal aid plan. We are making up for cuts in the established programs financing system with the federal government. We are going further than any other government has, and I believe the public knows that and appreciates that very much.

**Mr Beer:** Surely the question is one of government priorities, and the Attorney General cannot always hide behind what the federal government is or is not going to do. He has a responsibility and his government has a responsibility.

Now, we recognize that at least one in 10 women is physically assaulted by a male partner each year in this country. Clearly this is a problem of such magnitude that it crosses class lines, crosses cultural lines, crosses age lines. One of the key things governments today and before have said is that we need to increase the awareness and understanding of people in this province about the issue so that we can be more effective in dealing with it.

I ask the Attorney General today if he would make a commitment to bring before his government a proposal to establish a select committee on violence. The purpose of that select committee would be to ensure that members of this legislative body are able to travel this province to hear from those who have been affected directly by this violence, to hear from those who are working with those who have been assaulted and to bring back to this House in a

relatively short period of time proposals for change and action.

I think we have to recognize that no matter what we have done over the past decade, this is a problem whose magnitude has outstripped our ability, it would appear, to deal with it. Will the Attorney General make a commitment to bring forward the proposal to set up a select committee?

1400

**Hon Mr Hampton:** I do not disagree with the premise that the problem that is there in terms of the assault and the abuse and violence towards women is a very serious one. No one in this government disagrees with that statement.

In fact, one of the things we have done since we became the government has been to give great priority to that issue, whether it be funding for women's shelters; the appointment of more women to the provincial bench, where a great many of these issues are dealt with, in court; training for crown attorneys so they may more sensitively and adequately deal with these kinds of issues; issuing rape shield directives which directed crown attorneys to ensure that women who were questioned in sexual assault trials as to their prior sexual history were not abused on the witness stand or, when it comes to issues like SCOE, dealing with women's issues there.

I want to point out to the member again that the funding for SCOE when his party was the government was \$14 million. When we became the government it jumped to \$19 million. In the current year it is going to jump to \$24 million. We are already doing quite a lot. We do not feel we need to open discussions. We already have an agenda and we are implementing that agenda.

**Mr Beer:** I regret very much that the Attorney General has decided not to take that proposal seriously, because by creating a select committee we would involve members of all three parties in a way that could be extremely useful in bringing forward new initiatives. I would ask the Attorney General to consider that.

#### SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

**Mr Beer:** My second question, in the absence of the Premier, who I am now informed is working on a new game show with William F. Buckley in Hamilton, is to the Treasurer.

In October 1991 there were 433,000 children on social assistance in Ontario, and 42% of the entire social assistance case load in Ontario is in fact children. The Treasurer will know what that means in terms of child poverty is that infant and childhood mortality rates are twice as high as the national average, the rate of infectious disease is 2.5 times higher than the norm, poverty affects school performance, and the list goes on.

I am aware that next week the government intends to announce a 2% increase for social assistance benefits. Is this really the best the Treasurer can do for the children who live in poverty in this province?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** The announcement of the increase in social assistance rates will be made later this week, I believe, and has not been made yet. I would simply say to



the member opposite I do not think there is anything that bedevils us more as a government than the state of the economy and what that means, because when we use a term like "state of the economy," it really does manifest itself in the way to which the member opposite has referred, namely, children living below the poverty line.

That is obviously a major concern to us all. The numbers I have looked at show that this is not going to abate very much in the short term either and that there are going to be substantial increases in the numbers and the case loads of people on social assistance as well. The member opposite raises an appropriate concern, and I can just assure him that we will do what we can.

**Mr Beer:** I think we know what the government thinks it can do, because we are already seeing where its priorities lie. I come back to yesterday's announcement, where this government has said that one of its clear priorities is not to increase child care spaces, is not to increase subsidies for child care spaces; it is to spend \$75 million to buy out independent day care centres. That tells us something about where the Treasurer's priorities are.

The Treasurer may like to know that at 4 o'clock this morning out in front of Honest Ed's, mothers and young children, children below the age of 16, were lining up for free turkeys. We have food banks that continue to grow, but we see where the priority of this government is. It is not to put money into directly helping children but to buy out centres that do not need to be purchased.

What led the Treasurer to believe that, to help the children of this province, it was a more important priority to buy out independent day care centres as opposed to using that \$75 million to provide direct assistance for shelter, food and other kinds of assistance?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** First of all, I think we should put the member's comments in some kind of perspective.

**Mr Chiarelli:** You already did that. Just answer the question.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** The member for Ottawa West should enter the leadership race if he is feeling so aggressive.

I am trying to address the very serious issue raised by the member for York North. I think he will recall, because I believe he was the Minister of Community and Social Services, that he struggled with the way in which the Back on Track reforms should be implemented. As I recall, there was a bit of a stall in that whole process when he himself was the minister, so he knows there are no simplistic answers.

He should know as well in terms of public policy—and I know the member opposite is interested in public policy in the broadest sense of that term—it seems to me to be very strange public policy to pit one needy group in our society against another. I do not believe for a minute that continuing to underpay the people who work in our child care centres is good public policy. Perhaps the member did when he was the minister. We do not believe it in this government.

**Mr Beer:** There is a certain element of hypocrisy in that statement, because the Treasurer knows we are not

pit people one against the other; we are talking about the children of this province.

The honourable members opposite may recall this document called *Children Have Rights Too*, a primer on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Just a little over a year and a half ago, we had a debate in this Legislature and we passed that convention. It said Ontario should approve it. I raise it because the Treasurer will know that it speaks to the needs of children.

The Treasurer may remember as well what the Premier said during the last election in talking about the needs of children: "The overwhelming evidence, and it continues to grow, is that while the wealthy have done very well and indeed wealthy kids will always have opportunities, the fact remains that poor kids are more likely to get sick, more likely to drop out of school, more likely to have to go to food banks and, bluntly put, more likely to die."

Can the Treasurer assure us that we do not need any more studies, that what we need is action? As he holds the purse-strings of this province, will he make sure, in looking at the priorities of this government, that the dollars he has will go to help children directly, poor children in this province who need help? Will he make sure that happens and that it not go for other uses which at this time are not a priority?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** Given the fiscal problems we face, I can assure the member opposite that any moneys we spend will go for absolutely critical priorities, and that is all.

Second, I want to remind members opposite that we have already taken some action. A year or so ago, we decided that the people receiving social assistance were getting an inadequate level of support. We increased their level of benefits by 7% and increased the shelter allowance by 10%, because they were getting assistance at a level that had been determined by the people on that side, the government of the day, and we decided that was inadequate. To put things in perspective, I would say to the member opposite that under very severe economic constraints, we have already done more than he was prepared to do at that time.

**Mr Beer:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I know the Treasurer would not want to mislead this House in any way. What the government did a year ago was increase by 2%; we had already committed to 5%.

**The Speaker:** Would the member take his seat, please. The member does not have a point of order. It is certainly a point of debating.

1410

#### NORTHERN HEALTH SERVICES

**Mr Harris:** My question is to the Minister of Health, who has put a cap on the fees of doctors in northern Ontario. Many northern Ontario residents are now seriously concerned about how this will affect health care and access to specialists in the north.

Many specialists who practise in northern Ontario tell us they will be forced to cut back on the number of patients they see or continue operating and lose money. Some are



leaving the area altogether. The minister will be aware of some specialists who have moved out of the country. These doctors are not covered by the underserved area program.

Could the minister explain to me why she is exempting southern Ontario specialists to fly up occasionally to northern Ontario—if they will do that, she will exempt them—but to the very few specialists we have been able to attract to northern Ontario, mostly through the efforts of my government when it was in office and then the Liberals when they were in office, through the underserved area program, her very program is now saying: “No, we don’t want you to move to the north. In fact, you can make more money. We’ll exempt you if you stay in the south and fly in once in a while.” Why is the minister discriminating against the few specialists we have been able to attract to northern Ontario over a period of time?

**Hon Ms Lankin:** I truly appreciate that the member has placed this question, because I think it will allow me an opportunity to assure him and other members of this House and people in northern Ontario that the situation as he posed it is not based on fact.

Let me start by saying I think the member would want to be fair and surely would put to all members of the House and the people listening that the improvements in northern health care over a number of years were, by and large, brought about as a result of members of the caucus of the government—in opposition in those days—from northern Ontario who pushed governments for those kinds of reforms and to make those kinds of changes. However, that is probably a little bit of partisan exchange which is not that helpful in answering the issue people are concerned about at this point in time. I would like to focus on that.

There are some very technical issues under the threshold caps we are talking about and it is important that we are able to meet with the individual doctors and work through this. We actually believe many of those doctors, for example, who have outreach clinics in northern Ontario which are exempted under the kinds of exemptions for northern services we put—

**Mr Harris:** Yes, the southern Ontario ones were exempted. What about the ones living in the north, the ones who have been prepared to make that commitment?

**Hon Ms Lankin:** The member across the floor indicates that they are southern Ontario doctors. If he will listen, what I am trying to tell him is that many of the northern Ontario doctors, some of those who are in Sudbury and have been raising the concerns, are unaware of the fact that parts of their practice, like their outreach clinics, are exempted under the rules we put together.

**The Speaker:** Would the minister conclude her response, please.

**Mrs Sullivan:** That’s not what they have been told. They have not been told that.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** The member yells that this is not what they have been told. Again I am trying to put the record straight. We do have a meeting coming up on

December 5 which I think will be able to clear up many of these unfortunate misunderstandings.

**Mr Harris:** The minister’s letter of November 13 is very clear. It says, “The decision not to extend further exemptions this year stands.” That is it for the year.

Now northern Ontario doctors are getting these types of flyers: “Want to double your income without necessarily increasing your workload? Here’s what you do. Move your office to Toronto or any southern Ontario city. Now come back up and serve the same patients but have an office in Toronto. The government will pay you \$300 a day, secretary’s salary, nurse’s salary, pay your travel expenses and—the greatest bonus of them all—your income will not be capped.”

We have very few specialists we have been able to attract to the north. There is no question they are trying to meet a demand far in excess of the recommended averages here in southern Ontario. Now the incentive is to relocate from northern Ontario and open an office in southern Ontario where the minister will exempt them from the cap, provided they fly up north. She will pay all those expenses too. What about our specialists in northern Ontario? Why, in her application of exemptions to the cap, is she so quick to exempt the southern Ontario specialists who will fly up, but to those living there who have made the sacrifice, who we have encouraged to come to northern Ontario, she has said no way, no more exemptions for them?

Interjections.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** Some of my northern members are upset about the reference that to live in the north takes a sacrifice. I do not think the member actually meant that.

The member can stand up, yell, get blustery and make all sorts of assertions, but that does not make it fact. If he will sit quietly and listen I will try to correct his misunderstanding. He talks about doctors who have closed up shop, are no longer specialists and are no longer going to deliver services. It would be very helpful if in response to a request I have made, the doctors were to open up the books and we could have that open discussion. I question whether under some circumstances some of these specialists will even be touched by the threshold because of the application of the exemption to protect needed services in the north.

The issue becomes very complicated and it needs to be worked through with the doctors, with their practice books open in front of everyone. That meeting is taking place on December 5. My colleagues have been meeting with the doctors. They have been very proactive in advocating on behalf of northern health services and we believe we will be able to resolve the situation under the exemptions that have been put in place already.

**Mr Harris:** The exemptions that have been put in place already do not apply to Dr Dan Bryer. He is an ear, nose and throat specialist in North Bay. He sees approximately 200 patients per week. Placing a cap on his fees will mean that 4,000 patients each year, most of them children, will have to go outside the area for treatment. With travel costs and fees to southern Ontario specialists, the minister’s cap will cost taxpayers up to \$900,000 for travel



expenses alone for one specialist's patients to have to come to southern Ontario or to travel to see another specialist. His partner has already gone to the United States, so he is the only one left in North Bay.

The minister's misguided efforts to cut costs will in fact cost taxpayers up to \$900,000 more or limit access to care for children in northern Ontario who will say, "I can't make the trip to Toronto." It is either one or the other. If they are going to have access to a specialist, it will cost \$900,000 more to cap this particular specialist. Given that it is going to cost more, that it is limiting access to specialists' services for children in northern Ontario, will the minister rescind her claim in this letter of November 13, review these northern Ontario specialists on an individual basis and use some common sense in who she is going to exempt from the cap and who she is not?

**Hon Ms Lankin:** The member opposite, who is often heard to urge this side of the House to be very effective and cautious in expenditure of government dollars, I think would want me to do that.

**Mr Harris:** It's costing \$900,000 more, five times as much. Don't give me that garbage.

1420

**Hon Ms Lankin:** Mr Speaker, I take offence at the comments made by the member.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Minister.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** I am sure the member would want us to approach this issue with caution to ensure that the steps we are taking are both cost-effective and involved in maintaining as high a quality of delivery service to the north as we can. In fact, the way we look at applying exemptions for the underserved areas, I believe, can take that into account. I believe that needs to be done by criteria consistent across the north, not, as the member would say, on a pick-and-choose basis from community to community.

The people in northern Ontario have respect for their doctors and specialists, and they do not believe that simply because a doctor or a specialist reaches \$400,000 and starts to be returned at 66 cents on the dollar from the OHIP schedule they will pack up and leave. I am sure the member would not want to suggest that is the case either.

However, I truly want to ensure that the services required are maintained in northern Ontario and that we do not take an approach with respect to trying to be cost-effective in this deal that harms northerners. I do not believe we are. I understand the concern in the north and the kind of media coverage that has taken place. Part of it, unfortunately, is that I am left at a disadvantage when doctors I have asked to open their books in some circumstances have refused to do that. You cannot have a level-playing-field debate about some of these things.

**The Speaker:** Would the minister conclude her response, please.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** I hope the member will find, after we have the meeting on December 5 and the information flowing from that, that we will be resolving some of these concerns for northern Ontarians.

**Mr Harris:** I am exactly suggesting that if the Minister of Health asks specialists to accept a fee less than their overhead costs and if she thinks they are going to pay the government money to keep on practising, she has another think coming. They would be better off right outside.

**The Speaker:** Is this the leader's second question?

**Mr Harris:** If the government paid northern Ontario specialists like it does those of southern Ontario for equipment—

**The Speaker:** Order. Would the leader take his seat for a moment. I would appreciate it if the leader would place his second question.

#### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mr Harris:** My second question is to the Minister of Labour regarding the union-building plans. Just over a month ago Project Economic Growth proposed a co-operative task force to study, among other problems facing Ontario businesses and workers—problems that would also deal with the declining union membership, because workers are being laid off and losing jobs—labour-management issues in this province. The committee would be made up of representatives from the public and private sectors, both unionized and non-unionized labour. Would the minister tell us why he rejected this constructive proposal for meaningful consultation?

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** I find it strange that the leader of the third party seems to take such joy in declining union membership. What we are trying to do with the Ontario Labour Relations Act amendments, as we have said in this House many times, and with the discussion paper we have put out is to set the stage for a much better labour-management relationship in Ontario. Surely the leader of the third party would want us to go through our processes before we brought in some outside group to do the work that is involved in discussing what we can do to improve the situation between labour and management in Ontario.

**Mr Harris:** I think it is important, and the minister will want to acknowledge it, that most of the people in the Legislature were laughing at that answer, including the minister's own members.

I have a copy of a letter sent to the minister from the Automotive Parts Manufacturers' Association of Canada. The association president, Neil de Koker, has witnessed the minister's so-called consultation process and writes: "To call this process consultation, Mr Minister, is a gross deception, and to persist in so describing the process is an intolerable abuse of legislative power."

Business wants to co-operate, wants to consult, wants to come to the table. But they will not be manipulated into this government's agenda of paying back the big union bosses. I ask the minister again, why will he not cancel his obviously failed and obviously flawed consultation process, which is a non-consultation process, and go back to the drawing-board for full and meaningful consultation with all the stakeholders?

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** Surely the leader of the third party does not agree it is an abuse when workers in the



province want to have some say, along with management, in the decisions that are going to affect their lives and their futures in terms of the plants that close and the changes made in the labour relations scene in Ontario. That is what is an abuse of the process.

**Mr Harris:** The minister wants to engage in rhetoric and not answer the questions. I am not at all suggesting that the workers wanting that is an abuse. I am suggesting that he as minister, his Premier, the union bosses—that is an abuse of the rights of workers and management in this province. That is the abuse taking place.

The minister has now placed Ontario's business community between what are commonly called a rock and a hard place. If they do not participate in this sham—and they all know it is a sham—he will no doubt ram through destructive legislation without even hearing from the business community. If they do participate in this sham, they will be discussing the big union boss Bob White/Bob Rae/Bob Mackenzie agenda. That is all that is on the table, an agenda that, as Ford chairman Ken Harrigan says, will frighten away business.

Why will the minister not listen to what business is telling him, that the fact that he is proceeding is scaring away anybody who has a choice? Ken Harrigan admits that Ford has no choice; it is here. But I think he can read between the lines and say that if he did have a choice he would be crazy to invest in Ontario with the minister proceeding the way he is.

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** It is unfortunate that the leader of the third party shows such a bias. It has been a long time since I have accused him in this House of dancing to the tune of his company bosses. He should recognize that workers in Ontario resent the union boss label he throws around. These are people they elect to represent them through the collective bargaining process.

#### ONTARIO ECONOMY

**Mr Bradley:** I have a question for the Minister for Industry, Trade and Technology. I was going to direct this to the Premier, but he is debating in Hamilton with what I hope is not a neo-isolationist.

On Monday I asked the Premier about the automotive industry of this province and the difficulties confronting the automotive industry in Ontario, and the Premier used the example of Ford Motor Co as a company willing to invest in Ontario. At that very same time the chairman of Ford, Kenneth Harrigan, CEO of Ford Canada, was speaking to the Oakville Rotary Club. He had the following to say: "It appears that Queen's Park is doing everything possible to put roadblocks in the way of economic recovery. Not one NDP policy initiative is aimed at stimulating economic growth and competitiveness within the province. Frankly, entrepreneurs are afraid to invest or expand in Ontario."

I ask the minister, who is supposed to bring the viewpoint of business to his cabinet, what he is doing to ensure that companies such as Ford and, more important, other companies in the province are going to retain their investment in Ontario and that new investors are going to come into the province to place money to create jobs for the

thousands of workers who have lost them over the past several months.

**Hon Mr Philip:** That very company received millions of dollars from this government to do the very job creation the honourable Leader of the Opposition is asking for. Indeed, if we look at where investors are putting their money in Canada, they are putting it into Ontario, not into the provinces run by Liberal or Conservative governments.

1430

**Mr Bradley:** I have another quote from the chairman of Ford, whom the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology just insulted. It says the following:

"I ask you, if you had a choice and were in a position to make a free choice, unencumbered by huge investments already here, would you invest in Ontario at this time? Governments should create a political climate and a public climate that encourages investment, rewards entrepreneurship, rejects legislation that impairs competitiveness, and pays more than lipservice to the consultative process."

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** Thirty-three taxes in five years. You guys carry the guilt.

**Mr Bradley:** I ask the minister, and I ask the Minister of Transportation who has no automotive jobs in his town, are these people aware of the number of jobs that could be lost in the automotive industry if they continue their present policies, legislation, regulation and rhetoric? They should think of General Motors and the closing of the van plant. They should think of the number of industries. Has he canvassed them and does he know how many are going to close their doors if the government does not change those policies?

**Hon Mr Philip:** The particular person whom the honourable leader of the official opposition quotes went on to endorse the economic policies of Brian Mulroney. Are those the kinds of policies that the leader of the Liberal Party then endorses? One would think so.

If members want to take an independent source, Data Resources International, which is the largest economic forecasting firm in the United States, has predicted that Ontario will grow annually by 3.8% in the 1992-95 period, and that is faster than any of the G-7 economies. That is the kind of growth that we are stimulating in this province. It is too bad the member does not support them, instead of saying no, no, no to everything.

#### RETAIL STORE HOURS

**Mr Carr:** My question is to the Solicitor General and it deals with Sunday shopping. A headline reads, "Shoppers Give Warm Greeting to Return of Sunday Spending." As he will know, some of the headlines go on further to say, "Retailers Hopeful as Stores Across the Province Reported Busy." The chief executive officer of Dylex has said: "We want [Sunday shopping] all year. It is difficult enough for us to compete without having our hands tied behind our back. It's time the government woke up." It was unfortunate he had to lay off some people in the same week, and he is saying he needs to be open on Sunday.

I notice that some of the published reports say that even this Solicitor General was planning to do some shopping



on Sunday. In light of what has happened, has the Solicitor General changed his mind, and is he planning to change the rules regarding Sunday shopping in Ontario?

**Hon Mr Pilkey:** The short answer to the question is no. I am gratified to learn, though, that the amendment brought forward to this government to allow shopping on the Sundays in December preceding Christmas has apparently met with public favour, and that the desired goal, to assist retailers and retail sales tax for the Treasurer, has in fact been achieved.

I think it was interesting to note as well from the media reports that on Sunday, notwithstanding that Ontario was totally open in a retail fashion, there was a two-hour backup at the border for people returning from Buffalo. I would just like to say to the members opposite who were claiming that the fact Sunday shopping was not available was the sole purpose and was really feeding cross-border shopping, that it certainly put the lie to that question.

**Mr Carr:** Some of the articles go on to say:

"They came, they shopped, they bought. Shoppers by the thousands descended on Metro-area malls yesterday...."

It goes to say—I do not know where the minister gets his figures, but I will give him this quote—"Customs officials reported lighter traffic at US border crossings. Meanwhile, many people were delighted to shop in town."

If it is such a good thing and he is delighted that the stores were filled and people were shopping, what is the Solicitor General going to tell them in January when they cannot shop? What is he going to tell them when they cannot do it in January? Why will they not be able to shop? What is his answer to them?

**Hon Mr Pilkey:** What I am going to tell the people of Ontario in January is that after this government has given this flexibility and shown flexibility to members opposite and to retailers and to the public, is it not nice that we are now going to return to another 11-month period to a common pause day for individuals, for families, for some non-commercial activity and also to a circumstance of worker protection for all the balance of the year? Is that not wonderful?

#### CROSS-BORDER SHOPPING

**Ms Haeck:** My question is to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology. Niagara Peninsula communities like St Catharines, Fort Erie, Niagara Falls, Welland and Niagara-on-the-Lake have the largest border community population in the province. The proximity of the region to the US for easily accessible border crossing points and a large population base contribute to one of the highest incidences of cross-border shopping in Ontario, as the Solicitor General just pointed out.

Since the advent of the free trade agreement and the gradual reduction of duty rates between Canada and the United States, retailers in the Niagara Peninsula have lost millions of dollars' worth of sales to their customers who cross the border to shop in the US. The Niagara ridings would like to know what he is doing to help the businesses and the business owners in the Niagara Peninsula stem the flow of retail dollars to the US.

**Hon Mr Philip:** It is a problem this government is addressing with some very concrete initiatives. Indeed, the border communities assistance fund was established to assist the nine affected communities in implementing a variety of ways and initiatives to deal with cross-border shopping. Funding for seven communities has already been approved by my ministry and I am pleased to inform the member that St Catharines and the Niagara region were among the communities that took effective steps and are being funded for these initiatives.

**Ms Haeck:** I am very pleased to hear that. I had not realized St Catharines had got money. The retailers in my constituency are concerned that since 1987, the incidence of cross-border shopping has increased. What is the minister doing to ensure that the businesses in border communities are able to better compete with their American counterparts?

**Hon Mr Philip:** I can point out that since last spring the trend towards cross-border shopping has dropped consistently, but we intend to continue to work with the communities to deal effectively with the issue. One community alone, using our government funding, has predicted that its initiatives will result in an extra \$2 million being spent in that community. In another region a massive ad campaign will be matched with a price watch program and a telephone hotline that will give customers quick and direct access to their local retailers. I can assure the member that the ministry is also working in partnership with the National Task Force on Cross-Border Shopping to create a province-wide program. We are doing things about it.

#### ONTARIO HYDRO RATES

**Mr McGuinty:** That is an example of a speech that sounds good, but this province does not need speeches that sound good. We need programs that are good and sound.

**The Speaker:** To whom is your question directed?

**Mr McGuinty:** My question is to the Minister of Energy and has to do with electricity rates. I am sure the minister would agree that our high rates are taking a bite out of our electrical energy users. The consequences are particularly severe for major manufacturers in processing facilities, such as the auto industry and the mineral processing sector.

Members will of course know that these kinds of industries are energy-intensive, and that as a result electricity costs are a major part of the overhead costs. Our electricity rates are now the second highest in Canada and there is a growing concern that we are losing our competitive edge. Rising electricity rates are making it difficult for us to both attract new businesses and keep our existing businesses here. What initiatives is he taking as Minister of Energy to combat this erosion of our industrial base?

1440

**Hon Mr Ferguson:** The ministry, in conjunction with Ontario Hydro, has initiated and implemented over 37 programs to help individuals conserve energy and electricity in Ontario. I want to advise the member that some of the programs, such as the industrial energy service program, audit energy use in industrial manufacturing concerns and



advise individuals and companies on how they can cut back and/or regenerate energy within the existing industrial use; in short, use energy much smarter.

**Mr McGuinty:** I expected the minister to make reference to the conservation programs and I want to state here and now, unequivocally, that my party and I wholeheartedly support conservation efforts made in this province. However, I am somewhat troubled by a particular element of the minister's conservation plans.

The minister will know that in August 1990 the previous government set an energy conservation target of 3,000 megawatts to be saved by the year 2000, and we had a competent and independent analysis confirming that was a reasonable target. But now some 14 months later, this government has in place a target within the same time period of 5,200 megawatts. The minister will know that is far and away the most ambitious target in all of North America. It is certainly good to reach as high as possible when it comes to energy conservation, but it is also just as important to be reasonable and responsible in setting those targets.

My question for the minister can be broken down into three parts, and I ask the minister to take his time and carefully consider my question. First, on what basis has the minister's 5,200-megawatt target been set? Second, does this 5,200-megawatt target constitute theoretical, potential savings or realistically attainable savings? Third, if this target is not reached, what backup plans does he have in place to ensure the people and businesses of Ontario do not meet with electrical energy shortfalls?

**Mr Ferguson:** The targets are not only realistic but are also attainable, and they are attainable for one reason: We have decided to make energy efficiency a priority. It is a priority of this government and it is a number one priority; it is not four or five down the list. We have recognized that we cannot run a few advertisements on television telling people to turn their lights off in order to get the message across. Our programs are comprehensive and they target the consumer directly, and that is where the savings can be attained.

#### ALTERNATIVE FUELS

**Mr Villeneuve:** The Minister of Agriculture and Food, I am sure, is aware of the report by the standing committee on resources development on the subject of the emergency problems with agriculture. Today I want to draw the minister's attention to recommendation 48, that intensive market development be carried out on fuel ethanol.

The NDP government's first meeting on this took place exactly one year ago today. We now hear that the government is hoping to have a report by next spring or next summer, which will guarantee no action on ethanol in the upcoming budget. Why is the government stalling on action on fuel ethanol?

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** I want to reassure the member that we are not stalling. I know the member would like us to move much more quickly, and indeed I myself would like to move the thing along as quickly as possible. We do have a committee that is studying the implementation: what it would look like in terms of small plants, where they would be located and how it would fit into Hydro. We

are co-operating with the Ministry of Energy, I might add, to look at how this might be implemented in Ontario. The thing is continuing and we are pushing along in order to have a realistic policy which will involve the use of fuel ethanol in Ontario.

**Mr Villeneuve:** I hope the co-operation with the Minister of Energy is indeed positive, because we have heard that it is sometimes negative.

Every day in the United States of America two million bushels of corn get turned into 20 million litres of ethanol. Surely we do not need to study it much any more. Today the weather should remind the government, even the Minister of the Environment, that emissions in carbon monoxide increase when a lot of cars are idling and not moving very rapidly.

If the minister supports ethanol as much as he and his government have said in the past, then we need action now, before the budget comes into place in the spring, so we can proceed with the production of ethanol in 1992, not 10 years from now.

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** I appreciate the member's encouragement that we move this policy along and do it more quickly. We are in fact trying to move it along by putting in place something that will be long-term and not just a flash in the pan. I do not think it is appropriate for us to stand here and announce something until we are ready to implement it. I want to be ready to make sure we implement something that will be long-term and that will be around in terms of protecting the environment.

Indeed, it is interesting that this comes up as an agricultural question. It is an opportunity perhaps for agriculture, and I appreciate that. It is also an energy question and it is also an environmental question. As government, we intend to proceed. I accept the member's encouragement to get on with it, and we will do as much as we can.

#### LANDFILL SITE

**Mr Hayes:** My question is of the Minister of the Environment. As I am sure the minister is aware, there are many contentious issues surrounding the reactivation of the Fletcher tile landfill site in my riding in Kent county.

The proponent of the landfill recently applied to the ministry asking that the site, which has not received waste since 1978, be allowed to reactivate waste disposal operations. Residents, the township council and the county officials are opposed to any rebirth of waste activities on this landfill site, especially since the community of Fletcher has been virtually built around this dormant site which has not been in operation for 13 years.

Certain information has been requested by the Ministry of the Environment to be provided in relation to this site. The deadline for the first report was October 21, 1991. What I would like to ask the minister is when the proponents failed to meet this deadline date, why did the ministry extend the deadline for that landfill site?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I am very well aware how contentious this landfill issue is and indeed how many contentious landfill issues there are in the riding of Essex-Kent and of the member's great interest in these issues.



The proponent in this particular case requested an extension of the time for filing the report with my ministry and gave us some technical reasons as to why he needed a minor extension. The first report was submitted on November 16, 1991. I am glad to be able to tell the member that the next study which the proponent was required to submit to the ministry was submitted on schedule yesterday.

Ministry officials are currently reviewing both of these reports and we are taking all the steps that are legally available to the ministry to ensure the greatest possible environmental protection at and near the Fletcher tile landfill site.

#### GOVERNMENT OFFICE BUILDING

**Mr Cleary:** My question is to the Minister of Government Services and is about making promises and keeping them. As the minister is aware, my riding has been particularly hard hit by the recession. The loss of manufacturing jobs and cross-border shopping have had a terrible effect on the Cornwall area. This is why Ontario's promise to build a new multimillion-dollar provincial office building is so important.

In addition to the recent confirmation of the multimillion-dollar project to construct five new courtrooms, this building will house 12 provincial offices currently scattered across the surrounding area. It is also hoped the Premier will follow through on the former government's commitment to transfer another provincial government ministry.

The building and the jobs it represents are absolutely crucial to the Cornwall and surrounding area. While many potential sites for the building were considered, the municipal council clearly stated that the choice location was right downtown, between 2nd Street and 3rd Street, west of Pitt.

Subsequently, the municipal council was told in my presence to clear the title on this property. The Ontario government has consistently said it will buy the property for the new building. This was confirmed by Bob Riggs when he met with the mayor on August 27. However, the ministry staff now states the location has been narrowed down to two locations.

My question is for the Minister of Government Services, to ask him to confirm his administration's promise to the people of Cornwall once and for all, as Mr Riggs did, that the new government building in Cornwall will be located at the corner of Pitt Street and 2nd Street. Among the finalized plans, there seems to be some question if the government of Ontario will own the provincial building outright on a leaseback agreement.

1450

**Hon F. Wilson:** The building the member refers to, the Ontario government building for Cornwall, will proceed, I will tell him that. It is well under way right now. Site selection has not been made certain yet, and it will be made certain in due course. I do not think they will have to wait very long for an answer.

**Mr Cleary:** Will the minister confirm that the building will be constructed at the corner of Pitt and 2nd, as previously promised? The municipal council was told to

clear the title on that property. That was a commitment from the government just recently.

**Hon F. Wilson:** No, I cannot confirm that at this time. As I said to the member, the site selection was never definitely confirmed. The information—

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon F. Wilson:** You will tell me, Mr Speaker, when you can no longer hear me, I assume.

The information the member has is erroneous. The subject we discussed will be taken care of in due time.

**Mr Cleary:** On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: I understood the minister to say I was in error. I was at that meeting and I was there when the municipal council was to clear the title on that property, and that was where the building would go.

**The Speaker:** The member will know that is not a point of privilege, but it certainly is one of discussion, at least between the two of you.

#### NOTICES OF DISSATISFACTION

**The Speaker:** Pursuant to standing order 33(a), the member for Scarborough North has given notice of his dissatisfaction with the answer to his question given by the Minister of Labour concerning employment agencies legislation. This matter will be debated today at 6 pm.

Also pursuant to standing order 33(a), the member for Burlington South has given notice of his dissatisfaction with the answer to his question given by the Minister of Community and Social Services concerning day care. This matter will also be debated today at 6 pm.

#### PETITIONS

##### SEWAGE TREATMENT

**Mr Runciman:** I wish to table a petition addressed to the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. It reads:

"We, the undersigned, beg leave to petition the Parliament of Ontario as follows:

"The sewage system of the village of Westport is inadequate. The twice-annual dumpings of the lagoon together with an estimated three months of spillage and constant leakage are polluting Upper Rideau Lake.

"We, the undersigned, request that the Parliament of Ontario follow the recommendation of the Rideau Valley Conservation Authority as presented in its study Rideau Lakes System Carrying Capacities and Shoreline Development Policies, which recognizes the cost burden to the village of Westport for a sewage system that would have zero impact on Upper Rideau Lake, and states:

"Given the regional and national importance of the Rideau Lakes as a recreational resource and heritage waterway, we believe that the province of Ontario should step in and provide the additional funding needed to enable the achievement of best available technology economically available in the Westport sewage treatment plant improvements."

I have affixed my signature.



## REPORTS BY COMMITTEES

STANDING COMMITTEE ON  
ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Mr Mills from the standing committee on administration of justice presented the following report and moved its adoption:

Your committee begs to report the following bills without amendment:

Bill 28, An Act respecting Class Proceedings / *Projet de loi 28, Loi concernant les recours collectifs*;

Bill 29, An Act to amend the Law Society Act to provide for Funding to Parties to Class Proceedings.

Motion agreed to.

Bills ordered for third reading.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY

## WANT OF CONFIDENCE MOTION

## MOTION DE CENSURE

Pursuant to standing order 42(a), Mr Harris moved that the government has lost the confidence of this House as a result of its continuing failure to recognize the dangers inherent in its fiscal, budgetary and economic policies and programs and in particular: (1) because of its failure to abandon its tax, borrow and spend agenda, an agenda detrimental to the best long-term interests of the people and taxpayers of Ontario; (2) because of its failure to implement effective measures to control public sector costs and to cut government spending; (3) because of its failure to conduct meaningful consultations with all its economic partners on key policies, and (4) because of its failure to develop and pursue the new directions in fiscal and economic policies required to ensure economic competitiveness, job creation and universal access to affordable public services.

**Mr Harris:** I know there are many members who wish to enter into the debate today. It is unfortunate that we do not have several weeks to debate this resolution; however, we do have today. I will try to get a few thoughts on the record and allow other members the opportunity to speak. My caucus and members in the Liberal caucus, and I know secretly and privately a number of members of the NDP as well, agree with me.

Whether they will be allowed to blossom forth and express their own viewpoint today we will see. Whether they will be able to vote as I know their constituents would want them to vote we will see. Whether those who feel most strongly that their government is moving in the wrong direction will either be whipped into shape or will exempt themselves from the House today we will see as well. Clearly when a non-confidence motion is placed and a member is not here for the vote, it is usually 100% that he or she agrees with the motion and is against the government but is too embarrassed to come into the House and vote. We will watch the voting at 6 o'clock to see who those people are.

We placed this resolution today in response to the overwhelming number of letters and phone calls and people who are stopping us in the street asking: "What has hap-

pened to this great province of Ontario, this province of opportunity?"

What has happened that we are now not envied by the rest of Canada, not envied anywhere around the world? What has happened to this province that used to be the location of choice for investment and for entrepreneurs who say: "We want to do business and service this North American market"—or this Canadian market or even the Ontario market. "We'd like to set up somewhere in that market." They used to choose Ontario. They said: "This is a great place to bring up a family. This is where I'd like to have my workers live and work. It's where I'd like to invest my money."

1500

Over a period of time, Liberal taxation and misspending—disastrous moves on their part—and then this NDP government moving fast-forward 180 degrees in the wrong direction completely scared off anybody else.

I was out west about a month ago and I visited Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. When Ontario politicians used to go out west, at least until 1985, they always said: "We don't like you guys from Ontario because all the money's going there. All the investors, all the entrepreneurs, all the jobs are going to Ontario and we're envious." When you went out there, you had your head down a little.

They understood us cheering for the Argos from time to time, as fruitless as that was, or for the Leafs—that was even more fruitless—but they were truly resentful of Ontario, with its well-balanced management for 42 years, balanced between labour, workers, unions and management, the sense that all was well in Ontario and that the future boded even better, that our children could have a future and an opportunity, an education system second to none, roads, leading the country in the provision of environmental protection, sewers, clean water and air.

They wonder what happened after 42 years of—not perfect government. Some mistakes obviously were made, but on balance it was the kind of government that produced this climate where people wanted to grow up, where they wanted their children to go to school, where the universities excelled, where the clean air and water were envied.

When I went out west about a month ago, they were not envious. In fact, the media asked me what I was doing out west. I think I have shared with the House that they suspected I was out there helping Grant Devine campaign in Saskatchewan. I admit that while I was there I did the best I could; you can see how effective I was in Saskatchewan. However, the point that is important for members of this House to understand is that they were asking, "What happened in Ontario?"

By the way, the other thing I said to them was, "I'm trying to meet with Ontario entrepreneurs, investors and business people in my role as opposition, and I had to come out west to find them," because they are not in Ontario.

As Mr Harrigan, the chief executive officer of Ford, the third-largest company in this country, so eloquently said yesterday, he has no choice. Ford made investments in Ontario when it thought the same commonsense kind of



government would carry on. They had no idea, nor did the voters of this province. They thought, "We'll try the Liberals; these politicians are all the same anyway." Then in the last election they said, "We'll try the NDP; we think they're all the same."

They had no idea how dramatically different was that putting into perspective, balancing the rights of labour and the rights of business, making sure we had a climate where investors could make a buck, make a profit, succeed. When we had that balance, jobs were created, prosperity flowed and we were able to develop in this province the most comprehensive, guaranteed universal access to welfare programs, to the best health care system in Canada; indeed, I think it used to be the best in the world. We were able to generate the wealth to be able to provide that, to provide homes for those who perhaps could not afford them on their own, to provide decent housing and shelter.

They ask what happened in Ontario. I have to point out to them that we elected governments from 1985 on that did not understand, that were not good managers, that did not understand this balance. Then we elected, kind of by default, an NDP government, very similar to the Liberal one except moving even faster.

Many of the Liberals—I see them travelling the province—have now recognized the error of their ways. Where were they in 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989 and 1990? I am happy to have them on my team today, because I accept converts no matter when they come, and I will be happy to accept converts from the benches of the NDP, those few who are here. In fact, if they are at home today, too embarrassed to be here and watching on TV, I invite them to come down. They still have time to get here for the vote at 6 o'clock and join us in trying to bring some common sense back to this province.

There is a \$10-billion deficit this year, and we all know it will be more than \$10 billion. There is no way the Treasurer is going to be able to keep it under \$10 billion. We also know next year's projection is that the deficit will be higher. We know the year after that it will be higher, a doubling of this debt.

On the debt alone, I say there is absolutely nothing more despicable and more disgraceful than saying to our young people, our children and our grandchildren, those in school today, those in the colleges and universities, my son, who is six years old, and all children of his age and a little older and a little younger: "You're going to have to pay it back. You're going to suffer with reduced health care, with reduced services, with reduced controls on the environment, with reduced job opportunities, because the generations ahead of you took more than they were prepared to put back in."

There is nothing more disgraceful than that. As disgraceful as the Liberals were in setting us up for this fall as they did, by making us the highest-taxed jurisdiction, even they were not that despicable, to say to our young people, "We were too selfish and we wanted this money spent, even though we didn't have the dollars ourselves to pay for it," or "We didn't want to say to the public: 'Do you realize this is going to cost you money? We'll have to tax today.'" I have consistently given Bob Nixon credit for

saying to David Peterson, "If you want to be stupid, Premier, if you want to spend all this money foolishly, I'm at least going to force you to tax for it." Bob Nixon deserves credit for that one thing and that one thing alone.

Look at the spending and look at the deterioration in access. Look at the fact that just from 1985 to 1991 there are more people on welfare, more people without access to affordable housing, more people being shut out of the health care system. Today we heard of these misguided policies whereby they are denying northern Ontario children even the limited access they have today to specialists. The NDP is to them: "No, you're going to have to travel somewhere else to get it. We're going to drive the specialists out of northern Ontario."

It is disgraceful what we are doing to the future, to the economy of this province, to the opportunities for access to services. When you look at the direction we have gone in since 1985, now fast-forwarded by this government, it is an absolute disgrace.

I do not want to spend time today saying "I told you so," but I will tell members that if they check back to the pre-budget reports, the ones I and my caucus did in 1985, in 1986, in 1987, in 1988, in 1989, in 1990 and again in 1991, they will see in those reports common sense, truths about the reality of our fiscal situation. We also pointed out what would happen. They make for great reading, because even then we were saying some things that may have been unpopular in the short term. It is always more popular to say: "Don't worry. We can spend; somebody else will pay."

That was the whole 1990 campaign of the Premier. I said: "We're in a little difficulty at this taxation and regulation level. We're not competitive and we're coming for a big fall." The Premier said: "Don't worry. We can afford all the Liberal spending and \$5 billion more, because somebody else will pay."

Who is paying? The workers of this province are paying today, because they do not have jobs. The poor are paying today, because they have to rely on food banks. The homeless are paying today, because the lineups for housing and decent affordable accommodation are larger than they ever have been. My son, the members' children, the children all across this province and the grandchildren and the children to come are going to have to pay and they are going to have to pay dearly.

1510

It is in response to this. We have tried everything. We tried the pre-budget reports; we tried that route. We pointed the way. We said to David Peterson and the Liberals: "We'll join with you in limiting the growth of government and spending to keep our taxes down. We'll help you set priorities." We said the same thing to the New Democratic Party.

We released a document called *New Directions*. Here it is. It is available for all the citizens of the province. They should get it. They can ask for it; they can write to me at Queen's Park. We will send them this document because it provides commonsense solutions.

We offered this document to the NDP. We put it forward in good faith. We said: "Here's a direction you



should be going in. Everybody knows the direction you're taking now is disastrous." We said we would help the government and work with them but they ignored us. They said they did not want our help, that they wanted to proceed with their own big-spending, high-taxing socialist agenda even if it ruins this province, even if it means less environmental protection in the future and even if it means that our children are going to have to pay the principles of Bob White/Bob Mackenzie/Bob Rae/big-labour socialism, which are more important than the people of this province.

We have tried and we have put forward positive suggestions. We have been the most constructive opposition party in the history of the world, anywhere in the world. We have put partisanship aside. We have said, "We'll help you see the way, we'll help you see the light, we'll provide solutions, we'll sit down and work with you," and we have been shunned by this government.

I am particularly distressed with this government. In opposition the New Democratic Party said it was a party of the people; they have abandoned the people of this province. They said they were the party of consultation; they consult only with Bob White and the big union leadership. It was 16% to the brothers and sisters in the public sector, the big civil service union in Ontario last year, while the brothers and the sisters in the private sector paid the taxes for it, lost their jobs, were on welfare and went hungry. If ever there was a disgrace in priorities, that was one of them.

So we have come to today, and that is why we are placing this motion. We have been told by people inside and outside this province: "What a disastrous direction you are going in. Why is this allowed to happen?" We have been asked by our constituents, by people we see in the street, getting our hair cut in the barbershop. I was asked as I met with Earl and the boys at Earl's Shell just last Friday. I went into Earl's Shell, because they do not have any representation now; this is in Brant-Haldimand. They used to have a member who, while I disagreed with many of his policies and much of the spending of the former Liberals, would at least go into Earl's Shell and consult with those who dropped in and hear what people were saying in the town of St George, small-town Ontario.

On Friday I went in. I had a coffee and I met with the boys at Earl's Shell and with Earl. David Timms was with me, someone who, I would say in a biased sense, is running as a commonsense candidate in that by-election, if this government ever has enough guts to call it so the people of Brant-Haldimand could have representation.

Here is what they told me in St George at Earl's Shell. They said, number one, this government is wasting a lot of money, moving in the wrong direction. They said their former member and Treasurer was responsible for part of the massive taxation grab the Liberals brought in. But more important, they said the last Premier to play politics with the timing of an election, David Peterson, found out that you do not fool with the people of this province.

Now we have this Premier playing politics with the timing of the by-election: "I don't want to call it just yet because the voters are mad at us, so too bad, Brant-Haldimand doesn't have any representation."

Sooner or later, by the end of February, the government is going to have to call this by-election. In the meantime, I want the people of Brant-Haldimand to know and the people at Earl's Shell in St George to know that I will be happy to express their viewpoint until such time as we can get a commonsense Ontario Progressive Conservative member giving them a voice here at Queen's Park. If that representative were here today, he would be saying the same things I will be saying—if David Timms could only have a voice in this Legislature today, as he will have shortly in the new year.

We are now at the stage where we feel we have been given no other choice. The government will not co-operate with us. It will not co-operate with the people of this province. It will not co-operate with the union members of this province. It will only co-operate with a few elite union leaders. That is why we are moving this motion of non-confidence. Clearly the people of this province do not have confidence in our current Treasurer, in our current Premier, in the current backroom boys who are running this party and running this government today here at Queen's Park.

In giving ample opportunity to the many others who wish to get on, I conclude with this: I ask all members of this House to reflect on the document we have put out, *New Directions*, and on whether we should be heading in this direction or in the direction in which the NDP is taking us. If members agree with me—because this vote today at 6 o'clock is that simple—that the document *New Directions* more accurately reflects how we should be putting Ontario back to work and should be guaranteeing universal access to the programs our citizens want and need and deserve, and can easily have with sound management, if they believe that *New Directions* represents a better direction than the current disgraceful direction of big spending, high deficits, high taxing and big union agenda that we have, then they must vote for this resolution today.

I encourage all constituents who are watching to call their NDP constituency offices right now. Look them up in the blue pages. If they are open—a lot of times they are not open to provide service—you can call. If not, call Queen's Park and say: "I just heard Harris speak. I just heard the motion. I want a new direction and I want you to represent me as we voted you to do and to vote for a new direction in this province."

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Further debate on Mr Harris's motion of non-confidence? The honourable Treasurer and member for Nickel Belt.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** Thank you, Mr Speaker, for recognizing me and allowing me to take part in the debate this afternoon. I think I would feel a little worse about the expression of non-confidence if it were not coming from a Tory. It seems to me that any time a Tory in all of Canada expresses dismay at the way in which the economy is being run, I take some satisfaction in that vote of non-confidence.

I want to tell you, Mr Speaker, that I have never pretended—

Interjections.



**Mr Jackson:** I can see you're real proud of the Communist economies in the world.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Order, please. The Treasurer has the floor and we will all have an opportunity to participate if we so desire.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I will try to ignore the red-baiting, McCarthyite tactics of the member for Burlington South. I will attempt to ignore that. I thought that era was gone in Ontario. It certainly is for all thinking people in this province.

**Mr Jackson:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: To refer to McCarthyism when in fact President Gorbachev referred to himself as a "social democrat" in the last elections in Russia is clear evidence that the Communist party and the socialist party have a lot in common. That is not McCarthyism; that is the lessons of history.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Order, please. The honourable member for Burlington South does not have a point of order.

1520

**Hon Mr Laughren:** It seems to me that when people hear Tories talk about the way in which the economy should be run, they pay about as much attention to that as they would a speech from the member for Burlington South on how to fake sincerity. That is really where it is all at.

The basic thrust of the non-confidence motion from the Tories is divided into four sections. The first one talks about this government being one of high taxing, high borrowing and high spending. That is what the Tories say, and they of course decry the tendency to tax, borrow and spend.

I can tell the leader of the third party that it does not ring quite true. He stands in his place and says we are taxing too much, then in the same breath commends the former Treasurer, the member for Brant-Haldimand, Robert Nixon, for his high tax policies. There is a certain lack of consistency on the part of the leader of the third party.

I suppose the leader of the third party does not want us to spend money to fight the recession we are experiencing in this province. I find it really hard to take when the leader of the third party stands in the House in a debate like this and says, "We've got to cut government spending." What was he doing about one hour ago? He was in here telling us he does not like the cap on doctors' incomes and he was beating up on the Minister for Health because she had put a threshold on doctors' incomes in Ontario. You cannot talk out of both sides of your mouth in this place and get away with it, and that is what the leader of the third party is trying to do.

I know there are a lot of people nipping at the leader's heels. Not only are there the aggressive backbenchers in his own caucus, but there is the Reform Party as well and he has to look out for that. The leader of the third party cannot simply carry on like traditional Tory parties because the Reform Party has overtaken them. That is what has happened.

Of course the leader of the third party cannot stand in his place and say, "We want you to follow the Mulroney

agenda that they've taken this country down since 1988." Can he say that? I never hear him saying that. Why would he not be consistent and say, "We believe in the economic policies of the federal Tory government"? Does he say that? No, he does not say that. He tries to put as much distance as he can between himself and the Tories and put as little distance as he can between himself and the Reform Party. That is what the leader of the third party is all about these days.

If he really thinks that he will appeal to the population of this province by continuing to go after working people who happen to have combined into an organization called a trade union, he is sadly mistaken, because I want to tell him that people in Ontario believe there is a basic fundamental right to bargain collectively. If the leader of the third party does not believe that, let him stand in his place and say so instead of simply standing up and by innuendo day after day bashing anybody who happens to belong to a trade union. It is a sad comment when you try to divide the people of this province along those kinds of lines. I regret that very much.

Of course, not only can he not refer to his friends in Ottawa, he went out to Saskatchewan—was it Saskatchewan he went to? I think it was—to tell Grant Devine he should not have run nine straight years of deficits in that province. That is what he went out to tell Grant Devine. What did Grant Devine do? He said, "Well, don't worry. We've only got a \$250-million deficit this year. Not to worry, Mike. We won't embarrass you in Ontario."

What happens? The election is held, the books are opened up and what is the deficit? It is almost \$1 billion with fewer than a million people in the province. That is the equivalent in this province of having a deficit of over \$10 billion.

Anybody who believes the direction this province should be going is the Tory direction should take a second look at the leadership that is being provided by Brian Mulroney and his friends in Ottawa. That is not the direction we want to take this province in and we do not intend to.

Interjections.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Order, please. Interjections are out of order, and I would respectfully ask the Treasurer to address his remarks to the Chair. I know there are some inflammatory things being said, but please address them to the Chair and it will create less havoc. Please continue.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I will try very hard not to be inflammatory because I know the members of the Tory party are just on the edge and all I have to do is give them a little nudge and they will explode. I would not want to do that, so I will try to be very careful.

I would say to the people of this province, and to other members in the assembly, that no one likes to have a large deficit. No one likes to raise taxes very much. Who would like to do that if he did not feel he had to do it?

Every time the Tories—and the Liberals too—tell us we are spending too much money, right after they have risen in their places and told us we should be spending more money on a particular program that happens to



scratch them where they itch, it really does not ring very true. I want to hear the Tories and the Liberals in this House stand in their places when we announce our transfer payments, and I want to see them stand in their places all across this province when we take the tough action that is going to be necessary in the next fiscal year, and say, "Yes, we agree with you; that is the action that is necessary," because I have never heard one of the opposition members give us an example of where we should be cutting back, except—

Interjections.

**Mr Carr:** Housing; day care; public service.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** All right.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** The agenda's clear.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Order, please. This is not question and response time; it is debate time. Interjections are out of order, I remind members again. Would the honourable Treasurer address his remarks to the Chair.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** Mr Speaker, in case you did not hear that because of the yelling from across the floor, I want to remind you what the member of the Tory party said. He said we should be cutting back on pay equity, on day care and on housing. That is what they said. That is what the Conservative Party of this province believes should be the agenda of this province. I want to tell members—

Interjections.

**Mr Jackson:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Hansard recorded our interjections and therefore the Speaker can check the record. What the Treasurer said was he has not heard examples of cuts, and we indicated to him that he should not destroy private sector day care; he could include expansion. We are not against pay equity.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Order, please. That is not a point of order. Hansard is recording. That is the job of Hansard.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** As a government, we have some tough decisions to make and we do not expect support from the Tory party on any single progressive measure we take. We do not expect that kind of support. We know they would like to cater to the lowest common denominator, drive down wages in the province, drive down the living standard, drive down the quality of health care in this province, drive down the quality of education—all in the interest of satisfying a very select few, in exactly the way Ronald Reagan did in the United States. That is the agenda of the Tory party in this province. It is not our agenda.

I want to address directly the assertion by the leader of the third party because it is his non-confidence motion. I do not want to neglect the Liberals today, except that it is the Tory motion of non-confidence and I feel I must direct my remarks more directly to them, through you, of course, Mr Speaker. I want to remind them that when we felt the pressures were building on our expenditures this year, a couple of months ago, we took action. We reallocated \$600-million worth of spending. That was responsible management. At the same time we maintained essential

services in health care, education and all those other programs the people of this province have come to expect.

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Second, when it was announced by the federal government—not as a cutback but simply as a collection of tax revenues—that we were going to receive \$2.1 billion less than we were led to believe we would receive, we reallocated yet again. The total amount we had to reallocate the second time was \$670 million.

I know the opposition does not like to believe—they do not believe—we have been able to be so tough and so consistent with our expenditure management that we have said consistently we are going to contain the deficit this year, despite enormous pressures on both the expenditure side and the revenue side. We are determined to do that, because we know there is a lot at stake in making sure we control the deficit as we plan for the future.

I would remind members that at the provincial level, even after this year and the next three years, while there are going to be deficits every year, the amount of our revenues that will go to pay the interest on the public debt will be in the neighbourhood of 12% to 12.5%, 12½ cents on the dollar.

**An hon member:** What will it be in four years?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** That is what I am saying, 12½ cents in four years. At the federal level, with the Tories in charge, they are spending between 33 and 34 cents of every revenue dollar to service the debt. We do not want to fall into that same Tory fiscal trap as they have done in Ottawa. We are determined to avoid that.

What we also did to show leadership in terms of managing our expenditures is we froze the salary levels at 1991-92 of all MPPs in this Legislature, all cabinet ministers, all parliamentary assistants, all deputy ministers and senior bureaucrats in this government. To me, that was a signal of leadership in our attempts to control expenditures in the province. We are very much aware that we have to control our expenditures and we have taken action when we felt it was absolutely necessary. We will continue to do so, but it is going to be a very difficult several years.

The opposition can say it is all our fault, but I think fairminded people out there know this government did not cause the recession. They know that and they expect the opposition to say we caused it, but they know we did not cause it, for heaven's sake. It is not a recession confined to Ontario. We all know that, and I think the opposition politicians do themselves discredit when they try to blame everything on this government. We have been in office about a year and we are coping with the most severe recession we have experienced since the 1930s.

We are doing the best we can, and I think the people in the province understand that. They do not expect instant answers. They know it is going to be very difficult and they know we are going to have some very difficult choices to make. But the one thing I believe they understand is that the agenda the federal government has laid down, with very high interest rates, a high Canadian dollar and free trade, is not the answer to our economic problems.



As a matter of fact, in many ways it is the cause of our economic problems, not the solution.

I do not want to take up any more time, because I know a lot of members want to speak. I do want to assure members we are aware of the economic difficulties and we are aware of the need, as the non-confidence motion points out, to head off in a new direction for this province. But the new direction is not one which is mean-spirited, which denies people services, which drives down wages; that is not what we think the people of this province want, even given the fact that we are going to have extremely difficult fiscal times, we are going to have to curtail our spending, there is going to be some reallocation of expenditures, there is no question about that, and of programs as well. I have been saying that as often and as loudly as I can.

I think what is important is that the people of Ontario have a sense that there is a balance in what we must do and that everybody will be sharing the burden equally, as equal as it is possible to make it in this world. That is what we are determined to do, to make sure that people share the burden of a very difficult time. We are absolutely determined to do that, despite the fact that it is going to be difficult.

I expect the opposition to be critical of us. That is their job; that is why we pay them the salaries we pay them. It is because they are there to criticize us, and that makes us a better government. We are determined to manage the economy and deliver essential services in this province because we are determined not to allow those essential services to deteriorate. Even though it is going to be extremely difficult, we are determined to do that.

**Mr Mahoney:** I am pleased to join in this debate. I want to begin by saying I understand what the Treasurer is saying when he says the people do not blame this government for the entire ravages of the recession and all the problems. I do not have a difficulty with that. I think the majority of the blame properly belongs on the shoulders of the federal Tories and on Mr Mulroney, but I find it rather interesting to have the leader of the third party standing up as if all of a sudden he has found religion. He is the champion of social democracy, taking care of the homeless and the needy and the poor and the single moms. My heart was just thumping. I was really quite underwhelmed by the comments.

While I can very much agree with much of what is being said in this resolution and at the end of the day will clearly be supporting it, I find it somewhat passing strange when a member in this House representing former Tory regimes known for acquisitions such as Suncor and Minaki Lodge stands up and all of sudden says they are the models of fiscal responsibility.

Having said that, though, and being in support of the resolution in spite of the comments, I think there are some very valid points here, and I do think, frankly, that all governments have to accept a certain share of responsibility.

I want to give the Treasurer credit, although he takes all the credit he needs these days, for one thing. When the New Democrats took over the government, I met the Treasurer and I said to him, "I really thought you showed a lot of class in not simply blaming Bob Nixon," when the defi-

cit they were facing went to \$2.5 billion. He told me at the time there was a lot of pressure from his caucus to blame Nixon, but this Treasurer had enough class, in the press conference in reply to the very first question asked by the media—which was, as I recall, "Did the Liberals lie?"—to publicly admit, "No, nobody lied."

He recognized the fact that retail sales tax revenue had dropped by about \$1 billion and the revenue from land transfer tax had dropped by some \$300 million. He recognized the fact that they chose to pay off the debt at UTDC in Thunder Bay, some \$400 million. He went on and he laid it all out and about \$2.4 billion, I believe, was the amount we would call either discretionary or under nobody's control. He was honest about that, and I appreciated that.

That took us to \$2.5 billion. What then took us to \$9.7 billion was perhaps a little different. I saw a very interesting photograph in one of the newspapers of a large mobile sign. This clearly belongs in the realm of all governments. It was for Paul's Garage, and it said, "Our price includes the PST, the GST, the EHT, the MBT, the MPT, the CPP, the UIC, the WCB." Then it went on to say, "We were going to include profit, but there was no room left on the sign." That really told me something. There are three municipal taxes in there, three provincial and three federal. So the reality is that people are being overtaxed and overburdened as a result of being overgoverned.

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What bothers me the most about this Treasurer and his colleagues is that I believe they truly believe what they are doing is right. That is what is so scary. They truly believe the best way to generate economic activity is with more government intervention. They are committed to that. The socialist view says that government should intervene, that government should overregulate, and that in turn will create spending in the community. They are so wrongheaded in their thinking that every citizen in this province knows it, even the ones who have supported them know it.

The real danger, I say with respect, is that the Treasurer did not just say that for one year we are going to have a huge deficit. He did not even just say that for two years we are going to have a huge deficit. He actually laid out a business plan that said to the people of this province, "For the term of our mandate, we are going to run a deficit each and every year."

For the folks at home, what that means is they run an overdraft in their personal bank accounts and at the end of the year, they go to their bank manager and say, "I can't pay off the overdraft so I want you to put it on my mortgage." The bank manager agrees and then they say, "Now, Mr Manager, I would like another overdraft for next year, and then next year I will put it on the mortgage."

How can the Treasurer's mathematics make sense, when he says that in four years' time the debt service, the amount of money needed to pay the interest on the debt, will be 12½ cents? When we left office, the debt for this province was \$39 billion. The debt service was nine cents on every revenue dollar. When we get a chance to get government back, the debt will be a minimum, based on the Treasurer's projections, of \$76 billion. That is almost



double. My feeling is they overestimate their revenue potential and the debt will likely be in excess of \$80 billion, maybe in excess of \$90 billion, maybe even \$100 billion.

Now how do you service a \$39-billion debt with 9 cents on every revenue dollar and then service \$100 billion with 12½ cents? My math says there has to be a trick here. So what is the option? More taxes. That is exactly the philosophy that will drive this province into a morass to make this recession look like a cakewalk. That is the exact philosophy. Never mind spend or save; what we are talking about here is a long-range business plan that plunges this province into economic ruin.

What can we do about it? All we can do as the opposition is point out to the people of this province what a travesty this Treasurer and his economic policy are creating in this government. People are losing their jobs all over the province. As the members know, I have been travelling all over the province. People are losing their jobs, businesses are closing, businesses are going to the United States. They are saying, "We've had it with Paul's Garage type of taxes. We're not going to take it any more," and they are leaving.

Where is the cash cow that this Treasurer is going to use to bail us out? I will tell members where it is. It is their pocket and it is my pocket and it is the pocket of the ordinary men and women in this province who are going to pay the price for this totally wrongheaded, disastrous type of policy.

I feel there are so many other areas, but time is limited and I want to share the time with my colleagues. I support this resolution and call for the Treasurer to stand up and admit his policies are going to destroy this economy.

**Mr Runciman:** It is a privilege to participate in this debate in support of my leader's motion of non-confidence in this government. I guess we are going to hear from a number of the Liberal leadership candidates today being critical of my leader and our party.

They do not have much to boast about. The member for Mississauga West talked about the record of the Liberal Party during its five years in office. They had 33 separate new tax increases, representing something like a 132% increase in taxes for the people of this province. I do not think that is anything to boast about.

The member for Mississauga West, who was not a member of cabinet, as a leadership candidate is now going around the province talking about backbench independence. Where was he during that time when those taxes were being increased 132%? He was another seal kissing every ministerial fanny he could find.

The Treasurer talks about Mr Mulroney. I am not an apologist for Mr Mulroney or a defender of many of the things the federal government has done, but comparing it with the current government in Ontario, it is doing a much better job. As I understand it, their expenditures are equivalent to their revenues. What they are trying to deal with now and what is creating so many problems for this country at the national level is the debt they inherited from the federal Liberal Party run by Pierre Trudeau. This socialist government in Ontario is going to make its successor face

the same kind of problem in Ontario that Pierre Trudeau put in front of a Conservative government in 1984.

I want to talk about a range of issues. We have limited time because there are a number of speakers who want to make a contribution during this debate. I want to talk briefly about one element—I think this touches on it as well—Ontario's hydro costs: an 11.8% increase in 1992. I saw a press clipping today that stated we now have equivalent rates to New York state. We have lost that edge in terms of attracting new investment in Ontario and expansion of industry due to cheap electric power generation in this province. It is not there any more, and it is going to worsen, as we know when we see quotes attributed to Marc Eliesen, the chair of Ontario Hydro, or the Minister of Energy.

I have a letter from a major manufacturer in my riding; I am not going to mention the name of the company. This is a letter to the Premier: "To be globally competitive we need lower rates, not higher. Ontario Hydro is raising rates faster than we can find ways to reduce our costs." This is presenting a significant problem to this manufacturer in my riding. I am sure it is creating problems right across this province. This is just another element of this government's agenda forcing business out of this province or making it less and less competitive in a global economy.

Another matter I want to talk about is the Workers' Compensation Board. We have talked about the unfunded liability; I think it is in the neighbourhood of \$10 billion now. We do not see any real, positive initiatives forthcoming from the new chair of the WCB, a former NDP member. They obviously do not believe in patronage, as they were quick to tell us in the past. We have a former NDP member heading up the WCB. Now they are looking at extending WCB benefits to cover stress. What a hornet's nest that is going to be. What a dog's breakfast. How in the devil are employers expected to cope with increasing assessments based on decisions that will come from defining stress? It is going to be a significant additional burden.

We have looked at news clippings recently of poor investments made by WCB management, costing over \$100 million in losses. We look at elements of nepotism in the so-called Workers' Health and Safety Centre with the former president of the Ontario Federation of Labour, Cliff Pilkey, and a host of other union bosses retaining their own relatives. With respect to Gord Wilson, the current president of the Ontario Federation of Labour, his 22-year-old daughter was hired right out of school at a salary of \$57,000, and relatives of Bob White, a niece of Cliff Pilkey and a host of other relatives.

**Mr Jackson:** The son of Bob Mackenzie.

**Mr Runciman:** The son of the Minister of Labour. I was not aware of that one. A host of relatives of big labour leaders who work for the health and safety centre. We heard over the years pronouncements from the NDP when sitting in opposition about appointments made by either the former Liberal government or the former Conservative government, and screams if there was something they perceived to be a patronage appointment. Look at these people



when they get at the trough. There is no end to their appetite, apparently.

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Another element I want to talk about, which has not been discussed, is mandatory indexation of pensions. We hear that is going to be forthcoming. Again, that is going to further deter business from expanding or even locating in this province. Those are the kinds of questions and issues we have to take a look at. They are talking about mandatory private sector pensions. As someone who owned a small business with seven or eight employees, if I had had to incur those costs inflicted upon me by the senior level of government when I owned that business, I know I would have had significant difficulty in continuing to operate. It is to be hoped that the government will take a fresh look at these kinds of concerns being expressed right across the province.

Another element I want to put on the record is the increase in the minimum wage. I have a copy of a fax that was sent to the Premier by Pat Dickey, who runs a small inn in Portland in my riding. The Premier has a small cottage just offshore from this inn; I hope he drops by and visits this summer and gets some feedback from the people who are impacted upon by his government's decisions.

The minimum labour rates went up; as of November the general rate is up 11.1%, the student rate is up 21.9%, the liquor server rate is up 12.2%. These are on top of 8% and 9.6% increases put into effect October 1, 1990.

Mr Dickey says: "Our expenses, cost of doing business, have just gone up by more than 5% in wages alone. Overall...this will require an increase in sales of 22%." He goes on to say they have employed approximately 15 students throughout the year, but now these students are going to be earning this new rate and after November 1 they simply will not be able to find employment at the Gallagher House in Portland. He doubts that any place in the area, in terms of the small margins of profit they have to operate on, will be able to afford these kinds of increases. Again, this is a decision taken by this government without full thought about the impact it will have on low-income earners and students in this province.

I want to talk about 300,000 manufacturing jobs being lost in this province. When I read news clippings about the Ontario Federation of Labour's convention, where the OFL is calling for even stronger measures from this government with regard to labour legislation, with the job losses we are faced with in this province, probably permanent job losses, for the life of me I cannot understand why organized labour—at the senior levels, anyway; I am not talking about the grass-roots level but the people who attend OFL conventions and who apparently run the show—cannot understand the impact these kinds of decisions are having on their futures and the futures of their own membership.

During the hearings my party conducted on the NDP budget, the socialist budget, I attended one hearing we had in the city of Kingston. A chap by the name of Bill Fraser, who is the president of Computer Assembly Services in Brockville, gave testimony for about 10 minutes. It was, in my view, very moving testimony. It affected me deeply, in

terms of the future of this province and the kinds of burdens that manufacturers and business people must face on a daily and weekly basis to continue operating in this province. They have to have a significant love for province and country, because it is getting so unattractive to continue operations.

Computer Assembly Services has an operation in Ogdensburg, New York, and when you compare the costs and burdens—I am not talking only about taxes, although that is an important element. We also have to look at administrative costs that have been thrust upon businesses operating in this province in the last five, six or even eight years, when you go back into the latter few years of the Davis government when it undertook some initiatives that were indeed not in the best interest of the businesses in this province as well; I am prepared to stand up and say that.

We talk about widget makers—I can say that. Mr Fraser and his company can move out of the province; they can move into the state of New York and move all their operations there. But I had the publisher of a daily newspaper express concerns to me that he cannot simply pull up stakes and move; he has to continue operations. Many companies are in that position.

When we look at the tax burden, at the administrative cost burden the former government inflicted and that the current NDP socialist government is inflicting upon the people of this province, it is incumbent upon us to do something. Perhaps we have to do it in a non-partisan fashion. It may not be in the best political interest of the Conservative Party, but we may have to do what we can to bring this government down before three or four more years go by and this province is beyond the state of quick recovery. That is my concern and it is the concern of many people across this province. It is the kind of decision that many of us as politicians sitting in this House are going to have to take in the next few months. We have to set aside our own political fortunes and do things that are in the best interest of the province. That is why I am very strongly supporting my leader's resolution.

**Mr Winninger:** I am pleased to join in this debate today. I listened with interest to what the member for Mississauga West, a member of the opposition, had to say. While I disagreed in the main with what he said, one thing I did agree with, that this government is true to its beliefs. When it came into office a year ago last October, after the most prosperous years ever enjoyed in Ontario, and inherited the legacy of a deficit from the Liberal government, it had to do one of two things. In the face of declining transfer payments from the federal government and declining revenues from corporate tax, retail sales tax and land transfer tax, as mentioned earlier, in order to maintain existing programs this government had to mount a deficit of \$8.2 billion, as members of the opposition well know. The other \$1.5 billion making up the \$9.7-billion deficit was to stimulate employment and improve social assistance for the unemployed—the human fallout from the federal policies of the Tory counterparts of the third party.

We hear about companies leaving the province. I am hearing about many of these companies that relocated to the southern United States and the Maquiladora belt and



are now coming back to Ontario because they appreciate the value of well-trained, well-educated workers in the labour force, who are motivated enough to come to work the next day, who are not being paid a pittance of a wage of 90 cents a day, who are not subjected to all kinds of occupational hazards, who are well educated, well trained and well treated. This is the value of the labour force in Ontario.

I would also add that 77% of all foreign investment in Canada remains in Ontario, so Ontario is being seen as a strong and prosperous economy. Those companies that would criticize the government are only slitting their own throats, because they benefit from Ontario's continued economic prosperity. To hear the CEO of the Ford Motor Co of Canada suggest that this government is driving business from Ontario is very ironic indeed, particularly when, as an economic stimulus, Ontario has poured literally millions of dollars into assisting Ford to remain in Ontario, to do business here and to maintain those jobs that are so vital to our economy in this province.

I suggest that business should value, build and foster an economic partnership with this government, rather than engage in vitriolic invective. Certainly a good model would be Germany or Sweden or Japan, where labour-management relations have remained cordial, harmonious and productive over the past 17 years or more that I have been aware of the situation in those countries. That has not hindered by one iota the competitive, productive edge those countries have displayed in the global market.

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In regard to the non-confidence motion of the leader of the third party, I suggest that our agenda as a government has not been detrimental to the best long-term interests of the people and taxpayers of Ontario. Overall, our revenue policy has been supportive of economic conditions. The impact of government policy decisions on revenue has in fact been relatively neutral. Major changes introduced by this government have supported consumption and investment.

In 1991-92, the retail sales tax no longer applies on top of the federal tax. Managers are benefiting from a doubling of the Ontario current-cost adjustment. Many low-income people, as a result of midyear adjustments, are no longer paying income tax. Over 100,000 low-income people have money left in their pockets to go out and purchase goods and services to bolster this economy.

Moreover, our tax increases have been selective. Across the board changes to major taxes have been avoided, unlike in previous years where there were significant increases in the provincial income tax, the corporate income tax and the retail sales tax. Our tax increases have been strategic. They have been focused on ability to pay. We have imposed a surtax on high-income-earning taxpayers, those earning over \$85,000 a year.

We have made more effective tax expenditures, targeting the small business deduction, eliminating the insurance premiums exemption, limiting the three-year mining tax exemption and imposing taxes to support amelioration of the environment. I am talking now of the gas and diesel tax. Moreover, we are not introducing quarterly increases in the tobacco tax, alcohol tax, diesel tax and gasoline tax,

as did the third party in the early 1980s, where quarterly increases in these taxes were the order of the day.

I also add that this government has not failed to implement effective measures to control public sector costs and cut government spending. The government's midyear spending adjustment plan redirected approximately \$600 million to deal with urgent pressures, including \$240 million for additional spending for social assistance, \$53 million in extra costs for firefighting experienced in northern Ontario, \$250 million to cover the increased costs of pensions for Ontario teachers, and finally, \$35 million to fund farm assistance to the ailing farm community.

I might add that we have taken the initiative to freeze salary levels for the next two years for the Premier, cabinet ministers, parliamentary assistants, members of the provincial Legislature, deputy ministers and senior bureaucrats. Again, this is a fine example of selective restraint. If anything, we as members are more comfortable than the average taxpayer in my riding of London South, for example, so we should be a signal, an emblem, to the taxpayers of Ontario in displaying restraint right here in the Legislature. At the same time, however, the government will seek to contain wage rate increases for the remainder of the public service in keeping with the fiscal constraints that are so necessary at this point in time.

There are other members who wish to speak. For that reason, I am going to keep my comments short. However, I suggest that there has been no failure to conduct meaningful consultations with all our economic partners on key policies, as the leader of the third party suggested earlier.

Just to name a few, the Ontario government has taken a number of meaningful consultations with economic partners on such key issues as the Ontario budget, the employee wage protection program, the Ontario investment and worker ownership program, the Premier's Council on Economic Renewal, the Ontario Labour Relations Act reforms and the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board.

In my own community of London, next week the employment equity commissioner will be coming to visit and she will be hearing submissions over the course of two days with respect to employment equity initiatives. It is vital and important that we continue this process of consultation with the public because I believe, and I believe the members of my riding in London South believe, that there has been a failure to consult fully with the people in the past. My constituents in the riding of London South certainly respect this government for being prepared to listen to what the people of Ontario have to say instead of taking any high-handed, top-down fiscal decisions.

In conclusion, I submit this government is taking very positive steps to contain tax increases, to tax selectively and to use those revenues from taxes in a productive and fair manner. At the same time, cuts may have to be made to spending and to programs. This government will continue to respect its commitment towards social justice and economic renewal for the people of Ontario.

**Mr Sorbara:** I will just say to my friend, the member for London South, that if that is the only defence he can make of the programs his government is putting forward in



the most difficult economic times Ontario has seen in perhaps the last 60 years, we are in a very sad state indeed.

I support the motion of the member for Nipissing, the leader of the third party. I support it not because of what it contains in specifics. I think the member is not spot on, I say to the Treasurer who is not here, in his analysis. The want of confidence motion is not really supportable on the basis of what is in the motion, which refers to lack of consultation, to a "tax, borrow and spend agenda" and to the "failure to develop and pursue the new directions in fiscal and economic policies." The reason it is important to support this non-confidence motion, I say to you, Mr Speaker, and to the members of this House, is that the government has lost the confidence of the people of this province.

I simply invite the members of the government who are staying around for this debate to ask themselves honestly whether in the past 15 months, since September 1990, in any aspect, in every aspect of life in Ontario, have things improved or have they got worse? Have companies been given more reason to invest and create new jobs, or fewer? Do we have more confidence in our health care system now than we did 15 months ago, or less? Do we feel now, as a result of 15 months of government under the social democrats, that our education system shows signs of improving, of coming back to life, of responding to the needs of our children, or less?

Do we have more confidence now that the social safety net we all claim to be so proud of is more effective, or less effective? Do we have a sense that the kind of vitality, prosperity and real potential this province has is growing or expanding, or is it decreasing by the minute, the day, the week and the month? I suggest that in every single case, in every single area of government activity, in every single aspect of life in this province over the past 15 months, things have got worse.

1610

The Treasurer—I guess I take him at his word—said, "Fairminded people don't blame us for the recession." He says: "We are trying to take a balanced program to share the burden of the worst economic times since the 1930s. We're trying to distribute the load. We're trying to develop programs that share the burden of the recession in every corner of the province."

I say to the Treasurer, who is nibbling on peanuts, that this is precisely the problem. The problem is that instead of realizing the very serious economic times we are having, instead of setting aside the agenda he would have otherwise pursued, instead of setting aside the determination to put private sector day care businesses out of business in favour of the non-profit sector, instead of that he should be setting aside all the non-urgent agenda and bringing forward to this Parliament and the people of Ontario an urgent plan for economic reconstruction. Everything else, I say to him, must become secondary.

I and my colleagues who want one day to be leader of the Liberal Party and the Premier of Ontario have been visiting communities. I say to the Treasurer that we support the motion of the member for Nipissing because there is a grave want of confidence not just here in Parliament,

but in every community in Ontario. I suggest to the Treasurer that he simply visit Windsor and look at the number of stores that have closed up, that have gone out of business, and that he then ask himself whether his gasoline tax was the kind of measure that would help the economy get back on its feet.

I invite the Treasurer to visit Thunder Bay and look at the terrible pressure the pulp and paper industry and the entire forest industry is under, and then ask himself what programs have been brought forward by the Minister of Natural Resources to get that industry on its feet. Sure there is a glut of pulp and paper in the world market, but those are the challenges governments are expected to respond to, not simply throw up their hands and say: "We're doing the best we can in distributing the burden of this recession. We're trying to hold the line on the deficit." One day we announced \$700 million in capital expenditures, and then throughout the rest of the year we took back about \$400 million. That is not enough, I say to the Treasurer. That response is not solid enough.

One goes to other corners of the province and hears it reported that the Minister of Health says there are perhaps \$5 billion worth of unnecessary expenditures in the health care system. Suddenly the people say that our health care system is in crisis. Our health care system is not in crisis. We have a great health care system. We have to maintain that system. What is in crisis is our economy and our ability to generate the wealth to maintain that kind of system. I plead with the Minister of Health not to use this recession to start to tear away at a health care system that sets us apart from every other jurisdiction in the world.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** I get to speak after you.

**Mr Sorbara:** The Minister of Health says she gets to speak after me. I invite her, when she speaks, to retract the kinds of comments that suggest we are unnecessarily spending \$5 billion on our health care system.

I invite the Treasurer to visit the Kitchener-Waterloo region, where we have seen more plant closures and layoffs than in just about any other region of the province. That triangle of Cambridge, Kitchener and Waterloo, with its universities and its intellectual abilities and the skill of its workforce, can be one of the most vital components of the Ontario economy.

What is the Treasurer's response? He says, "We are doing the best we can." I simply say to him to set aside what he is doing and to set aside the Minister of the Environment's terrible environmental protection legislation where she takes away the rights of communities to participate in environmental decisions. The government should set that aside. They should set aside the Ontario Labour Relations Act amendments. We can deal with them later. They should set aside the kinds of initiatives that are going to put private day care operators out of business. They can set that aside for a while, and let us together get on in this Parliament and in this province with an emergency plan for economic reconstruction.

I tell the Treasurer there are precedents for this. There are precedents for the kind of rebuilding we need to do in Ontario. There are precedents indeed all over the world.



We can look at the reconstruction of the United States and Canada after the Depression. We can look at Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal. That is the kind of situation we are in right now, and to be piddling around with amendments to the Ontario Labour Relations Act and putting day care workers out of business and trying to take away the rights of the people on environmental matters simply does not match up.

We can look at the kind of work that C. D. Howe did.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** The next thing you will do is declare war.

**Mr Sorbara:** The Treasurer says, "The next thing you will do is declare war." Yes, I think we should declare war. I think we should declare war on the part of the poor.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** If you declared war on poverty, you'd throw stones at—

**Mr Sorbara:** The Treasurer makes light of it. The Treasurer makes light now of declaring war on poverty.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** No, I don't make light of it.

**Mr Drainville:** Don't get on the poverty bandwagon, Greg, because you don't belong there.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Order, please. The honourable member for York Centre has the floor.

**Mr Sorbara:** I think at least we have got their attention a little bit.

The Treasurer makes a little bit of fun of the notion of declaring war on poverty. He makes fun of the suggestion that our obligation here is to get on with the economic reconstruction of this province. We need to start building again. We need to start building a new economy that can really provide full and meaningful employment for the people of this province. It is not enough, I tell him, to suggest that the recession has been caused elsewhere.

He talks about the high interest rates. We now have pretty low interest rates not only in Ontario but throughout Canada, but we need some direction from this government other than to say, "We are trying to cope."

Look at what the Premier has been doing. The Premier talks the right talk. He has all the right words. He says the economy has to be our first priority, that the Constitution of Canada also means the economy of Canada. We rarely see the Premier in the House any more. He does not participate in the debates of this House. He offers no substance. He does not tell us how we are going to get on with the reconstruction of the Ontario economy.

Of course, he has Frank McKenna in and he has Gary Filmon in from Manitoba, and he gets a good headline calling for a first ministers' conference on the economy. What is a first ministers' conference on the economy going to do? He knows full well that given the constitutional dilemmas we are having in Canada right now, it is futile to call for a first ministers' conference on the economy, but that is the Premier's response. We are in the midst of a constitutional crisis, and what does the Premier call for? A social charter.

Which of us would not espouse the notion of a social charter to say in our fundamental law that everyone should have health care, that everyone has a right to a job, that

everyone has a right to the very best of education? But we are not getting on with it here.

When you travel this province and have people saying to you, "I lost my job a year and a half ago. I no longer have any unemployment insurance. I have never gone to the welfare office to ask for assistance. I am in distress," what do you say? What do you say to the farmers of Ontario who are suffering through times unmatched in our history, except for the period from 1929 to 1939?

1620

The government has made no response. I simply plead with them to understand that the reason we have a want of confidence motion in this Parliament today is because the people of Ontario no longer have confidence in this government.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** That's not true.

**Mr Sorbara:** The Treasurer says that is not true. I will tell the Treasurer, quite frankly, there was a very high degree of interest and excitement shortly after he and his government were elected that things really were going to change, going to be different. There was a little bit of nervousness. We had never had a social democratic experiment, a labour government experiment, an NDP government experiment in Ontario. We had the United Farmers of Ontario about 60 or 70 years ago, but we had never experimented with the party of the left. Even those who did not particularly espouse NDP ideology thought perhaps we were going to have an exciting time.

I say to the Treasurer that this government is in neutral. This government is not doing anything. This government is boring. This government does not bring forward measures to this House or to this province that mean anything to the people who are suffering in this province, and that is why the people of Ontario are expressing a collective want of confidence in Ontario's first, and I hope last, experiment with NDP ideological governments. That is why I say to the Treasurer that we should be supporting this motion.

Of course, the government backbenchers waiting behind the curtain to come out and defeat this motion will get their way, but they will not get their way for ever. It is not going to be like this for ever. The neglect of the government in virtually every ministry and, I say, epitomized by the Treasurer's neglect of the real problems of this province, and the Premier's insulting approach to Parliament and to the problems of this province, will not go on for ever. In a democracy the people ultimately do have a chance to have their say.

If this want of confidence motion does not succeed today, I simply say to the government members that soon the people will be able to express whether or not they have confidence in this government, and the answer at that time will be that they have no confidence and that this first term in government will be their last.

**Mr Carr:** I will be brief—there is always so little time with this—to give my friend the member for Etobicoke West as well as the member for Wellington some time.

We got a fax that just came in as a result of the member for Nipissing's comments on calls and faxes, and it says: "I totally support your motion. This present government is



against private ownership, has shown itself to have ideological ideas with no compromise."

It goes on to say some other things that I will not read into the record because they are rather insulting, but the end of the particular fax—and faxes are coming in, as well as some phone calls, I believe—says: "I wish you the best of luck in your endeavours. Please tell Floyd for me he is out to lunch." I am saying to the Treasurer that the people of this province are saying he is indeed out to lunch.

I was a little angry yesterday when the Premier stood up and said that the Ford Motor Co was investing in this province and that this was a great government and that was proof of the fact it was doing things right. It was interesting to note, as I drove home and passed the Ford plant, that the investment he was talking about is already built. It is already built because the decisions have been made many years ago.

I see the comments today, the headline in the paper, "NDP Stalling Recovery, Ford Chief Says" and I read: "Ontario's NDP government seems to be doing everything it can to stall the province's economic recovery, said Ford Canada chairman Ken Harrigan." He told the Oakville Rotary Club lunch that the resulting uncertainty is directly responsible for delays in announcing a new product for the car assembly plant.

The Premier stands up and says: "Everything is okay. People are investing." The headlines of the next day contradict those statements. "NDP Policies Frighten Away Business, Ford Chairman Says." He goes on to say: "The stakes have never been higher. Particularly vulnerable is Canada's \$14-billion-a-year parts industry, which employs 88,000, most of them in southern Ontario." Those 88,000 jobs are at stake because of this government and this Treasurer, who does not know how to control spending and who is taxing and spending like there is no tomorrow. It is a crime.

In my speaking engagements as I go around the province, I get a chance to speak with schools. As I do, a lot of the children are concerned, particularly when you put it in perspective. The deficit we are looking at costs this government \$15,000 a minute, not to pay for the good roads, the good education or the health care system, but \$15,000 a minute just to pay the interest on the provincial debt. We are leaving a legacy to the children of this province that is a disaster.

In fact, I even have some little artefacts here from some of the children who said, "Pass it on to the Treasurer." It says that money does not grow on a tree. They have a little sign, a little bit of money stacked, and then a little bit of shrubbery that is supposed to be a tree. The children of this province are saying: "Money does not grow on trees. We are going to have to pay this \$15,000 a minute because of your government spending."

We have tried to be practical in New Directions which people are calling and faxing us about, wanting to get some practical solutions. We talk about some of the things that should be done. It was interesting, the Minister of Economics, the Treasurer responsible for this disastrous budget, said, "What would you do?" As I take a look at the Ministry of Treasury and Economics finances, in exactly

nine months we have spent \$200 million more in housing because of its policies with regard to Bill 4 driving the private sector out of the housing market.

As recently as yesterday, \$100 million was announced for non-profit day care when the private sector has continually shown it can do the job faster, better and at no expense to the taxpayer. But it is being thwarted, shut out and penalized because it does not fall in with the ideology of this government. In the area of housing, we have shown you would save literally billions of dollars if you did not drive the private sector out. In the area of day care we are talking about millions and billions of dollars over the course of this government that could be saved if you had more private sector involvement.

There is one fundamental principle. All the things we care about, the good roads, the hospitals, the day care, do not depend upon the compassion of government with all this government's self-styled, self-serving sensitivity and assignment of blame to other levels of government. They do not depend on the compassion; they depend on having a healthy and prosperous economy to support them. What we do not have in this province is creation of wealth, because this government is driving the people who create the wealth out of this province.

As I look at some of the statistics, they say: "It would have happened. Any government would have done it." I remember, in the standing committee on finance and economic affairs, the Canadian Auto Workers were there with Bob White. During the shift change, he brought some of the crew in. We had a good exchange. I remember when I asked him the question. They said, "Mr Carr, you've got five minutes to question Mr White on what is happening with the budget."

This was after he had flip-flopped. He originally said it was a good budget, then he said it was a bad budget. This time he was back to saying it was a good budget again. I said: "How can you justify spending? In the five minutes I am going to get to question you, this province is going to spend \$75,000 just to pay the interest alone on the provincial debt. Most of the gentlemen and women standing behind you don't make that in a year and you're going to spend it in five minutes." Even the auto workers who at that time were up and down and chanting, "Great, Bob, give it to him, this is a great budget," sat silent because they did not realize we were spending \$75,000 in five minutes to pay the interest alone on the provincial debt.

What we are doing provincially is the same thing we did federally in the early 1980s. We spent and taxed like there was no tomorrow and we are paying for it now. All the things we care about, all the things in this province, depend on creating wealth, and that is something this government has not done.

1630

In the brief minute I have left, I want to talk about the reasons people are leaving this province and the statistics that have come in from the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology. The minister was kind enough to give me some of the information. People are saying the biggest reason they are leaving is the tax structure in Ontario. Ontario is now the highest-taxed jurisdiction in Canada,



the highest-taxed jurisdiction in all of North America, and what does this government do as we face this crisis in taxes? They turn around and say, "In the next budget, we're going to have to increase taxes," the exact opposite of what they should be doing.

What this government needs to do is control spending. I stood in this Legislature and introduced a practical measure on a sunset clause that would have the financial spending of every agency or board that was created reviewed in order to be streamlined, improved or cut. This government voted against it. I might add it was the same sunset bill that the Liberals voted against when they were in power.

What we have done with New Directions is put some things together, some practical solutions. I invite the public to respond to the leader of the Progressive Conservative Party. We talk about adjustments with job retraining, training and apprenticeship programs, so that we can get people off social assistance.

When the Liberals came in, when they took over from the Conservatives in 1985, they said, "We care more," and they pumped all this money into social assistance programs. Guess what happened? The number of people on social assistance and the waiting lists got longer. Then this government comes in and says, "No, we care more; we're more compassionate than the Liberals and the Tories," and they pumped more money into it. Guess what happened? The number of people on social assistance and the waiting lists got longer.

What must not judge programs by the amount of money we spend; surely we should judge them by the number of people we get off social assistance with jobs, retraining, training and apprenticeship programs. That would be a better indicator of the results of this government.

I know the time is getting short. I agree with the people who are faxing and calling in. This Treasurer is out to lunch; this Premier is out to lunch. The people of this province know there is only one party, the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario, that is standing up for the people. They know very clearly that this country, this province and its people can do better. We are committed to making it happen.

I encourage all political parties to have some input into New Directions, because we cannot afford what has happened over the last year under this government. Unfortunately, the children who are writing to me and talking about the money trees are the ones who are going to have to live with this, but we are not going to let this government get away with it without a fight.

**Mr Sutherland:** It is a pleasure for me to be involved in the discussion today, because the sense of what I get in my riding is far different from what I am hearing from the opposition side.

People in my riding are certainly very concerned about their future and they are very concerned about the economic situation. There is a great deal of uncertainty and there is no doubt that there is a general level of concern and a degree of pessimism out there, but what people want from their government is one that will balance being fiscally

responsible with trying at the same time to deliver programs in a fair, equitable and compassionate manner.

The people of Oxford do realize that these are difficult times, but they also see their neighbours suffering and hurting during this recession and they want the government to maintain the level of services. That is what we tried to do in the last budget. To say we have not done anything—right now at the high school in Norwich in my riding of Oxford people are working who would otherwise not be working, doing renovations to that school because this government made a commitment through the \$700-million anti-recession program to put people back to work. That is what is important during these difficult times. People have confidence in a government that is going to be this way.

Interjection.

**The Deputy Speaker:** To the member for Etobicoke West, I recommend that if you decide to heckle, do so from your seat.

**Mr Sutherland:** I look at this motion and it makes me wonder. I read section 1 and it says, "because of its failure to abandon its tax, borrow and spend agenda..." There is the greatest need out there during this, the worst year of the recession, and we have tried to respond to that need as much as we are able, but I find it rather ironic to listen to the Leader of the Opposition talk about cut, cut, cut, because when he is not in here he sometimes sends a different message.

I believe the Conservative caucus had a retreat in Brantford over the summer, and what was the headline in the Brantford Expositor? There is the Leader of the Opposition saying more money should be given to hospitals. Hospitals need more money. He speaks out of both sides of his mouth. At one time it is, "Save, save, save." Another time it is, "Spend, spend, spend." The people of this province are looking for a degree of consistency from their elected officials and I do not believe the Leader of the Opposition has been providing that.

Number 2 says we are not controlling public spending. We are. The member for London South stated that and a great deal more in terms of controlling spending, in the adjustments, in controls of purchasing new vehicles, on travel, on other expenses, and we will continue to do more.

Number 3, "failure to conduct meaningful consultations": We know there are several consultation papers out there right now. There is employment equity. There are labour relations. There is the Fair Tax Commission and the one announced last week, the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board. It is interesting to look at the press clippings. The headline in today's Toronto Star is "Rae's Training Plan Puts 'Partnership' in Practice." True consultation and partnership between business and labour is going on in the discussions around the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board. That is going to help make this province more competitive in the future.

People are unemployed. I have people calling my office looking for training all the time. They want the training. They want to work. They are not on social assistance because they want to be or because they are lazy. They



want to work, but we have not had a sufficient skills training program in this province to deal with those concerns. It is this government, not the Tories, not the Liberal government, although it started the discussion process. It is this government that is carrying out the most effective consultation and is going to build the partnership between labour, business and community organizations to have proper skills training in this province.

Number 4 says "to develop and pursue new directions...to ensure economic competitiveness, job creation and"—I love this last one—"universal access to affordable public services." Now the Tory party, the third party, is the great defender of universal access to public services. What a great revelation this is. They had 40 years in government and now, after five years of being out in the political wilderness, they say they support universal access. One thing the people of this province know is that if we are going to have quality public services, we have to be willing to pay a price for that. Let's be quite frank. People understand that they do not come cheaply but that they are a commitment to people. If they are going to remain accessible, we have to be willing to make that commitment.

This resolution is saying "Cut, cut, cut," and at the same time is saying they want us to retain universal access. I am sure many people are very concerned about that type of mixed message coming from an opposition that claims, in *New Directions*, that it is putting forward concrete suggestions for alternatives.

We know these are very challenging times for all of us and all of us as elected members feel for our many constituents who are suffering and hurting through this recession, but it is through co-operative measures such as the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board that we will be able to make significant differences and put this province back on track and into a full-fledged recovery.

The third party talks about taxation and says this is the only issue affecting competitiveness. When I talk to businesses and business leaders in my riding, which I do on a regular basis—as a matter of fact, I met with the Tillsonburg Chamber of Commerce, along with the member for Norfolk and the member for Elgin, a couple of weeks ago—they tell me that is one issue but that there are a lot of other issues. It is skills training. It is the question of interest rates. It is the question of access to markets. It is a lot of issues that go into investment decisions. It is not just the one issue. I guess that shows some of the thinking in the third party. They can only focus in and be narrow-minded on one specific issue.

1640

Whatever the outcome of the vote today—I certainly hope this motion is defeated—I will look with great interest to see if the leader of the third party will be sending a copy of this to all the newspapers. Members will recall we had an opposition day on agriculture that stood in the name of the leader of the third party. I was quite surprised a few weeks after that debate when I saw a letter in my local paper from the leader of the third party, saying how his party had made the great sacrifice to have an opposition day discussion on agriculture because it is so committed and he is so committed to it. We all remember that the

leader of the third party was not even here for the debate. Does that show his commitment or lack of commitment on those issues?

The people of Ontario do not want to be hoodwinked like that. They want to see some consistency and they want to see a government make tough decisions, which no doubt we will have to make. They want to see us try to do that in a fair and equitable manner so that all of us can try to get through this most difficult time and so that everyone will work together to bring us back together.

Some of my other colleagues want to speak, so I will wrap it up. I think we should defeat this motion that quite clearly shows the inconsistency and the lack of direction from the third party, and also shows that it is probably going to continue to be in the political wilderness, as it has been for the last six years.

**Mr Beer:** It is a pleasure for me to rise and participate in this debate on the motion of our colleague the member for Nipissing. I will be supporting the motion. I want to focus on one of the areas, item 4, where he talks about the "failure to develop and pursue the new directions in fiscal and economic policies," because I think the debate to this point has tended to be stuck on some of the very important but immediate problems the current government has brought forward because of its budget.

I think one of the places one can be most critical of the government is its inability to move forward and in a strategic sense begin to attack the longer-term problems and to really give people a sense of hope that once we come through this recession there will be policies in place that really are going to ensure we have jobs in the long run, and that there is going to be a competitive climate within this province and within this country that will ensure there will be jobs.

In speaking about that, I think the single most important tool we have as a province to influence economic growth is our overall education and training system. We know, and it has been said before, that the federal government obviously has a series of tools such as interest rates and the value of the dollar that have a very immediate and critical impact on how the economy is doing. What we are talking about here today is what we as a province can do and what this government can or ought to do. When we look at it from that perspective I think our answer is: In the education and training system, what are the key things that are going on, what needs to go on, and how will that have a direct impact on how our overall economic growth prospers?

I would like to share with members of the House some comments that were made in a paper by Dr Lester Thurow from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, because sometimes when we are looking at finding signposts as to what direction we should take to ensure economic growth, it is useful to look at the experiences of other times and other countries. Let me quote what Mr Thurow said in this paper which was delivered several weeks ago:

"If you went to a history book about the 19th or the 20th century, that history book would tell you that there are four ways to get wealthy as an individual, four ways to be successful as a business firm and four ways to generate



a high standard of living as a country. Firstly, you could have more natural resources than your competitor; secondly, you could be born rich and have more capital than your competitor; thirdly, you could have better technology than your competitor; or fourth, you could be better skilled and educated than your competitor."

If we look at those four, clearly the most critical today for this province and this country is our overall education and training system, because it is through it that we will be able to ensure we have better technology. Clearly, many countries have individuals who are rich. That is no longer a dominant feature of any particular country's economy. While we have natural resources, the jobs they create are far less in terms of percentages than the jobs new technological areas will be producing if we can make sure we become competitive in those areas in Ontario.

We have to ask ourselves then, are we developing our overall education and training system in a way that will ensure we have the human resources to take the jobs that are going to be available in the rest of the 1990s and into the next century? Dr Thurow has an interesting analogy we ought to think about in trying to describe the way in which we North Americans—Canadians and Americans—are dealing with this problem versus the way the Europeans and the Japanese are dealing with this challenge. The analogy he draws is with the game of football. Let me give one more quote. In terms of this economic challenge facing us, he says:

"This time we are going to play football with the Europeans and the Japanese. Now, football is an interesting game because of course everybody in the world plays football. Europeans play football, the Japanese play football, the Africans play football, the South Americans play football, the North Americans play football. The problem is, in truth, it is really two games. What the rest of the world calls 'football' we call 'soccer.' There is North American football and then there is soccer.

"If we then look at how those two games are played, the problem with North American football is that its characteristics are quite different from what we call soccer. In North American football there are lots of time-outs, lots of huddles and unlimited substitution. The game the rest of the world plays has no time-outs, no huddles, very limited substitution and is a much faster game."

I think the lesson we have to learn from that analogy is that in developing our education and training systems, we have to recognize we are competing with the rest of the world and in particular with the Europeans and the Japanese. That does not mean we change every way we have approached our education system or our training systems, but it does mean we had better be very careful and prudent in looking at the things they do, at the things we can learn from to ensure that not just our young people, but our society as a whole is going to have the skills and the training required for those new jobs.

Every study that is done demonstrates clearly that the better educated and the better trained a population, the more likely you are then to attract capital, to attract investment and to produce the very jobs that in turn provide for the kind of social justice system which so many members

of the government like to talk about and say they are in favour of. But many times there is a failure to recognize the link between maintaining that high-quality social justice system we have built up in this country over many years and the need for a strong private sector that is creating jobs. Those jobs in turn are creating the wealth which permits us to have the social justice we believe is important and is very much part of our society and part of us as a people.

1650

Je pense qu'il est toujours très important de souligner aux Canadiens et aux Ontariens l'importance de notre système d'éducation, de notre système de formation professionnelle et technique. Pour la population francophone, je pense que là on a un sens très clair de cette importance. Dans le passé, on avait le grand défi de travailler très fort, d'abord pour simplement avoir un système d'éducation en langue française, et deuxièmement, pour développer un tel système qui pouvait former des jeunes aptes à travailler en Ontario, au Québec, au Canada et n'importe où dans le monde.

Donc, parce que l'éducation en français pour notre population francophone est peut-être plutôt quelque chose de nouveau, je pense que jusqu'à un certain point les francophones sont plus au courant de l'importance de l'éducation, et surtout de l'éducation technique. Si l'on va à Ottawa parler avec les dirigeants de la Cité collégiale, le nouveau collège pour francophones, on se rend compte très bien et très fort de l'importance de l'éducation technique pour notre population francophone dans cette province.

When we look at what we are doing in the education and training system, I think we have to recognize that we need to provide much greater stress on getting young people into maths, technological subjects and sciences. We have to put more stress on developing broader co-operative education programs, and in particular what are being called the technological education centres.

There is one I visited in Wellington in the course of my travels over the last few months. In Wellington, the separate school board has a very interesting technological education centre in which all the pupils from the board area, from grade 6 through to the OAC level, are brought in to take courses that will make them technologically literate.

If there is one thing that is going to have to change fundamentally in our system, it is not just that we want people to be literate and have numeracy skills; they are going to have to be technologically literate as well. Quite frankly, probably a lot of us in this House would have some difficulty in meeting the kinds of standards that are required.

We also have to focus on our post-secondary institutions in a much different way. We have to recognize in a better, more planned and strategic sense the links between our community colleges and our universities, and how students will be able to move between them. We have to recognize that it is important to bring the education sector to the table with business, labour and government in determining what areas we are going to be competitive in.

For example, if you go to the area around Boston, Massachusetts, if you go to North Carolina, if you go to



Austin, Texas, if you go to the Silicon Valley in California, one of the interesting things you recognize in terms of the economic strength of those areas is that they have brought together not only business, labour and government, but in a very strategic sense they have brought education into that mix. They have really sat down to say: "Where can we find that leading edge? Where can we really become competitive? Where can we create the jobs that are going to be there in the future?"

When we look at that need and then look at what the present government has done and what it is proposing, or in most cases is not proposing, there is no sense that it has seized upon the essential fact that education is our most important economic tool. If we do not ensure that our young people are going to have the skills required for the jobs that are going to be there during this decade and into the next century, then we are going to be creating too many young people as an underclass.

Surely the great challenge is the 30% of young people who do not complete high school and the 15% of young people who leave high school and are illiterate. Those tell us that no matter how many strengths, and there are many, that we have in our education system, there are still too many major problems that we as a province and the government in power today have authority over, have control over. We have the responsibility to make sure we are working on behalf of the young people. We are doing nobody a service if we put young people through our education system and at the end they are not able to get and keep a job in the new economic world we face. We are in fact doing them a great disservice.

That is why I believe it is very important that this government work with the other provinces in developing a meaningful national assessment system for our own provincial system of education. We are not talking here about going back to the old grade 13 days that I went through where we all sat down in June and wrote the same examinations.

What we are talking about is developing a method of being able to assess how our overall system is doing: What its strengths are, what its weaknesses are, and then, how we can go in and make sure that if in one area they are not doing as well, in the maths or the sciences or the languages or whatever it is, we can bring about changes and put in the resources that are required to ensure that those young people are not going to be school dropouts, are not going to be without skills for the kinds of jobs that are available.

In looking at this motion today, I think the greatest problem for the present government is getting its head out of the mess it created through its budget, to recognize what the long-term and the midterm strategic needs are and to say, "We've got to make a frontal attack in ensuring that our educational and training system is going to meet not the needs of today or the 1980s, but the needs of the 1990s and the next century." In doing that, we can learn a lot in terms of what other countries are doing and indeed what other provinces are doing. We can build on the strengths that are there, but let's recognize that there is much to be done.

For that reason—the inability of this government to take a strategic look at our education and training system and to link that to our economic growth and the creation of jobs—I will be supporting this motion. I urge the government to really recognize how important this area is and begin to get out there and make the kind of changes necessary to ensure that all our people will be able to find work in the new global economic order.

**Mr Arnott:** I am pleased to rise this afternoon in support of my leader's non-confidence motion because this government has lost the confidence of this House. If it ever had the confidence of the people of Ontario, that has been lost as well. The tax, spend and borrow agenda we have been experiencing through the past six years has had a devastating effect on our economy.

I will take members back six years, I suppose, to the defeat of the Progressive Conservative government. We won a minority of seats in this House, and at that point the Liberals and the New Democrats got together and negotiated an accord. For two years they determined, basically on a shopping list the NDP provided, that certain policies would be enacted, and in return the present Premier, then the Leader of the Opposition, indicated he would not force an election for two years.

We saw the Liberals and the New Democrats getting into the same bed together and pursuing these policies that started us on the road we have reached at the present time. So for the past six years that is what started the double-digit increases in spending, the double-digit increases in taxes and the high deficits we are experiencing now. That is a fact of historical record.

This debate this afternoon, I believe, has shown absolutely that the social democratic philosophy espoused by this NDP government—they like to call themselves democratic socialists—is not achievable, that it is a false promise. It claims that it can take us towards an abstract Utopia, that it is achievable and that it will come at no cost to anyone. That is false and no one believes it any more.

In my view, the NDP government in the last year has shown itself to be an abject failure in many areas, but the two principal failures are as follows. I think the first failure is that it has in no quarter, in no region and in no sector of the province inspired any confidence. There are people out there, businesses out there and groups out there that from one day to the next still do not have any feeling or gauge as to what the NDP government will do tomorrow. That lack of confidence and that lack of predictability has been devastating to our economy.

1700

In my riding last Friday I was speaking to a men's group of the All Saints Anglican Church in Erin. I was asked a question at the end of my remarks, and I tried to give as objective an assessment as I could of what has happened in Ontario and in this place in the last year. I was asked how we are going to survive until the NDP is put out of office. I did not know how to respond to that.

Frankly, our caucus is doing everything it can to come forward with positive suggestions. We are being actively critical, as is our job as well, but we are trying to come



forward with constructive suggestions. We have issued *New Directions: A Blueprint for Economic Renewal and Prosperity in Ontario*, which I think is a very thoughtful document. I do not agree with every single suggestion in it, frankly, but I think the thrust is good. As a discussion paper it is an excellent origin and starting point for us.

I think the other thing this debate has brought forward this afternoon is the second absolute failure of this government: its refusal to acknowledge limits. They are refusing to acknowledge that we have got to start living within our means.

Last night I was in Palmerston, in my riding, at the rededication of the Palmerston public school. Recently, they built a substantial new addition and it is essentially a new school. I was sitting there on the stage as the proceedings were going on. Right in front of me, in front of the stage, there was a student choir, and I saw those young faces of children in grades 1, 2 and 3, the expectancy and dreams in those faces. Those children have no future unless the policies of the government of this province are turned around by 180 degrees. As far as I am concerned, they have no hope as long as this government continues the way it is going.

In my own riding, another thing I have tried to undertake recently is a survey of small business people. I spent three days of the week of the break going around to small business people and asked them their view of some of the issues that are coming forward in the Legislature because I want to represent their views here as best I can. I have a number of questions. Also, I left a blank area in my survey for other concerns that I hoped people would fill in.

I probably visited about 150 small businesses over those three days. Of approximately 150 people, I found one single person who supported the NDP government. The rest were very concerned. They are afraid and they do not know what to do. I will read a few of the comments that have come back to me through the mail since I visited these small businesses. This is just a sampling. I hope to get around to the rest of the riding over the next few months, and when we get into the spring session I expect to continue to share these opinions with the members of this Legislature and the government. I hope it will act upon some of them.

I will just read a brief sampling:

"The government is putting us all out of business."

"The NDP were elected for the people, not for the unions."

"Fixed costs are increasing, ie, hydro, insurance, new taxes, reducing profits to the point of not being worth the hours and time. Small businesses will be eliminated."

"If the government keeps shoving its policies down our throat, it may soon be the only employer in the province."

"We are overgoverned and overtaxed. As owners, we deeply resent being forced to work 16-hour days, six to seven days a week, to pay for a raised minimum wage and other labour laws. We resent not benefiting from the programs which we are being forced to pay for. We're mad as hell and we won't take it any longer."

And this last one: "Greed and incompetence, greed and lust for power, greed and immorality, greed and stupidity"—I will not continue because it gets very inflammatory.

This is what people in my riding are saying and this is what I want to bring forward to this Legislature. There is no confidence in this government and it is time it recognized it and took a reverse course. I am going to be supporting this resolution this afternoon.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** Like other members, I am pleased to be able to speak on this motion before the House. There are four parts to the motion the leader of the third party has put forward. I feel very strongly about all four parts and want to take a short time to speak to each.

A lot of the members who have spoken before me have talked in very general terms with respect to the economy and the broad government agenda. As a minister responsible for a portfolio that concentrates its expenditures on about one third of the Ontario budget, it is important for me to contribute to the discussion from the perspective of a ministry as opposed to the broader government agenda. I want to focus my comments on the Ministry of Health and on some of its initiatives and the perspective from which I viewed these kinds of comments in this motion.

The leader of the third party suggests there is a loss of confidence by the members of the parties opposite because of the failure of the government "to implement effective measures to control public sector costs and to cut government spending." As we look at the challenges facing us in these very difficult times, it is not good enough for the opposition simply to cast wide nets and suggest there is not effective cost control or expenditure management taking place. I suggest that not only is it happening but it is essential that it happen, and not just from a fiscal point of view but from the point of view of my ministry delivering high-quality services. I would like to take a moment to talk about that and why I believe that.

It seems to me that we are facing a crisis of confidence in this country. That crisis of confidence extends well beyond this House and this province. In general, it is one in which the people of our country wonder about the direction of our country, the future of our country and some of its national institutions. I suggest we start to look there to understand some of the cynicism and the concerns of the members of the public.

For me, that means talking about the issue of medicare. I argue that we are at a crossroads with respect to our ability to maintain our national standards and our commitment to the principles in the Canada Health Act in every province in this country. It is one of the most important things we must try to achieve. There are several reasons I believe our very precious medical health care system and the principles under the Canada Health Act which support and enforce that are in jeopardy at this time.

It is often said that we should not point fingers at other levels of government. The third party in particular gets very agitated when we talk about the policies of the federal government. Let me talk about it from the perspective of what provinces are experiencing with transfer payments and the policies of the federal government with respect to that.



I am not simply going to cast a wide net and say there is no reason to look at restraint measures at the federal level; of course there is. Of course they have a huge deficit they must manage and try to bring down. They must look at how they realign their programs, set their priorities and reallocate from lower priorities to higher priorities—exactly the kind of management tactics and measures I would expect them to take. However, I disagree with some of the priorities they are putting forward which are reflected in the actions they have taken.

But putting that aside, you cannot argue against the fact that there is a very real impact on the next level of government, that being the provincial level, with respect to the policies that have been taken by our federal government—in particular, the cap on the Canada assistance plan and the impact that has been felt on the established programs financing. It means something very real in every one of our provinces. I have been so struck by the fact, as I have spoken to ministers of Health in other provinces and in our territories, that there is a universal commitment to the maintenance of our national medicare system and a universal understanding that the lack of ongoing adequate and stable funding support from our federal government with respect to the cutbacks in these transfer payments is completely undermining our ability as provinces to maintain those standards.

It also means we have reason to be concerned, because as the federal government checks out of the transfer payment process with respect to our national programs like health and education, its ability to enforce national standards and use fiscal levers disappears. That means with all the well-spoken intentions of the federal government with respect to its support for the Canada Health Act and the principles there—and just so everyone is clear, we are talking about the principles of universality, portability, non-profit administration, comprehensiveness, the things that make our health care system the national program it is so you can go from province to province to province in this country and be assured of high-quality health care services—its ability to enforce those principles in the Canada Health Act disappears as its level of support for the provinces in those programs disappears.

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I do not lay all the concern at one door with respect to why I believe our national health care system is in danger of being undermined and why we must work so hard to try and support it. Let me say also that the subject of the motion today and much of the debate has been with respect to the economic crisis we face in this country. There is no doubt that is a very real part of what undermines our abilities in these days to continue delivery of services we want to continue to deliver without a marked examination of how we go about the delivery of those services.

What it means here in Ontario is that in real terms we are experiencing revenues that are less in real dollars—forget about inflation for a moment; just talk about real dollars—than they were in the year before, at a time when the demand for services is so much greater, at a time when the impact of the recession on the people in our economy in

this province means there are a billion people receiving social assistance.

There are another 500 million on unemployment insurance who are about to move on to the social assistance rolls because there is not a clear hope of a job for them in the future. You cannot ignore the human impact of that. You cannot just suggest that those are some sort of statistics and that government should not, in the depths of this recession, attempt in all ways it can to continue delivery of services to those people, to protect those most vulnerable in our society during this period of time.

But that has real economic impacts on the budget, on the deficit, on our ability to balance off our expenditures against revenues. You have an amazing escalation in costs in those programs that I doubt there is one member of the opposition over there would say, at least publicly, should be cut completely. There is not one member who would argue that the very poor out there should not be receiving support and assistance from this government at this point in time. Yet they seem unable to put that together with the fact that with less absolute dollars of revenue coming in than in the previous year, of course there will be a gap in between, which is the deficit, and there are a number of ways to address that.

What that means for health care is that at a period of time when we need to deliver services effectively in this province and when we need to consider what 10 years of academic debate and 10 years of blue-ribbon committees studying our health care and 10 years of all sorts of reports and consensus being built in the reform movement out there have said, that in order to make people healthy, you do not spend more money on the traditional health care system, you have to spend money on those things that actually determine the health status of people—those are things like ensuring that people have access to adequate and affordable housing, ensuring that people have access to good-quality education, ensuring that we try to support people who are in the state of poverty and try to bring people out of poverty, ensuring that we spend money to try to clean up our environment; those are the things that make people healthy; those are the things where everybody who has studied the system has said we have to invest our money—but at a time when it is so urgent that we do that, we have seen expenditures in the health care system we have in our province grow at an exponential rate.

Quite frankly, that leads me to the third point that I think is part of the challenge that faces us and part of the threat to our ability to maintain high-quality services under a national medicare system that we want to maintain unless we take corrective action.

Let me say that the economic situation out there, that need to be able to expend more money on those things that actually make people healthy, can only be accomplished if we can stop the exponential growth of the health care system budget, which has grown to be over a third of our Ontario budget.

As we talk about our expenditures, we must remember that one out of every three dollars is being spent on our health care system. That has grown dramatically over 10



years. Look at our hospital budgets alone. They were about \$2.8 billion 10 years ago in a reference period that one of the members opposite is talking about. It has now grown to a level of about \$7 billion, yet we have people on the other side of the House saying we need to spend more money there, that the steps we are taking are not appropriate. I challenge that.

But let me come to the third premise of what I would argue is part of the threat to our national health care system. That has been, over a number of years, government's inability to grapple with and effectively manage the system. I am not saying this as a partisan accusation, because there has not been a government in any province that has effectively taken on this job. The way human nature works, when your backs are not against the wall, you do not make tough decisions. Right now our backs are against the fiscal wall and it means we do need to make some very important decisions with respect to our health care system and its future and with respect to the appropriateness of some of the expenditures within the system.

The member opposite earlier wanted me to comment on reports that I have said there is \$5 billion in our health care system that is being spent inappropriately. Let me put that comment in context for the members here. I said at a convention, speaking to the Ontario Hospital Association, that there are many academic reports and studies of our hospitals and health care system which suggest that about 25% to 30% of the procedures and things we do in our health care system have no proven quality or proven value. If that number is correct and you translate that into the Ontario system where we currently spend over \$17 billion on our health care system, that would translate into about \$5 billion of procedures we should at least be questioning to ensure we have good value coming out of them.

If only a portion of that assessment is correct—let's say only 10% or 15%—the impact on our ability to expend money on other priority areas would be tremendous. All those studies also indicate that the kind of quality review that needs to be done, the kind of waste in the system that is often pointed to, actually delivers a poor quality of health care service to the individual consumer.

Let me give an example. If you are talking about a patient who sees a doctor, who gets referred to one specialist, then another specialist, who has a battery of tests ordered by the first doctor, by the second specialist and by the third specialist—if you look at some of the decision-making points in the process, there is an opportunity for us to improve dramatically the decision-making, the review process, the expenditure process, and to deliver better-quality care to people.

That is the kind of change in the system we are looking for. It is not simply a measure to say, "We have to save money." It is a measure to say, "We have to improve the quality of services," and that there are ways we can do it. There are many people out there in the system who have been suggesting this for a very long time.

All of must recognize there will be those debates that flow from that about what the appropriateness is of some of the procedures we are performing in our health care

system and is this an appropriate expenditure and should we look to other ways to spend our money.

That challenge of effective management is one this government has taken on, and let me say to the members opposite we have taken steps to try, through our agreement with the physicians, both to bring about a process for review of utilization of services and to look at cost-effectiveness. We see, with restrictions on payment for out-of-country health services, which allows us to reinvest in services here in Ontario, and with measures to try to effectively manage the Ontario drug benefit program. Every review has suggested that many of our seniors are receiving too many prescriptions and that many times seniors present themselves in emergency rooms and hospitals it is because of contraindications of different drugs interacting in a very negative way—so a better way of managing our seniors' health.

For the objectives of both higher-quality health services and cost-effectiveness, we can see, in total, that we are looking at expenditure savings of close to \$300 million in the next year and upwards of \$600 million as that rolls out in mature costs.

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Those are very important quality assurance and effective cost measurements we are putting in place and, quite frankly, the members opposite have not acknowledged any of that.

Point 3, that we have not undertaken meaningful consultations, I would also dispute. With respect to the kinds of reviews that we are undertaking right now—major program reviews, hospital funding—who is at the table? The Ontario Hospital Association, hospital workers and their representatives, district health councils, the ministry and consumers. We bring together the partners. We consult about what we are doing.

With respect to the review of the Ontario drug benefit plan, we will be bringing together people from the pharmaceutical industry, people from the pharmacies and, again, seniors and consumers. That kind of consultation and involvement of people, that kind of true partnership is very effective. It is very alive and well in the program reviews that are being undertaken, and the assertions of the third party's motion completely deny that.

The motion goes on to say that we should be seeking to create—I am essentially paraphrasing—an economic policy and direction that will allow us to support universal access to affordable public services. The next time the members of the third party stand up and start to spread panic and fear because we are looking at these very issues with respect to the hospital system and are acting on 10 years of support, saying there is reason, after a move to better ambulatory and outpatient care, to move some of the acute care beds out of the system, when the member opposite says, "Wait a minute, we had a leader and a Minister of Health who talked about that at one time," they should think about it, think about being responsible in this day and age with respect to how we approach expenditures in the health care system.

After having had 10 years of movement to ambulatory and outpatient—which started when Dennis Timbrell,



from the member's party, was the Minister of Health—now we have to follow up and move the acute care beds out that are no longer required in that system.

Finally, point 1 is that we have, by this deficit, abandoned people. If we had not approached this year's budget with this approach, with the kind of deficit we have projected, imagine what that would have meant for hospital funding. Imagine what that would have meant for the health care sector. Imagine what that would have meant for people on social assistance. Imagine what that would have meant for people who are seeking housing and who are seeking day care. What we have done is very responsible. What we have done is invest in the future of this province.

**Mr Ramsay:** It is a pleasure to rise today to speak in support of this motion that comes from the third party. It is certainly my experience that this motion is supported right across the province. When we stand up and debate motions of confidence in the government, usually it is involved internally here. It has to do with what members of the Legislature think of the government of the day.

But in the travels I have taken throughout the province, there is a general lack of confidence in this government right across this province. What people are saying to me is that this government is not capable of embarking upon the economic renewal that is necessary to get the economy of Ontario back on track, incapable because this government does not have the sense of good economic management this province wants, and is also incapable because of the apprehension the high-debt, high-cost policies of this government are causing.

You only have to look through the clippings every day. I refer to today's Toronto Star and the chairman of Ford, the third-largest corporation in this country. This is a company that supplies a lot of jobs to southwestern Ontario, a lot of good unionized and management jobs in this province, jobs we count upon in Ontario. The chairman of Ford, Mr Harrigan, says that entrepreneurs are afraid to invest or expand in Ontario.

It is not just chairpersons, officers and executives of major corporations. In my travels I talk to workers, people who work for many of these corporations, and they also are very afraid of what their companies may be doing. They are very afraid of the business decisions, the investment decisions their companies, the companies they rely upon for a living, are going to be making in the next little while, because the talk out there is not good at all.

The problem is that we are not getting leadership from this government. Every day the opposition parties pepper the Treasurer with questions on what this government is doing about economic renewal, and all we hear from the Treasurer is, "This is the worst recession since the Great Depression of the 1930s." We hear: "It is the federal government's fault. If only we didn't have that high dollar and those high interest rates, everything would be hunky-dory."

Interjection.

**Mr Ramsay:** And "spot on," to quote the Treasurer; exactly.

What we do not get from the Treasurer, what we do not get from this government, is the plan. What is the plan for economic renewal? What are we all embarking on? Give us a chance. We would all like to support the government on the plan for economic renewal. We all, in this Legislature, in this province, need to begin to roll up our sleeves and get to work on rebuilding the Ontario economy, but we do not get that.

**Mr White:** What's your plan?

**Mr Ramsay:** I am going to get to that. I have just been asked, Mr Speaker, what my plan is. I am going to outline what I think the problem is for a minute, and then I will be positive and constructive, as I think opposition parties should be, and I will get there.

What we see instead is a government that talks about partnership. I would hope that partnership starts to develop, because we certainly need that. They say that, but what we get instead are changes to the Labour Relations Act that, again, are causing a lot of apprehension in the total community of Ontario, not just the investment community.

I will put aside the contents of that act, because I would say there are probably some good things in the amendments that are coming that probably should be enacted. The problem is the timing and the lack of consultation and partnership in doing that. The history of labour relations amendments in Ontario has been that we sit down, all three partners—business, labour and government—and start to ferret out the problems.

Certainly there are problems and there is need for improvement, but how we do it is to work incrementally. Step by step we start to make those improvements and we work on that together. We do not move like we are doing today, holus-bolus, pushing these amendments forward, ramming them down the throats of investors and business people in this province. That is what we are doing. It is not the partnership that should be there, and we need to get that partnership there.

What we need from this government is the plan. We need this government to embark upon a crusade of economic renewal for this province. That is what Ontario is looking for; that is what this country is looking for. Ontario should be the province leading the way, as we are the engine of growth in this country. It is up to this government to start that crusade.

This government has to start to reach out to that investment community. I do not hear anybody in this government saying to management, to the investment community, to the people who create the jobs in this province: "We need you in Ontario. We don't want you to leave. We want to sit down and work with you in getting this economy back on track. You are an important aspect of the Ontario economy and we need to work with you, because as government, we don't have all the answers. We need to forge that partnership." We do not hear that from the Premier or the Treasurer, and it is time we did.

In answer to the queries I have been getting from some of the government backbenchers—"What is the plan?"—we have to be positive and we have to put some ideas



forward. As the opposition, I think that is part of the role we have here in this House on behalf of the people of Ontario.

One of the areas we are really going to have to improve upon and admit there are problems with is our education system. We have to make sure the people of Ontario have the skills the marketplace requires for the jobs that are coming in the rest of this decade and beyond, into the next century.

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That is going to be very important, and again that is going to mean a new partnership, because we cannot have the education system going off on its own, basically developing an education system that is tremendous for self-fulfilment for people upgrading themselves; we have to make sure there is relevance in the system and therefore we have to have a new partnership. We have to bring in the private sector to say: "Are we on track with the education system? Are we imparting the skills the people need to be competitive, to live a fulfilling life and to contribute to the life and the economy of this great country?" That is the partnership we need.

We have to turn on our young boys and girls to the careers of the 21st century. We need to bring in our engineers, technicians and technologists and talk to the people in elementary school, the children who are starting their educational life, to turn them on to some of those careers that are going to be there for them. We have to make sure that those skills are going to be there, that we look back to the basics we have left and make sure all our children going through high school take math, science, history and their language through every grade in high school.

We have to make the school system challenging for our children. I do not think they are challenged enough today. We have to make sure our children are reading, and they have to be reading the classics. We have to get our children back to know the patterns and rhythms of their language, to get exposed to the big vocabulary that is there so that we can pick up on our spelling.

We have a lot of do in the education system. We have to work with all our partners there, and I would ask those partners in the education system to come together and maybe for a minute to take off their institutional hats, for the teachers and our trustees of our boards and the bureaucrats in the Ministry of Education to come together and to take off that institutional hat for just a second and to sit down to discuss, "What's the best thing we can do for our children and for the future of Ontario?" That is the type of partnership this government needs to embark upon.

The other thing we have to do is to become innovative. Quite frankly, we have not had to be very innovative because we have been spoiled with the wonderful blessing of resources we have had in this country. We have only had to harvest our natural resources, and since the Second World War we have only had to rely on the great branch-plant economy in this great province of ours for our living, but we see both those aspects of our economic development eroding. The world is no longer reliant upon our resources as much as it was in the past, and that is making it very tough, especially for northern Ontario, and by and large

the world no longer wants the products we make in the south. We see every day the evidence of that, unfortunately, as factories and plants close down and jobs move elsewhere.

It is very important that we start to invest in innovation, that government stop paying lipservice to research and development and start challenging the people, our universities, other post-secondary institutions and our private sector researchers to scour the world for more private sector partners to come to us as government, to bid to us for dollars in those joint ventures to do research and development in Ontario.

Our promise to those joint ventures is that we are bringing along a highly skilled workforce that will be able to develop and manufacture the processes, the products and services that research and development are going to bring forward. That is the type of economy we need. We need a government that has a vision of a high-tech, innovative, value added economy that will take Canadians and our workforce into the next century so that we will take our place in that new global competitive marketplace we are faced with now.

This government needs to start with the fact of giving some confidence to the people of Ontario. Nobody in the government, nobody in this country is saying to people: "Let's be proud of what we've accomplished in this country. We have nothing to be ashamed of. Canada is a most wonderful experiment and it is going to continue." In fact, Canada and Ontario are the envy of the world, but we must not be afraid of change. We must believe in what we can do, and I know we can move beyond. I see these challenges as opportunities, and the government has to seize these opportunities and not be afraid to move on, not be afraid to grasp some new answers, maybe answers that have not occurred to the thinking of this government. All the answers are not necessarily just left of centre. The answers are all over there, and what we need is the flexibility of a government that is able to tackle the challenges from any angle that is needed. That is the problem with this government. They are unable to do that.

On January 1, we will see another increase in our gasoline tax in this province. I can hardly believe that a government that has very healthy representation, unfortunately, from northern Ontario, has sided with a massive increase in taxation with gasoline, a total of a 3.4-cent increase in gasoline tax from the last budget, and now another half of that, 1.7 cents, comes on January 1. This is the exact opposite thing that needs to happen right now. If this government wants to start the economic rebound of this economy, it should immediately roll back the gasoline tax.

I know that when I have travelled in the border towns—the government knows this from its own commissioned studies and other studies that are available to it—the price differential of gasoline is the number one determinant for cross-border shopping. We are going to have to look at other ways to derive our revenues. I am not saying to this government that it has to suffer a shortfall in revenue; we are going to have to change the way we raise revenues.



We in the Liberal government, and the Tory government before us, basically wanted to increase the consumption taxes in this province, the so-called old sin taxes. We kept just pumping away at them every year. We increased the tobacco tax, we increased the gasoline tax and we did the same for cigarettes.

The Canadian people have passed the threshold of that and we are going to have to start to reallocate how we generate our revenues. We no longer can rely on consumption taxes, because basically they are stopping business in Ontario. It is persuading our consumers to cross the border and spend their money elsewhere. In fact, the federal government is now finding that its cigarette revenue has dropped tremendously since the last increase because people now are crossing the border and are also getting it from the black market. Some of them are quitting, and that is certainly laudable, but it is very important that we start to become competitive and find other ways to generate our revenues in this province.

I would implore this government to not only stop the 1.7-cent increase per litre on gasoline that is coming in on January 1 but to immediately roll back the price of gasoline. That would be the best thing, and the government knows it. Everybody in this province knows that the price differential between the Ontario price and the American price for gasoline is the number one reason people cross the border.

The other challenge this government has—the Minister of Health actually commented on it, and I must applaud her with the tremendous challenge she has in her ministry—is to try to bring government expenditure under control. Certainly the Minister of Health has a tremendous challenge there.

In general, all the ministers of the crown need to look at their ministries and at new ways to provide services and programs to people. We need to move from the 19th-century model our public service is based on and start to move to a modern, efficient, technologically renewed public administration.

I look at other institutions in society. Take the banks, for instance: very conservative institutions in this country, but they use 21st-century technology in interacting with their clients. We all use the bank machines and people withdraw and deposit money from their accounts using those. Why should you not be able to go into those bank machines and punch into the Ontario government and get your driver's licence renewed and pay off fines? That is what we have to be doing. We have to become modern and efficient. I leave that challenge up to this government, to make sure it starts the economic renewal of Ontario.

**Mr Stockwell:** I think our party has summed up the concerns and why we brought this motion forward today. The challenge, I believe, that we are faced with is a challenge to be painfully honest with the constituents in Ontario. I will speak specifically to the first note in here: number one, with respect to the "tax, borrow and spend agenda."

Debts kill companies; deficits kill companies, particularly in recessions. Those that are having the most trouble surviving today are highly leveraged. Companies that cannot survive today are the ones that owe so much money to

the banks they cannot service their debts. The same thing has happened with provincial governments. Exactly the same could happen with this provincial government.

When you run debts and you have deficits, it undermines the programs you want to put forward. It undercuts any capacity you have to respond to recessions and so forth. It decreases the future demand. It does not allow you to do anything in the future when you have to spend billions of dollars servicing debt. That is exactly the situation the federal government is in today.

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We as a Legislature and the NDP as a government have a challenge to be perfectly honest with the constituents in Ontario. I listened to the Minister of Health and I do not think being perfectly honest means that when she is talking about bed closures, she should rename it "managing the beds out of the system." She should say "bed closures," because that is what she is talking about. That is what the people in this province want to know. If she is going to close beds, let her say the words. They understand those words.

If those people in this Legislature today are going to suggest that we can get this financial malaise in order and there will be no pain, they are kidding the folks. We have generation after generation raised in this province believing there is a free lunch, believing you can get everything you want and not have to pay the bill. We have \$430 billion in federal debt accumulated by the Liberals and some money accumulated by the Conservatives. We have a \$10-billion deficit that has been adopted by the provincial socialists in this year alone. There are generations that believe you can get something for free. There is no free lunch. All the government is suggesting today is that future generations will not have the capacity to live the kind of lives we have grown accustomed to.

There will be generations that simply will not have universal health care. They will not have it. In the 1990s the debate will be universality. The Health minister speaks of it today. She speaks about health care and the universality of that health care. Unless we deal with the deficit and the debt and the money we owe, the universality argument will simply pass us by, because we will have to spend more and more money every year to service the debt we have accumulated and are going to force on our children's backs. Anyone who does not agree with that or does not believe that simply does not understand. If we go back 10 or 20 years ago to the federal predicament, they adopted more debt, incurred more debt, to the point now where they simply cannot even service the interest alone on that debt each year.

There is a great movement out there about the Reform Party. They are travelling this country and this province. They are suggesting to the people of this province that they can retire the debt, retire the deficit. They are not being honest with the people in this province or this country. Anyone who is telling us today that he can retire the federal government's debt or deficit and see no pain is not telling the truth. There will be pain because we have incurred so much debt.



No one would relish that, no one wants to see that, but that does not change the fact that this government is going to have to deal with this deficit and there will be pain. Otherwise it is going to begin to deal with this government. This government is going to have to deal with it because if it does not, the banks will deal with it. The people who have lent this government the money will deal with it. Today this government is incurring such debt and such a deficit that future generations will not be accustomed to the standard of living we enjoy today.

No one wants to see pain or suffering when it comes to living in Ontario, no one wants to see people homeless, no one wants to see people who cannot get enough money to survive or a home to live in or enough food to eat. But by simply avoiding the issue, incurring more debt, increasing taxes and driving out business, you are ensuring that will happen. You are guaranteeing that will take place. Companies will leave, your debt will rise, you will have less money to pay it, you will have more people on welfare and more people unemployed.

**Mr Kormos:** How does Brian Mulroney do it, Chris? Tell us how Mulroney has done it.

**Mr Stockwell:** How do you deal with it? I am trying to tell the member. You have to deal with it by dealing with reality. When it comes to bed closures, you have to call them bed closures.

When you are dealing with it, you have to be honest with the people of Ontario. By doubling the debt over the next four years, you are not servicing the people of Ontario, you are not servicing the future generations who want to live in Ontario, you are not helping the people who are unemployed and you are not helping the people on welfare. You are driving businesses out of Ontario, because they will not be competitive if they stay in this province.

What more people are telling me today is that they want to work. We are losing jobs at a record rate because of the fiscal approach this government has taken. They can simply sit back, because they are gainfully employed for three years, and mock anyone who suggests this is the wrong approach today. If it is working so well, why are we suffering so badly?

1753

The House divided on Mr Harris's motion, which was negated on the following vote:

#### Ayes-34

Arnott, Bradley, Carr, Chiarelli, Cleary, Conway, Cousens, Cunningham, Eves, Fawcett, Grandmaître, Harnick, Harris, Henderson, Jackson, Jordan, Mancini, McClelland, McGuinty, McLean, Murdoch, B., O'Neil, H., O'Neill, Y., Poirier, Ramsay, Runciman, Sterling, Stockwell, Sullivan, Tilson, Turnbull, Villeneuve, Wilson, J., Witmer.

#### Nays-63

Abel, Allen, Bisson, Boyd, Buchanan, Carter, Charlton, Christopherson, Cooke, Cooper, Coppen, Dadamo, Drainville, Duignan, Fletcher, Frankford, Haeck, Hampton, Hansen, Harrington, Hayes, Hope, Huget, Jamison, Johnson,

Klopp, Kormos, Lankin, Laughren, Lessard, Mackenzie, MacKinnon, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Marchese, Martel, Martin, Mathysen, Mills, Morrow, North, O'Connor, Owens, Perruzza, Pilkey, Pouliot, Rae, Rizzo, Silipo, Sutherland, Ward, B., Ward, M., Wark-Martyn, Waters, Wessinger, White, Wildman, Wilson, F., Wilson, G., Winninger, Wiseman, Wood, Ziemba.

#### EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

**The Deputy Speaker:** Pursuant to standing order 33(a), the member for Scarborough North has given notice of his dissatisfaction with the answer to his question given by the Minister of Labour. The member has up to five minutes to debate the matter and the minister may reply for up to five minutes.

We will give a chance to the members who do not want to stay to please leave the House. Order, please.

**Mr Curling:** It is not at all surprising that the benches got empty as soon as I was about to put the question to the Minister of Labour. As you know, Mr Speaker, I tried to ask the question of the Minister of Citizenship and got no answer with regard to employment equity and the standards and rules set by employment agencies. Abuse by employment agencies is happening right now in this province.

1800

I will go into a little more detail, because I was extremely disappointed by the way the minister answered the question. In the first instance he got a couple of moments to think about it because the Minister of Citizenship did not answer it adequately. I thought the Minister of Labour would be, not more sensitive, but would have a little different understanding of the matter. Not at all. He answered me in a very abrupt way. When I look at the Hansard, there is nothing there, nothing of consequence, no idea of what is happening. The employment agencies out there are screening people out who are either visible minorities or women, and it is a blatant situation we have seen.

When the matter was brought before the human rights commission, it seemed to me that they swept it under the table and cut a deal and it was never dealt with properly. I thought the Minister of Labour could use the opportunity to address the matter and reassure the people of this province that although they had a sensitive government in place before, it did not matter that the NDP was now in government, that it would also be sensitive to those needs and to how blatantly these employment agencies have discriminated in this matter.

He said he was looking into it, that they were going to have some consultation. There is a law on the books that tells one how to deal with these organizations that discriminate so blatantly. I am asking the minister, and I hope he can respond in that respect, to use the existing law perhaps to take away licences.

If some bus driver, for instance, were using the vehicle and his licence to put people's lives in danger, I am sure the Minister of Transportation or the police would take away that licence. These individuals, these organizations, are using these establishments to discriminate. This has literally taken food from the mouths of children, taken



away the right of individuals to support themselves if they are unable to get a job because they are black or because they are Chinese or because they are women. That is exactly what they are doing.

We are saying the law exists right now. We should take those licences away, not tell them to go on a course, and ask: "Are you more sensitive to women? Are you more sensitive to visible minorities now that you have learned and got this 15-minute course? You're on your way." I think the minister has a responsibility.

It is typical of this government. When you ask any question you get no answer. When you ask for consultation and ask them to come in, they shut you out. We have seen today a debate of confidence in this government. It goes beyond the economic situation. It is about people feeling they have no way to redress some of the issues at hand. Especially at a time of recession, a job is a life for people. They are losing their jobs, they are losing their homes and they are not getting the opportunity because agencies are discriminating.

I ask the minister again to look into this and make sure this does not continue, because the people of this province have lost a lot of faith in politicians. I am giving him the opportunity right now to respond in that way, not to tell me, "We'll look into it and do what we can." One sees the nepotism going on. Maybe we have to join the NDP or the union or be a family member of a union before we can get the job. The minister will please not let it go unanswered.

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** I would like the honourable member to know that my ministry has been working very hard in this area to improve the legislation on employment agencies. He also knows this type of change takes some time.

I am pleased to tell the honourable member that my ministry has completed a discussion paper and will begin final consultations with affected groups on specific areas of reform. The paper will be released in the new year with consultations to follow shortly after that. The discussion paper focuses on the need for an audit system to detect and investigate discriminatory practices and the need for educational qualifications and licensing requirements to agency operators and individual agents.

My officials are working closely with the Ministry of Citizenship, which has the lead responsibility for employment equity. They are consulting with the Ontario Human Rights Commission on this issue. When our discussion paper is released in the new year we would be pleased to have input from the honourable member. I might say that much of this answer was given, I thought, in fair detail by the Minister of Citizenship when she responded to the member's question some time ago.

#### CHILD CARE CENTRES

**The Deputy Speaker:** Pursuant to standing order 33(a), the member for Burlington South has given notice of his dissatisfaction with the answer to his question given by the Minister of Community and Social Services concerning day care. The member has up to five minutes to debate the matter and the minister may reply for up to five minutes.

**Mr Jackson:** In the more than six and one half years I have been in this House, this is only the second occasion I have felt the response from a minister of a government was so inadequate and was relying on such inaccurate information from her own ministry. I now find myself tonight wishing to raise a couple of points.

Specifically, I raise questions about her flying in the face of the processes in this Legislature about sharing information, and about order paper questions that she has not responded to. She says she does not have the information I requested seven months ago and yet she tabled yesterday at press conferences at Queen's Park some of the statistics we are looking for. On the one hand the minister can say how many commercial day care centres have closed in this province by giving the statistics, but on my order paper question, when I asked her to give us which centres have closed and where they are in the community and to give us numbers, she says she does not have them.

It is imperative that when a minister's staff lies to her, misleads her or suggests that information is other than it is in reality, she does this province and this House a great disservice and she is not doing her job unless she seeks out the information. Her own staff can produce some of the statistics which indicate that the minister is not speaking the truth in the House. Her staff had some of the stats the same day as she stood in the House and said she had—

**The Deputy Speaker:** I do not accept that. You can choose another word, please.

**Mr Jackson:** Mr Speaker, "misleading by her staff" were the words I used earlier, and it obviously met with your approval.

**The Deputy Speaker:** But you mentioned not telling the truth and I do not accept that.

**Mr Jackson:** Her staff were misleading her; you do not accept. Thank you, Mr Speaker. I want to indicate that what is of critical importance here is that the minister has announced some \$10.8 million of the \$100 million for day care which is going to help bail out non-profit centres in financial difficulty. She says she does not know this and yet yesterday in the House, in the front part of her answer, she said she was aware of these centres and which ones were in financial difficulty.

On occasion in the past, I have brought specific cases to the attention of the minister: Close Avenue Road Day Care Centre right here in the city of Toronto. I attended the meeting. I took the numbers they were discussing and I discussed them with the minister. She was able to articulate which centres were in financial difficulty and yet she stands in this House and says she does not have this information. How can the Treasurer, when the dollars in this province are so scarce, indicate that he has \$10.8 million to give to the minister to throw around to these centres in financial difficulty?

I have information that again her ministry was advised of yesterday. A centre in Sudbury, for example, is opening in January. It is costing taxpayers \$1.1 million to produce this non-profit centre for 36 spaces. We are told by the builder they are using imported ceramic tile, light fixtures imported from Germany, a \$5,000 elevator to the second



floor, a \$3,000 private dinette in the executive board room, for 36 spaces, and inlaid mosaic tile flooring.

If this is the kind of accountability she says she might eventually get around to, we cannot wait until she does it. Her specific strategy is to punish the private sector, which is paying taxes in municipalities in this province, which she says should be barred from access to subsidized spaces. She would punish the private sector which puts up all the risk capital. They do not have their hands out for \$1.1 million as they do in Sudbury. They are investing it.

1810

I want to tell the minister that the true face of the people who are running these day care centres is mostly that of women: 85% of them are women. I want to tell the minister about a woman who came to see me with her problems in her day care centre. Her accountant told her to sell and get out, but after a year of financial difficulties and mortgaging her house to the hilt she lost her centre, lost her home and is now unemployed. She is a beaten woman in terms of her entrepreneurial spirit and her commitment to providing quality social services in this province. She was not unlike many women in this province. All they had was a simple dream of having their own autonomy, expanding the grid, allowing more day care spaces to be provided in their community, and what the minister's announcement has done is fly in the face of that.

The most tragic statement that was made yesterday while the minister stood in the House to give these flip answers was from one operator who is about to lose her centre: "No person should have to fight just to exist in this province."

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** I am pleased to have an opportunity to clarify the delay in supplying the answer to the Orders and Notices paper questions 435 and 436 requested by the member opposite. I would have liked to table the response more quickly, but unfortunately cabinet operations in the cabinet office felt that the answer initially supplied was incomplete. This was further complicated by the change in ministers, which meant the responses had to be resigned.

The member for Burlington South was absolutely correct yesterday when he said that the opposition had not had a chance to see the response. I owe him an apology, because my understanding was that he had.

I am also pleased to have an opportunity to explain how this ministry currently collects data on the status of child care centres. It is not nearly as haphazard as the member for Burlington South would have other members

believe, but it is not done in a form that would have provided the answer in the form he asked for.

The day nursery information system, which primarily collects licensing data for child care centres, does not have the capability to provide the information requested in the order paper questions. Details on closures of child care centres have always been kept at this ministry's area offices, but previously they were not forwarded to the ministry's central office in Toronto. Under previous governments, that kind of centralized information collecting was not done.

However, over the last year our concern regarding the effect of the recession on child care centres has resulted in the development of a quarterly report on the status of centres in both the profit and non-profit sectors. This is a manual reporting system and the information is not organized in exactly the way it was requested in the order paper question. We can provide information not per municipality or region, as requested, but for larger regions as of January 1, 1991, and we will be pleased to do so. I understand that has already gone forward to cabinet office.

I must say that one of the reasons this government is initiating a major review of how child care is delivered in Ontario is embodied in this exchange we have had. I am not pleased with the creation of centres and the closing of centres and the way in which spaces have been distributed, and I do not believe the information that we get from the general public indicates any greater satisfaction. Not only are there gaps in the monitoring of services, but there are significant gaps in the services themselves, as the member pointed out.

Within the context of an organized approach towards a system that truly will provide in the long run universal availability of child care to everyone in the province who wishes to use it, who needs to use it, we will be proceeding with our review. The kinds of questions about the kind of accountability that is required will be very central in that review.

I would emphasize that we are very aware of the stress the child care sector is under and we are working very hard to ensure that we see great improvement over the next year. It is true we are doing that in the context of a non-profit emphasis, and we will continue to do so because we believe government money is best spent in the public sector.

**The Deputy Speaker:** There being no further matter to debate, I deem the motion to adjourn to be carried. This House stands adjourned until 1:30 tomorrow afternoon.

The House adjourned at 1816.



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- Mathysen, Irene** (Middlesex ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment, government whip/Adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement, whip du gouvernement
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- McLeod, Lyn** (Fort William L)
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- Mills, Gord** (Durham East/-Est ND) parliamentary assistant to Solicitor General/Adjoint parlementaire du Solliciteur général
- Morin, Gilles E.** (Carleton East/-Est L) Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
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- Offer, Steven (Mississauga North/-Nord L)  
 O'Neil, Hugh P. (Quinte L)  
 O'Neill, Yvonne (Ottawa-Rideau L) opposition deputy whip/  
 Whip adjointe de l'opposition  
 Owens, Stephen (Scarborough Centre/-Centre ND)  
 parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial  
 Institutions, government whip/Adjoint parlementaire du  
 ministre des Institutions financières, whip du  
 gouvernement
- Perruzza, Anthony (Downsview ND) parliamentary assistant to  
 Minister for Skills Development/Adjoint parlementaire du  
 ministre de la Formation professionnelle
- Philip, Hon/L'hon Ed** (Etobicoke-Rexdale ND) Minister of  
 Industry, Trade and Technology/Ministre de l'Industrie,  
 du Commerce et de la Technologie
- Phillips, Gerry (Scarborough-Agincourt L)
- Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan** (Oshawa ND) Solicitor General,  
 Minister of Correctional Services/Solliciteur général,  
 ministre des Services correctionnels
- Poirier, Jean (Prescott and Russell/Prescott et Russell L)
- Poole, Dianne (Eglinton L)
- Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles** (Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon ND)  
 Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for  
 francophone affairs/Ministre du Transport, ministre  
 délégué aux Affaires francophones
- Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob** (York South/-Sud ND) Premier,  
 Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/Premier ministre,  
 ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
- Ramsay, David (Timiskaming L)
- Rizzo, Tony (Oakwood IND)
- Runciman, Robert W. (Leeds-Grenville PC) Chair, standing  
 committee on government agencies/Président du Comité  
 permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
- Ruprecht, Tony (Parkdale L)
- Scott, Ian G. (St. George-St. David L)
- Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony** (Dovercourt ND) Chairman of the  
 Management Board of Cabinet, Minister of  
 Education/Président du Conseil de gestion du  
 gouvernement, ministre de l'Éducation
- Sola, John (Mississauga East/-Est L) Vice-Chair, standing  
 committee on social development/Vice-président du  
 Comité permanent des affaires sociales
- Sorbara, Gregory S. (York Centre/-Centre L)
- Sterling, Norman W. (Carleton PC)
- Stockwell, Chris (Etobicoke West/-Ouest PC)
- Sullivan, Barbara (Halton Centre/-Centre L)
- Sutherland, Kimble (Oxford ND) parliamentary assistant to  
 Chairman of the Management Board of Cabinet;  
 Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic  
 affairs/Adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de  
 gestion du gouvernement, vice-président du Comité  
 permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
- Swarbrick, Anne (Scarborough West/-Ouest ND)
- Tilson, David (Dufferin-Peel PC)
- Turnbull, David (York Mills PC)
- Villeneuve, Noble (S-D-G & East Grenville/S.-D.-G. &  
 Grenville-Est PC) Second Deputy Chair of the Committee  
 of the Whole House/Deuxième vice-président du Comité  
 plénier de l'Assemblée législative
- Ward, Brad (Brantford ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister  
 of Industry, Trade and Technology with responsibility for  
 trade and technology/Adjoint parlementaire du ministre de  
 l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie et délégué  
 au Commerce et à la Technologie
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 of Revenue/Ministre du Revenu
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 Georgienne ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of  
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 Président du Comité permanent des règlements et projets  
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 autochtones
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 Communications/Adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de  
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 minister responsible for native affairs/Adjoint  
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 du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
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 Services/Adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services  
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- Wood, Len (Cochrane North/-Nord ND) parliamentary  
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 parlementaire du ministre des Ressources naturelles
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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

First Session, 35th Parliament

## Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Wednesday 4 December 1991

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Première session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

## Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le mercredi 4 décembre 1991

Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers





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Table of Contents for proceedings reported in this issue appears at the back, together with an alphabetical list of members of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

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## Table des matières

La table des matières des séances rapportées dans ce numéro se trouve à l'arrière de ce fascicule, ainsi qu'une liste alphabétique de députés de l'Assemblée législative de l'Ontario.

Il existe un index cumulatif des numéros précédents. Les renseignements qu'il contient sont à votre disposition par téléphone auprès des employés de l'index du Journal des débats au (416) 325-7400.

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Effective with the opening of the Second Session of the 35th Parliament, Hansard issues and pages will once again be numbered on a sessional basis. Hansard numbering therefore will become consistent with Orders and Notices and Votes and Proceedings, and with other parliamentary publications throughout Canada.

For the last two years Hansard has been numbered according to the calendar year. Under this system, the numbering of issues and pages was restarted with the first issue in the calendar year, regardless of session or Parliament.

Under the new system, the sequence of numbering started in January 1991 will end with the final House and committee sittings of the present First Session. A new sequence will begin on the opening day of the Second Session, and each succeeding session, which will be issue 1 and begin with page 1. Committee reports likewise will be numbered from the first sitting of each committee in a parliamentary session.

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A partir du début de la deuxième session de la 35<sup>e</sup> législature, les pages et les numéros du Journal des débats seront de nouveau numérotés par session. La numérotation du Journal des débats correspondra donc à celle de Feuilleton et Avis et de Procès-verbaux, ainsi que celle des autres publications parlementaires au Canada.

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Avec le nouveau système, la numérotation commencée en janvier 1991 s'arrêtera à la dernière séance de la Chambre et des comités de l'actuelle première session. Une nouvelle série commencera le jour de l'ouverture de la deuxième session et des sessions suivantes : numéro 1, page 1. Les rapports des comités seront également numérotés à partir de la première séance de chaque comité pour une session parlementaire donnée.

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Wednesday 4 December 1991

The House met at 1330.

Prayers.

## MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

### CHILD CARE SERVICES

**Mrs Sullivan:** In Halton, 900 children are eligible and waiting for subsidized child care spaces, but no money is available to those 900 children to assist with their entry into child care. Yet 205 child care spaces are vacant because families cannot afford them without help from subsidies.

In Halton, seven out of 10 children from birth to five years of age who are in child care are in independent centres. The regional municipality of Halton has formal agreements with the majority of those centres to provide subsidized care. Those spaces are licensed and inspected, but more than 20% of those spaces sit empty. We have the children, we have the spaces, but we do not have the money to ensure that the children are put into the spaces.

The Minister of Community and Social Services, however, has \$75 million. She told us that the other day. She should have used that \$75 million to ensure that children have access to the child care system, that the system is affordable and that the system provides a high quality of care. Instead, she is using taxpayer dollars to pursue an ideological aversion to the private sector and to ensure that children do not have resources to enter the child care system.

The priorities of this government are skewed. Yes, child care workers need and should have increases in their wages. Yes, they are underpaid and a \$30-million enhancement in salaries which is being provided is a needed one, but the other \$75 million which the minister has put into funding child care should have gone to the children. With this announcement, the NDP has failed the children of Ontario.

### LABOUR LEGISLATION

**Mr Jordan:** Labour legislation being proposed by the government is scaring the business leaders of Lanark-Renfrew. Already devastated by the recession, this legislation could be the final nail in the coffin of many. At a time when this government should be bringing in legislation to get people off the welfare rolls and back into jobs, we seem to be taking major steps backwards.

Eric Stille, the director of economic development in Smiths Falls, says owners and managers are expressing "grave concerns." Mr Stille says, "Many owners are faced with the challenge of trying to keep their business in operation." The more restrictions the government puts on the owner of a facility, the more chances there are to drive him out of business. "This may be great for the worker, but what good is it if there isn't a job to go to?" asks Mr Stille.

There is not a town in my riding that has not been hit hard by factories going out of business. Attracting new

business is extremely difficult. Faced with this proposed legislation, people will not invest in Lanark-Renfrew or Ontario. In fact, many who have invested will shut down and head south.

Labour and business have worked well together at firms like Hershey Canada and Stanley Tools in Smiths Falls, 3M in Perth, Boeing in Arnprior and Hovey Manufacturing in Renfrew. Before there are no businesses for labour to work well with in Lanark-Renfrew, the government should please withdraw this legislation at this time.

### VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

**Mr O'Connor:** I want to take this opportunity to speak out in support of the white ribbon campaign commemorating all women who have been victimized by men's violence. Men have been a part of the problem, as we witnessed yet again in the death of Louise Zollerano at the hand of her estranged husband last night, but we must also be part of the solution.

In fact, there is a parallel white ribbon campaign under way right now to try to raise the level of consciousness around pornography, and I ask all members to talk to their local clergy about more information on that campaign.

The white ribbon campaign is a nationwide men's campaign to stop violence against women. The level of awareness and attitudes about violence against women can be changed. It is the responsibility of each of us to ensure that we bring about the much-needed change. December 6 has been declared the Day of Remembrance and Action on Violence Against Women.

Last year in my constituency, the Jackson's Point Housing Co-Op designated itself as Canada's first domestic-violence-free zone. This was a very important step and there is a great deal more that needs to be done to improve the plight of women suffering from abusive treatment in my constituency. I urge all levels of government to radically increase their support for rape crisis centres, for shelters for battered women and for services to treat men who batter.

### CREDIT COUNSELLING

**Mr Bradley:** The decision of the Bob Rae government to cut off funding to credit counselling agencies across Ontario when their services are needed the most has prompted justified criticism from a variety of sources. These agencies provide clients with counselling and assistance in the use of consumer credit and money management and act as negotiators between debtors and creditors. Credit counselling agencies in Ontario assisted consumers to repay almost \$14 million to creditors last year and are the only factor preventing the bankruptcy of 60,000 individuals.

In Niagara, the agency represented 1,266 families and paid back \$984,000 to creditors. As Susan Davis of the St Catharines Unemployed Help Centre appropriately pointed out, "These services have demonstrated their value and



contribution by helping to keep people in the workforce and off of social assistance rolls."

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I agree as well with CAW Local 199 recording secretary Doug Hamilton, who contends, "The money that has been spent in past years has probably been the biggest bang for the buck the government has received back." Mr Hamilton, who has referred many people to Niagara Region Credit Counselling, as I have, suggests that what the government is forgetting about is "the number of people who have managed to keep their self-esteem by paying their debt off without going through the bankruptcy process."

His request that the government "return the funding, if not improve the funding for a service that is helping many in our communities" is a reasonable one and one which I urge the government to heed.

**The Speaker:** I draw the member for St Catharines' attention to standing order 30(a), which allows members other than leaders of a recognized party to make statements in the House, and trust that it will be firmly committed to memory.

#### HOSPITAL SERVICES

**Mr McLean:** My statement is for the Minister of Health and concerns her misguided policies that have resulted in health care rationing in Ontario.

I would like to make the minister aware of the deteriorating eyesight of Mr William Marcellus of Wyevalle. Mr Marcellus has severe cataracts and his eyesight is progressively deteriorating. He requires implants, but because of restricted operating time at the Royal Victoria Hospital in Barrie, there is no guarantee that the surgery can be performed any sooner than the summer of 1992.

Mr Marcellus's doctor indicates that implant surgery is a relatively simple operation. If the surgery is done now, Mr Marcellus would be released within hours and there would be no need for him to be hospitalized. But the government-sponsored health care rationing has resulted in an inadequate number of operating rooms and insufficient hospital staff.

I agonize with patients like Mr Marcellus who have a visual impairment which is improvable. Mr Marcellus is a victim of a minister who refuses to see the results of her misguided policies and decisions. I urge the minister to press for a reallocation of the government's funding priorities to prevent patients like Mr Marcellus from being the victims of this health care rationing.

The doctor indicates he wants to do the operation, but there is no operating time set aside at the Royal Victoria Hospital for him to help patients like Mr Marcellus.

#### TOM EDWARDS

**Mr White:** I rise to congratulate the new mayor and the council of the town of Whitby. I had the pleasure of attending the inaugural sitting of the new council on Monday evening.

Our new mayor, Tom Edwards, has been on town council for the better part of three decades. While he has a background as a representative of labour in our community and province, Tom enjoyed the support of a broad cross-

section of the leaders of our community. He has become known as a supporter of the businesses and heritage of our town and he has demonstrated a strength of conviction that has earned him the admiration of many. He is living proof that strong social convictions and business acumen are partners in building real community feeling.

I would like particularly to point out a risk that Tom took during his campaign. Abhorring the waste and clutter that election signs generate, he ran a no-sign campaign. This was particularly risky, as Whitby is a growth community where many new residents would not necessarily be familiar with Tom's long history of dedicated service. With his success and the support he received, perhaps others will run on their own merits and not rely on a massive amount of plastic signage. This is a truly dramatic demonstration that a green campaign can work.

The town of Whitby and all of Durham region face enormous challenges over the next few years. The pressures of growth, the need to enhance our local industrial base and the services that all require judicious division of limited tax dollars will require effective leadership. I am confident that the town of Whitby will have that with Tom Edwards as its mayor.

#### OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

**Mr H. O'Neil:** I was pleased to co-sponsor this morning a news conference here at Queen's Park on behalf of the Monarchist League of Canada. The league is mounting a campaign to convince the NDP to reverse its unpopular decision to abolish the oath to the Queen for police affairs. The crown is an important symbol of Ontario's heritage and Canadian unity. I fully support the monarchist league's right and fight to preserve the royal oath.

Following question period today, I, along with other members of the Liberal caucus, will present petitions to the government on behalf of the monarchist league. The petitions call for reinstatement of the oath to the Queen. Approximately 16,000 people have signed the petitions, an overwhelming show of support for the monarchy.

During the recent visit by the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Premier used the royal couple in a bid to boost his waning popularity. Yet as recently as this morning the Premier said he is not prepared to listen to people who are asking him to reverse his unpopular decision to abolish the oath.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** Take the high road. Talk about cheap shots.

**Mr H. O'Neil:** You know it too.

I urge the Premier to admit he has done wrong. He should listen to the people of Ontario and reinstate the oath of allegiance to the Queen for police officers in this province.

**Mr Jackson:** Today in the Legislature members of the House will be presenting thousands of signed petitions on behalf of the Monarchist League of Canada asking—

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Would you reset the clock, please?

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** I ask the House to come to order. Would the table reset the clock at one minute and thirty,



and the member for Burlington South could restart his statement.

**Mr Jackson:** Today in the Legislature members of the House will be presenting thousands of signed petitions on behalf of the Monarchist League of Canada asking the Premier to reverse his arbitrary decision to remove the name of the Queen from the police oath of allegiance.

Earlier today, dominion league chairman John Aimers was joined by the member for Quinte and me at a press conference at Queen's Park to affirm that the historical symbols of Canadian identity and unity are important to the citizens of Ontario, especially at this time of national constitutional debate, and that we stand solidly behind the Canadian crown and its rich contemporary meaning for Canadians in the 1990s.

This petition has the support of municipal councils and the Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police. I wish to publicly recognize at this time the singular efforts of one Charles Clark who collected more than 1,000 petitions by himself.

The Premier has said he consults with the public before making decisions. This morning, however, he said that when it comes to the police oath of allegiance, his decision to remove the Queen will stand no matter what. If this is how the Premier consults with the 63% of Ontario's citizens who support the monarchy, then Ontario is in more serious trouble than he thinks.

I now join with all members on both sides of the House in calling on the Premier to admit his mistake, even at this late date, and to restore the police oath of allegiance to the Queen.

God save the Queen.

IRVING ZUCKER

**Mr Christopherson:** I rise in this House today to pay tribute to an outstanding Hamiltonian, Mr Irving Zucker.

In the words of Ruth Slater, marketing director at Theatre Aquarius, Mr Zucker "in his own quiet way helps people, organizations and most, Hamilton. He really loves this city and has a tremendous pride in what's happening here." Mayor Bob Morrow adds by praising Mr Irving Zucker for putting "the interests of the community ahead of his own. He's fair and has impeccable integrity. Irving is an outstanding human being."

Mr Zucker's contributions are multiple: endless laudable Jewish concerns, St Joseph's Hospital, ballet scholarships, the opera and library, nursing homes, child care groups, welfare organizations, the local chapter of Ontario Friends of Schizophrenics, a list without end and contributions into the multimillions. In Mr Zucker's own words: "It's a great feeling to do this for Hamilton. It's where I was born and raised and I love this city."

Hamilton was a vastly different place in the days of Irving Zucker's youth, reeling under the weight of a worldwide Depression. The young Irving was raised in the north end of Hamilton, which happens to be in my riding of Hamilton Centre, a thriving community of immigrants seeking a better life while at the same time making enormous contributions to the city of Hamilton. As members know, our province's economic, social and cultural

strengths are largely the result of these hardworking immigrants.

One can often distinguish great leaders by the views they hold of society as a whole. All members of this House, I am sure, will agree with Irving Zucker's words: "If people are successful and have things they've earned in their community, then they should give something back." It is this philosophy that makes Mr Zucker among the most respected leaders in my community of Hamilton.

1350

## STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

### UTDC INC

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** It is indeed my pleasure to advise members of this House that this government has decided to enter into exclusive negotiations with Bombardier Inc for the sale of the transit-related assets of UTDC Inc. We are confident that these negotiations will result in a bright future for this company.

UTDC is the only Ontario-based producer of rail mass transit equipment. Its plants at both Thunder Bay and Kingston currently employ 860 people. In addition, up to 2,000 people are employed by companies all across Ontario that supply goods and services to UTDC. The company has been the sole supplier of railcars to the Toronto Transit Commission and GO Transit.

Bombardier est une compagnie canadienne qui a fait ses preuves tant par sa présence que par ses antécédents imposants dans ce domaine. L'achat de la SDTU permettra à la compagnie de devenir un chef de file sur les marchés internationaux du matériel de transports en commun.

Over the past 17 years, Bombardier has sold about \$4 billion worth of transit equipment, and 90% of that has been exported to more than 20 countries around the world. We are confident that when the sale closes at the end of January, Bombardier will be in an even stronger position to enter new markets with exciting new technology.

Bombardier will enter into a joint venture arrangement with Alcatel Alsthom, a European consortium, for the establishment of a centre of excellence in research and development at Kingston. The partners will make an investment of \$10 million in this venture.

As members are aware, our government took effective control of UTDC in September to prevent its closure due to the financial difficulties being experienced by its parent company, Lavalin Industries. We carried out extensive negotiations with two major international corporations, Bombardier and AEG Westinghouse (America).

Both corporations saw UTDC as a strong and viable company with approximately \$1.3 billion in contracts which had been placed on hold pending the sale. Bombardier was selected because its proposal included the best financial terms, as well as other benefits for future growth. Bombardier will make a major financial investment in the future of this company, including committing up to \$25 million to upgrade and modernize the Thunder Bay facility.

To place the UTDC operations on a sound footing and poise them for the future, the province has agreed to participate to the extent of \$17 million. Bombardier will provide



the type of stability, manufacturing experience and international marketing skills needed to continue the firm's operations and growth.

La réussite de ces négociations permettra au gouvernement d'atteindre ses objectifs en assurant la qualité d'emploi, un partenariat solide entre la main-d'œuvre et la direction, une formation professionnelle améliorée, une technologie pratique et surtout, une augmentation des investissements dans notre province, la province de l'Ontario.

The sale provides Ontario more opportunity to maintain its capacity to produce rail transit equipment for domestic and export markets. It also means the operations in Thunder Bay and Kingston will play an important role in the future prosperity of our province. The Toronto Transit Commission and GO Transit are now assured of a continued and even stronger Ontario supplier of high-quality, reasonably priced equipment, with more than \$1 billion in coming orders—no small task indeed.

This government is committed to economic renewal for our province. We believe this sale will be a positive step in this revitalization. The sale of the transit-related assets of UTDC to Bombardier Inc will indeed ensure Ontario's presence in the forefront of the development of rail transit technology and equipment. Monsieur le Président, a proud day indeed.

## RESPONSES

### UTDC INC

**Mr Mancini:** I would like to take this opportunity to respond to the statement made by the minister today. The statement basically tells the House and the public that the government is going to enter into negotiations with Bombardier for the sale of portions of the UTDC operations.

We are always concerned when the government chooses to sell its assets. We are concerned for the value of the assets themselves. We are concerned for the employees. We are concerned for whatever research and technology has been developed in Ontario. We believe it should remain in Ontario. We are concerned about the markets carved out of, I believe, some 20-odd countries that some of our facilities had been sold to. We are concerned about any number of things the minister only marginally addressed in his statement today.

The minister talked about quality employment. Quality employment is good, but we are concerned not only about the quality of employment but about the quantity of employment. The minister talked about labour-management partnerships. We believe in enhanced labour-management partnerships. The minister talked about enhanced training. We have heard a lot from this government about enhanced training, but we have seen very little.

We would recommend that the minister and the government ensure that the contractual arrangements between the government and Bombardier are in fact clear and that the contractual arrangements can be enforced by the government in regard to the enhanced training. Skills development—yes, we support the government effort to ensure that skills development is part of the overall deal.

The announcement in no way refers to the future security of the jobs of UTDC workers. I believe the contractual

arrangement with the government should guarantee a specified number of jobs; in our view, a guarantee of all the existing jobs.

We are also concerned about protection for the Lavalin employees. The government is helping the UTDC employees, or says it is, but the Lavalin employees could be affected by Lavalin closures. Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology staff have indicated that if Bombardier purchased UTDC, there would be pressure to close Ontario operations to accommodate US sales.

I refer the minister to a Toronto Star article of October 28, 1991, where an official of the MITT is responding to similar concerns. I quote from the article:

"Bombardier also has a plant in the United States to satisfy federal Buy America legislation for transit funding." Mr Tanaka, an official within the ministry I mentioned earlier, "acknowledged that Bombardier would have duplicate plants and a large incentive to rationalize production if it acquired UTDC. But he said Bombardier is not being counted out."

As a matter of fact, Bombardier is now in. So the concerns that were raised by the ministry officials, in public, to the government and the taxpayers are, in my view, still valid. We need to see the contractual deal signed, sealed and delivered before we can conclude whether a good deal has been made and whether the workers, our industry and the research and technology have been protected.

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I see the minister shaking his head. We are not prepared to congratulate the minister on making an announcement that he wishes to accomplish something which may be positive. We are prepared to congratulate the minister when he signs a deal that does all the things that he mentioned and that I am pointing out to him and that I am sure other colleagues will want to point out to him in the same manner.

Mr Tanaka, an official of the ministry, goes on to say that—

**The Speaker:** To the member for Essex South, your time has expired.

**Mr Turnbull:** I am pleased to rise to say to the Minister of Transportation that the Conservative Party is supportive of the sale by the government of the balance of its shares in UTDC to the private sector, but we are obviously concerned.

We want to see the full details. We do not want to find that there is some secret deal being made with respect to any other parts of the business. The minister used the expression that it is for the "transit-related assets." We would like to know what the assets are. Is the minister saying that the real estate and other portions of the company are being held? In that case, what ownership will the government have in this?

We want to make sure we do not have a fire sale made, as we saw with the Liberals when they sold 85% of UTDC and then left an awful lot of residual costs to the taxpayer. We want to make sure the \$17 million mentioned is not just a bribe for Bombardier to take this business off the government's hands.



Certainly I approve of Bombardier. Bombardier is one of the premier companies in Canada and has shown that it is a world-competitive company, but we should not allow any secret deals to relate this to the high-speed train transit between Quebec City and Windsor and there should be no relation to de Havilland.

This experience should indeed show that government has absolutely no place in ownership of manufacturing companies. It should be a lesson that the government should not be venturing into part ownership of de Havilland. It is a mistake. A government-run company is inefficient and will never compete on a world basis. We have to make sure this is a clarion message to the socialists. It does not work.

We are delighted that the government has sold this business, but it should make sure the taxpayers are not penalized by some secret deal. We want to know the details. Other than the \$17-million support, are we getting money back or is it just a gift of \$17 million and we say, "Take this business so that we don't have to bleed any more"? These questions have to be answered.

I hope the government has learned from these lessons and I hope the Minister of Transportation will sit down with the Treasurer, the Premier and the Minister of Labour and talk about the lessons of UTDC and explain to them what went wrong.

## ORAL QUESTIONS

### LANDFILL SITE

**Mr Sorbara:** I have some questions today for the Premier, whom we welcome back into the Legislature. We like to see him from time to time.

My questions relate to the undertakings the Premier gave to the people of this province relating to the environment when he was Leader of the Opposition. Before I raise that, I just want to remind the Premier that he once said, "The reason voters hold politicians in such low esteem comes from politicians who say one thing when they run for office and another thing when they hold office."

I remind the Premier, who during the course of the 1990 election campaign portrayed his party as an environmental crusader, that during the course of that campaign he came into my riding, stood with his NDP candidate, Laurie Orrett, on the edge of the Keele Valley landfill site and gave his undertaking that there would be no expansion of the Keele Valley landfill site without a full environmental assessment. Notwithstanding that undertaking, the Minister of the Environment recently introduced a bill which not only gives the czarina of the environment the right to order an extension of the Keele Valley landfill site—

**The Speaker:** Would the member place his question, please.

**Mr Sorbara:** —a site that has six years of capacity left, but takes away any right to any hearing from anyone, no matter how close they live and no matter how they are impacted.

I just want to ask the Premier, was it really him who stood on the edge of the Keele Valley landfill site and gave his undertaking as a politician, as a lawyer, as a human

being, as a candidate and as a potential Premier that he would not allow the expansion of that site?

**Hon Mr Rae:** The question relates directly to a matter that now comes under the responsibility of the Minister of the Environment. I will let her answer that question.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I am glad to respond to that question and I have responded to that question in the past. I think too much of the honourable member to infer that he thinks this government takes any pleasure in not having environmental assessments for anything to do with waste disposal, but I think this member also recognizes that what we are trying to do is solve a very long term problem.

**Mr Sorbara:** Another undertaking premiers give when they swear the oath of office is that they will come to this House and answer questions directed at them. I simply asked the Premier whether that was him, whether he gave that undertaking, and he did not have the courage to answer that.

I ask him, through you, Mr Speaker, and I guess through the Minister of the Environment, whether or not it was the Premier who gave an undertaking to pass immediately an environmental bill of rights and whether it was the Premier and the NDP who gave an undertaking to improve the Liberal municipal-industrial strategy for abatement program that they said was not stringent enough. Was it the Premier who gave an undertaking to move towards zero discharge of toxic chemicals into the environment? We have seen nothing on that; we have seen nothing on MISA. Was it the Premier who promised and gave an undertaking to expand the Countdown Acid Rain program? Was it the Premier who promised to ban—a complete ban, by the way—ozone-destroying CFCs? Was it the Premier who said we would have a safe drinking water act?

I want to know from the Minister of the Environment or from the Premier or from the Treasurer or from any one of those people over there whether they gave those undertakings during the last election campaign.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I am proud to stand in my place on behalf of this government and on behalf of the New Democratic Party and say we made those commitments, we are keeping those commitments, and to be asked by that member from that government about our environmental commitments is quite unacceptable.

**Mr Sorbara:** There is no one in that cabinet who has disappointed the people of this province more and who has breached more undertakings than the Minister of the Environment. She has introduced in this Legislature, I say to members, one bill and one bill only relating to environmental matters, and that bill took away the rights of citizens to participate in the environmental decisions that directly affect their lives. So anything she says about fulfilling undertakings cannot be believed.

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### WATER QUALITY

**Mr Sorbara:** I will put another question to the Minister of the Environment. I think she recalls that during the election campaign her party gave an undertaking to deal with organochlorine dumping. They gave that undertaking



to Greenpeace. They gave that undertaking during the election campaign to just about anyone who asked. It would have an impact, they said, on the pulp and paper industry, but it was right to do.

But last July the Premier said it is not something you can just snap your fingers and do overnight. My question to someone over there, whoever is speaking on behalf of the government, is simply this: The federal government today came out with its own pulp and paper regulations. It contained virtually no restrictions on the dumping of organochlorines into the water streams of this province from our pulp and paper industries. Is it safe to say that the policies of the NDP government of Ontario are identical to those of Brian Mulroney and the Tories in Ottawa?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** This member's expecting me to answer for Brian Mulroney's environmental policies carries it to absolute absurdity. Let me remind the member that in the year this government has been in office we have done more about waste reduction and reuse than any government on this continent. We have put in place a ban on waste incinerators. We have been the only government to introduce a moratorium on nuclear facilities. We have put in place sustainable forestry, and we are the only government to have made a commitment to zero discharge of persistent toxic contaminants.

For this member, who was part of a previous government that did none of those things, to imply that this government has not lived up to its environmental commitments or changed the climate of environmental action in this province is completely and utterly ludicrous.

**Mr Sorbara:** I simply say to the minister that she is the gravest disappointment to this province the environment has ever seen.

#### PARTY MAILING

**Mr Sorbara:** I have another question to the Premier. I hope he will take up the courage to answer this one. Jill Marzetti is in the news again. Does the Premier remember Jill Marzetti? She is the provincial secretary of the Ontario New Democratic Party. She is the woman who was going to be running the Consultation Central Co-ordinating Committee, that big ad campaign the government whip suggested would build us new bases—"us" meaning the party—all across Ontario. The Premier will remember her. She is the one he said has to get off the CCCP immediately so it could perhaps regain some of its credibility.

Jill Marzetti is now sending out fund-raising letters on behalf of the party. I guess that is her right. I want to ask the Premier whether he agrees with the statement in this fund-raising letter from the provincial secretary referring to the problems people have getting in touch with ministers. In this statement she says: "You know the story"—referring to the old regimes, Tory and Liberal—"women would work diligently to be heard by an older, male minister. It would be a polite exchange, but we all knew our voice, our message, would be diluted and misunderstood."

What does the Premier say to the eight women from State Farm who tried to see any minister, old or young, male or female? What does he say to the women working at Superdrugs who pleaded to have an opportunity to talk

to the Solicitor General and were refused? What does he say to the nurses who had to chant outside the office of the Minister of Health to get an audience? What does he say to those people about being able to get in touch with a minister and bring a message to government?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I have not seen the letter in question, but I would say to him that in general, if his question is about access to this government and who we see, I would be happy to share my appointment schedule over the last year with the honourable member, as would other ministers. I cannot imagine a government that has seen more people from different backgrounds and that has been as accessible as possible right across Ontario. I think it is essential.

**Mr Sorbara:** Frankly, I am surprised the Premier, who has so much time to see so many people, would not spend a minute with Jill Marzetti to go over what she is saying about what his government is doing.

This letter misrepresents the government's record in a very serious and troubling way. For example, in recounting the government's record, this letter says that Ms Marzetti is "proud...to give just a short list of what the Ontario New Democrats have done in our first year of government for the women in this province." Included in this list is that they have "extended pay equity to an additional 420,000 women who work in jobs that until now did not qualify for pay equity increases."

Have I missed something? Was I not here for an announcement? Was there some bill introduced in this House that was not put on my desk? Pay equity has not been extended to 420,000 women who previously did not qualify. Nothing has happened on pay equity, and it is a gross misrepresentation for the Premier, Jill Marzetti or anyone else to suggest this has happened in Ontario. Women and men in this province deserve an apology from the Premier and Ms Marzetti.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I would simply say to the honourable member that the government's commitment to extending pay equity is very clear. Our legislation on this issue will be discussed and debated by the House.

**Mr Sorbara:** Nice words about what we would like to do have nothing to do with the suggestion that it has already been done.

I want to point to another accomplishment claimed by Ms Marzetti in this letter. Let me reiterate that this letter was sent to people from a rented list and included the addresses of some of our own members and some of the spouses of our own members. Notwithstanding the fact that the minister responsible for child care in this province announced only a couple of days ago an increase of \$30 million to raise the wages of child care workers, why would it be that a letter obviously prepared several weeks ago would say in it that the government has "passed on \$30 million to raise the wages of child care workers"? Why is it Ms Marzetti knew about this passing on of \$30 million before the rest of the people of the province knew about it?

**Hon Mr Rae:** The commitment with respect to the down payment on child care, as has been pointed out by



the criticisms and comments of members of the opposition, was made several months ago by this government. That commitment was announced very explicitly and clearly. The question of exactly how it would be done and the terms under which it would be done were issues that were discussed and were not decided by this government until last week, just prior to the announcement made by the minister in this House.

#### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

**Mr Tilson:** My question is for the Premier. I have been informed that within the next 24 hours the government is going to present its long-awaited plan on auto insurance. It is calling this plan The Road Ahead. I can tell him the road is going nowhere. In fact, it is going to be a rocky road going to disaster. Contrary to the promises the Premier made personally with respect to auto insurance, will he now confirm that his government intends to remove the right of everyone to sue for economic loss?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I would refer that question to the minister responsible for car insurance, the Minister of Financial Institutions.

**Hon Mr Charlton:** I have confirmed for the member for Dufferin-Peel on several occasions in this House that we intend to reform the auto insurance legislation in this province to allow for the right to sue for pain and suffering, and pain and suffering alone.

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**Mr Tilson:** It is unfortunate the Premier cannot answer the question. The question had to do with his promise to the people of this province.

The Liberals took away the right to sue from everyone except those with serious and permanent injuries. The Premier and members of his party were critical of this plan. Much time was spent in this House criticizing the previous Liberal government over its plan. The Premier promised to open up the full right for everyone to sue, yet we understand tomorrow the Minister of Financial Institutions plans to remove every single Ontarian's right to sue for economic loss. Why is he taking away that right?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** As I have said a number of times in the House to the same member—because he is raising a question he has raised here three or four times now—we have determined as a result of all the work and consultations we have done over the course of the last year that we can better deliver economic loss benefits through a no-fault benefits package.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Mr Harnick:** You're nothing but a bunch of vote buyers.

**Mr Tilson:** The question was very simple: Why has he changed his mind? He made a promise.

**Mr Harnick:** You could never tell the truth to anybody.

**The Speaker:** To the member for Willowdale, I remind the member, as I would remind all members, that inflammatory language can be the cause of disorder in the

House. I ask the member to consider carefully the remarks he makes in the chamber.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** With the co-operation of the member for St George-St David, the member for Dufferin-Peel will be able to place his supplementary.

**Mr Tilson:** The Premier, members of his party and the Minister of Financial Institutions have all promised the full right to sue. They did not promise a meat chart, and that is what they are going to give us. They promised no restrictions on that right to sue, and that is what they are going to announce tomorrow. Why are they breaking their promises?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** Anybody who makes a promise and then finds there are in fact better ways to deal with the problem—

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mr Charlton:** Any individual who finds he can deliver a better product than he promised is a fool if he sticks to his promise.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Would the minister take his seat, please.

#### CHILD CARE SERVICES

**Mr Harris:** My question is to the Minister of Community and Social Services, regarding the \$100-million announcement yesterday to put private day care operators out of business, thereby eliminating a substantial number of spaces currently available to the children of this province.

There are about 33,000 children currently who are well cared for in private child care centres. There are 33,000 children in centres for which the minister holds 100% of the regulatory power to license if any aspect of that care is not the best in the world. Could the minister explain to me why she is determined to put the private day care operators out of business and take off the market 33,000 spaces now available for children in this province?

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** I entirely reject the sense of the question from the leader of the third party. We are not putting the for-profit sector out of business at all. We will continue to license them. Those that currently receive subsidies are eligible to continue to receive them. Those that receive direct operating grants are eligible to continue to receive them. It has long been the policy of this government to put government dollars into the non-profit child care sector. We are doing that, and prior to our major review of the child care system, we are making it very clear that this is the context within which that review will take place.

**Mr Harris:** I thought the minister was very honest in the last few weeks. I heard her being interviewed on television. She very clearly said, "Our goal is to eliminate the for-profit sector and make sure in the future, at some point in time, that as part of our step to universal free, 24-hour day care on demand, we are going to have all our day care spaces not for profit."



Today the minister has changed that. She is saying something a little different. But what the minister is doing is having that net effect. We all understand that.

She is spending \$100 million. What are we getting for our money? Here is what we are not getting: We are not getting one new child care job. We are not getting one new child care space. In fact, we are going to get fewer spaces. The \$100 million could have provided subsidies for 11,000 children now on waiting lists for subsidized spaces. She could have provided subsidies for 11,000 children to go into existing spaces already sitting there waiting for children to come to them. Why would she not have put that money towards helping the children and the families of the children on these huge waiting lists for subsidized spaces?

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** Of the \$105 million, \$30 million is going as a wage enhancement to the staff in existing non-profit centres and \$31 million will be available for wage enhancements and full direct operating grants to for-profit centres that convert to non-profit.

Both opposition parties have been urging us to go ahead with those wage enhancements, because they have been talking about the stability of the system and the necessity for well-paid child care workers as part of the quality of care for children. We agree and are therefore doing that. The rest of the money is there to assist the conversion of for-profit to non-profit child care so that we will not put those centres out of business, which is exactly what the third party has been wanting us to make sure we do.

**Mr Harris:** I want to deal with the \$70 million we were just talking about. After she has driven the private sector out of business, this is the money to go buy back those existing spaces. This is \$70 million to pay for spaces that are already there. She thinks this is a good use of taxpayers' money.

There are many children on waiting lists. They are not there because of a shortage of quality spaces. Families are on the waiting lists because they cannot afford to send their children to the existing spaces. The \$100 million could have helped 11,000 more afford the existing spaces. The minister's plan is costing us jobs. It is costing us child care spaces. She is removing the right of parents to choose how their children will be cared for.

Is the minister's bias against the private sector, the entrepreneurs and the investors in this province worth \$100 million without creating one new space?

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** The members of the third party have pointed out to us a number of times that there are empty subsidized spaces available, but they are not in the places where the children who require them are. Part of what we need to be doing is to rationalize the system, which in fact has never been planned or organized in such a way that it will benefit all the children of Ontario.

We have a very different philosophy of child care. We are working towards a system where every parent who wants and needs child care and every child who needs child care is able to receive it in the province. The only way that will happen is if all available government funding is directed into the non-profit sector, where there is some accountability.

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#### SALARY OF ONTARIO HYDRO CHAIRMAN

**Mr Conway:** My question is for the leader of the government and it concerns—

**Mr Stockwell:** Which one?

**Mr Conway:** The Premier. It concerns the salary of the new chairman of Ontario Hydro. On October 24 in this Legislature, the Minister of Energy announced that largely as a result of a voluntary commitment by Mr Eliesen, Mr Eliesen would not be receiving \$400,000 a year; rather, because he recognized the sensitivity and the controversy about that \$400,000 figure, he had offered to take a substantial cut to \$260,000 a year.

That was the announcement of the government on Thursday, October 24. Twenty-four hours earlier, on Wednesday, October 23, the Premier recommended and signed an executive order, order-in-council 961/91, wherein Mr Eliesen's original three-year term was extended to a five-year term. Can the Premier indicate to the House why, on the eve of the minister's announcement, he felt that Mr Eliesen's three-year term should be extended by two years to five years?

**Hon Mr Rae:** For the simple reason that in looking at the precedents within Ontario Hydro with respect to appointments of previous chairmen, the five-year term was the standard term.

**Mr Conway:** This Premier and his colleagues have rightly complained about cynicism in the public about what we do as politicians. To the public it appears that the Premier and Marc Eliesen made a deal. The original compensation package of \$400,000 over three years would have cost the taxpayers \$1.2 million. The new deal of \$260,000 over five years is a total of \$1.3 million.

What does the Premier say, given the sensitivity and the controversy about this whole matter? Why did no one in the government volunteer on October 24 what it had done 24 hours earlier, which bore materially on this question? What kind of deal did the Premier make with Mr Eliesen in this connection?

**Hon Mr Rae:** With mathematics like those demonstrated by the member for Renfrew North, it is no surprise that the Liberal Party was predicting that the province would have a surplus after the last election.

The honourable member was on his feet in this House on many occasions asking this government to exercise its discretion under the current act and with respect to the precedents under the current act. That is the basis of the precedents upon which the government acted.

**Mr Scott:** Why did you make a secret deal with him on the eve of the event?

**Hon Mr Rae:** In response to a comment that has just been shouted out by the member for St George-St David, who refers to something having been done in secret, the order in council is a public document of cabinet to be publicly discussed and publicly scrutinized. I am quite happy to have that scrutiny.



## ASSISTED HOUSING

**Mr Harris:** I have a question for the Minister of Housing which I think will be of great interest to the Treasurer. My office is receiving countless letters from Wawa asking why the government is going to spend \$5 million to build 40 units of non-profit housing in a town where you could buy virtually every house in the community for that amount of money.

They are saying: "If you wish to assist our community, our need's not housing. Our apartments are empty, our homes are empty. Would you please tell the Treasurer if he's short money"—maybe he is not, I do not know—"if he wants to save \$5 million, quit blowing this money in our community by wasting it on something we no longer need."

Can the Minister of Housing tell me why she is planning to proceed with 40 units of non-profit housing at a cost of \$5 million at a subsidy cost of \$500,000 a year in a community that says this is the last thing it needs?

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** I would be glad, in spite of my cold, to attempt to answer the leader of the Conservative Party. There was a study of the needs of people in Wawa that took place in June 1988. It was established that there was a large number of people in what is a small town who were in need of access to affordable housing. They needed rental housing. There have been large economic changes in Wawa, as the member is quite aware. The economy has been under severe difficulties and a lot of people in that town have encountered real economic need. That is also reflected in their housing need.

In an attempt to meet that need we accepted a proposal that came from the Wawa community that will provide affordable housing for those people in need. I think the community as a whole will benefit from that decision, in terms of access both to affordable housing and to the work that will be going on there as we build it.

**Mr Harris:** The letters I am getting are saying this is typical of government bureaucracy run amok. They do a study that is now at least three years out of date. They say it was done five years ago, and at that time it was a booming little town. Now they tell us logging in this town is over, tourism is dead and gold mining is double dead. That leaves one working iron mine potentially up in the air; the future of it is in doubt.

The letters go on with phrases like, "In closing, I would like to say, quit killing us with government kindness." They suggest to me the owners of the homes and the few apartment buildings there are going to go belly up as it is. They are also saying that just the ongoing subsidy of \$500,000 a year for 40 families is \$10,000 a family. They say: "Give the Treasurer the \$5 million back. Tell him we think he needs it more than we do. If you want to help us, you could help 200 families in Wawa subsidize their housing in the existing empty houses and apartments." Why will the minister not do that?

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** This government has not written off Wawa, this government has not written off the people in need in Wawa, and neither this government nor the hardworking public servants in the Ministry of Housing

have some kind of stupid bureaucratic mindset. That is an unfair description of the people who work in the Ministry of Housing.

Let me explain for the benefit of the member, because of course we heard from the same people he heard from, that we take those complaints seriously. In fact, during the process of carrying out our consultation for the housing policy framework, which has been going on over the last few months, we had a consultant who was working with people in the deepest core need in that area of northern Ontario, who went and confirmed the housing need which had been established and re-established in 1989 by a Statscan survey. Again, just over the last few months, that need has been reconfirmed and we have decided that the community of Wawa has as much right to the kind of assistance we provide to people in need of affordable housing as any other community in Ontario.

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## CEMETERY MAINTENANCE

**Mr Sutherland:** My question is for the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. Recent media reports of a government tombstone tax have people in my riding concerned about the additional costs of markers in this province. The Ontario Monument Builders Association has also issued a press release claiming that the government will be adding this tax to the sale of monuments and markers and such a tax is unfair to seniors and others who can least afford it. Can the minister explain this policy and how it will affect my constituents?

**Hon Ms Churley:** I would like to say to the member and the many people who perhaps have been alarmed by the recent media reports on this issue that in fact this is not a tax. There has always been a care and maintenance fund associated with cemeteries. It is not a tax or a new policy but an extension of a policy we have had for many years. It is part of a public trust fund.

When you purchase a marker for a burial plot, you currently pay into such a fund. The problem is that these funds have not been sufficient for the necessary repairs to ensure safety. A small child a few years ago was killed, another child injured, and public safety is our main concern here. But let me reiterate, it is not a tax, it does not come to Toronto. It will be going into the local community for safety reasons.

**Mr Sutherland:** In a press release from the Ontario Monument Builders Association, it is asking that the act be reopened so the fund can be made to work. Can the minister tell us what will be happening next?

**Hon Ms Churley:** The Cemeteries Act will be proclaimed once all the regulations have been finalized. We are still in the process of talking to the various stakeholders involved in the act and we are changing and including some new regulations. It is not necessary to reopen the act to deal with this particular issue; it will just be proclaimed by regulation.

## ONTARIO ECONOMY

**Mr Bradley:** I have a question for the Premier. At the risk of once again being labelled a neo-isolationist by our



Oxford-trained Premier, I would like to ask him about the future of the automobile industry in Ontario. When the auto industry is facing the fiercest competition it has faced in its history here in the province, when the North American industry is in the process of restructuring and rationalizing and downsizing, when Ontario is in the midst of the deepest recession in many years, why is the Premier proceeding with policies, taxes, legislation, regulation and rhetoric which is discouraging new investment and is in fact driving existing investment south of the border?

**Hon Mr Rae:** We have worked very closely with the automobile industry in encouraging and allowing for new investment. For example, the cabinet has allocated moneys to many companies that have needed public assistance. We have continued to forward funds to centres of excellence across the province in terms of increasing and encouraging research and development. We have the manufacturing recovery program, which has received additional support in this year's budget and in which we are offering assistance. The Ontario Development Corp has been actively involved with members of the industry in encouraging more investment. The minister and I have met on many occasions with different leadership in the industry, and we are obviously working as hard as we can to attract new investment and to make sure it is going to be productive.

It also requires a positive effort by the industry itself in terms of training, in terms of apprenticeship programs and in terms of its making investments itself to become competitive with other parts of the world.

**Mr Bradley:** When I directed a question to the Premier about this on Monday, he quoted the Ford Motor Co as having faith in Ontario. The very time he was quoting that in the House, the chief executive officer of Ford, Mr Kenneth Harrigan, was saying: "It appears that Queen's Park is doing everything possible to put roadblocks in the way of economic recovery. Not one NDP policy initiative is aimed at stimulating economic growth and competitiveness within the province. Frankly, entrepreneurs are afraid to invest or expand in Ontario." Mr Harrigan said that.

I have another concern about another company in Ontario, and that is General Motors. In St Catharines, General Motors employs over 8,000 people. General Motors at this time is looking at where it is going to put its future investment and where it is going to remove its investment. Many of the workers at General Motors in St Catharines are apprehensive about their future, their future employment opportunities and those for their children. At the end of his term, after he has implemented all his policies, after he has engaged in the kind of rhetoric which is driving business out of this province, how can the Premier guarantee to the people of St Catharines, particularly those who work in that industry, that their jobs are going to be there when his term is completed?

**Hon Mr Rae:** It would only be a Liberal who would think it is rhetoric that either creates or takes away jobs. The reality is that businesses like General Motors and Ford make their judgements based on the competitiveness and the productivity of the companies that are making cars

across North America. That is the basis upon which they make these decisions.

Let me say to the honourable member that as a government we have contributed very substantial funds to continue to attract investment and to work with those companies. We have done it with Ford, we have done it with General Motors and we have done it with Chrysler. Chrysler has made a decision with respect to the minivan and the expansion of operations in Brampton as a result of its view of the competitiveness of the situation.

I would say to the honourable member, with respect to General Motors in St Catharines or anywhere else, that the company is going to be making decisions with respect to its future investment in terms of the competitiveness and productivity of the companies that are operating here in Ontario. We have cheaper health care costs, we have cheaper payroll taxes, we have a lower dollar and we have hydro costs which, despite increases brought about by the policies of construction of the Liberal government of Ontario, in fact are still very competitive with our competition in the northern United States. I would say to the members of the Liberal Party that I do not mind their running down this government, but when they start running down the productivity of Ontario plants I start to worry.

**Mr Bradley:** On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: I know the Premier would not want to mislead the House with his last statement, but if anybody in this House sat and listened to the question that was directed, he would know that all of the question was directed at the incompetence and the policies of his government and not at anybody who works in the automotive industry.

**The Speaker:** The member for St Catharines will know he does not have a point of privilege.

**Mr Harris:** I would say to the Premier that if we had a competitive climate here—

**The Speaker:** To whom is your question directed?

**Mr Harris:** It is the Premier I am talking to. If we had a competitive climate here, he would not have to bribe companies with billions of dollars to try to trick them into coming here. That is the disgrace of the matter: how much he has to bribe companies to come to his jurisdiction.

#### SCHOOL BREAKFASTS

**Mr Harris:** My question is to the Premier as well. Last Thursday I introduced a resolution calling on this government, with the support of both opposition parties, to co-ordinate and facilitate nutrition programs for schoolchildren. I was pleased that my resolution received unanimous support, but we need more than the heartfelt rhetoric from all three sides, as good as it was last Thursday, and we need more than the promises from all three sides, as good as they were last Thursday. I would ask the Premier, when can we expect some real action and some leadership from him and his government on the provision of daily nutrition programs for schoolchildren?

1450

**Hon Mr Rae:** If I had been in the House last week, I would have supported the resolution. I think it points to a



need. It is something I have discussed personally with the Minister of Community and Social Services. Obviously we have to look at the overall budgetary plans of the government with respect to the next year, but I think it is already in place in several school boards. This government is looking at it in a way that is focused and affordable. It is something the government is discussing.

**Mr Harris:** I really want to talk about the budgetary process and the affordability process. I hope the Premier does not do it in the way that he helped the people of Wawa.

It is not often that I rise in the House in a totally non-partisan fashion, but I do so today as a parent and former educator. The nutrition programs that I visited and the educators and those I met with are not asking for government money. They are not asking the government to pay for it. They are asking for a little co-operation, a little co-ordination and a lot of leadership. They are not asking the government to do it. In fact, they feel that if the government budgets and does it, it will destroy the program.

This is our opportunity to join with communities, parents, children, educators and the private sector in addressing a very important need. I suggest it does not require dollars or budget approval; it requires some leadership. All I am asking the Premier today is to commit to taking the first step and to bring together the educators, the private sector, the communities, the parents and the other stakeholders to address this proposal as to how we could take a leadership role, not with government dollars but in facilitating nutrition programs in all our schools. Will the Premier commit to that?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I will certainly commit to continuing to give my support to the leadership of the Minister of Community and Social Services and to the Minister of Education, who I think are providing effective leadership and will continue to do so.

Rather than throw his papers in the air, the honourable member should know that the resolution and the debate which took place last week were, in my view, a debate and a resolution which found a considerable degree of resonance across the province.

#### DAIRY PRODUCTS

**Mr Martin:** Lately there has been a lot of activity around the issue of milk processing and distribution in the Sault Ste Marie and Algoma area. A few months ago, a decision was made to allow Beatrice Foods to close its milk processing plant in the Sault. Would the minister be willing to share with the House how he will ensure that there is a sufficient level of competition in the Sault Ste Marie milk market?

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** I appreciate the question from the member, who has shown ongoing concern for milk prices in Sault Ste Marie.

The director of the dairy inspection branch is expecting to hold, some time early in 1992, public hearings under the Milk Act which will look into applications for distributorships in Sault Ste Marie. He is expecting to hold those hearings in early 1992. I think that having those hearings and looking into applications will probably—if there are

successful applicants—do something to increase the competition and therefore lower milk prices in Sault Ste Marie.

**Mr Martin:** As the minister is aware as well, there are a lot of concerns in my riding about employment and the impact this decision is going to have. I would like to know today what options exist for local groups that would like to process and distribute milk within their own community.

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** I think the member is probably referring to a local group that is currently doing a feasibility study, with support from the northern Ontario heritage fund, to look into the possibility of having a group of producers form what would probably be some form of co-operative operation to process dairy products in the Sault area. They are currently doing that feasibility study.

If they get the go-ahead, depending on the feasibility study, I think the director, who is going to hold public hearings into new applications, will certainly entertain their application, if they decide to make one. We look forward to the conclusion of that feasibility study. If it says they should go ahead with an application, we would be more than willing to hear that at the hearings in the spring.

#### SKILLS TRAINING

**Mr Daigeler:** My question is to the Minister of Skills Development. Last Thursday, he finally made public the consultation paper on the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board. At the time he said, "Today I am pleased to announce the launch of a key component in our strategy to ensure the prosperity of this province."

According to the minister's own claim, the OTAB proposal is a major plank in his efforts to get Ontario's economy going again. Yet, despite the minister's claim, his major announcement flunked in the press. It got a five-liner in the Toronto Star last Friday and fared little better in the Globe and Mail. Yesterday, columnist David Crane put forward the very same criticism I advanced last Thursday.

Would the minister not agree that this ho-hum reception by the media should tell him something about the significance of his announcement and what the media think of his plans for economic renewal?

**Hon Mr Allen:** I was not paying attention at the beginning of the question; I thought it was being directed to the press gallery.

I am really surprised at this member's response to the whole question of the proposal of this government to implement a major initiative in the training of the young people and adults in this province. This was an initiative started by the previous council under the previous administration and was never endorsed by the past Premier, but none the less it comes out of an initiative of a government that this person was related to. I cannot understand his continual dumping on the idea. It is an excellent concept. The media will cover it in ample form in coming weeks. It is a broad general restructuring in terms of the way in which we are delivering.

It does not immediately have a program content, and I can appreciate why the media might not have thought it had immediate human interest impact. But it will be a growing feature of news in the course of the coming months as we move out into consultation all across the



province with every sector of the economy and with every locality. I would just invite the member to take a more positive view of the world and smile occasionally.

**Mr Daigeler:** I would be very prepared to take a great and positive interest in his announcement if right now we did not have more than 400,000 unemployed people in this province. That is why the media was not paying attention to the minister's initiatives.

They are waiting for some very concrete, new retraining efforts. When people who are unemployed and people who are in danger of being laid off are phoning the ministry for any programs, they are told, "Go to the Ministry of Labour." When they phone there, they are put on hold or they get a machine to answer. When they finally get through to some real person, they are told, "Sorry, we don't have any programs for retraining."

What is the minister doing, as an NDP government above all—he always took pride in saying he is working for the disadvantaged—for the disadvantaged workers who are being laid off and who are now unemployed? Where are his new training efforts now?

**Hon Mr Allen:** The member describes precisely the problem we were left with by the past government in terms of a disparate range of training programs spread all over the map, delivered by anybody anywhere, which have now to be pulled together into a major integrated initiative.

If the member wants an answer to his question, I suggest that he contact the following people and ask them whether they think we are doing the right thing: George Peapples, the head of General Motors; Douglas Maracle, who is the head of one of the boards of education and who is a native person; Gordon Wilson; and Jim Bennett of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business.

1500

#### WORKERS' COMPENSATION BOARD

**Mr Turnbull:** My question is to the Minister of Labour. I understand the Workers' Compensation Board has signed a letter of intent to lease half a million square feet of space from Cadillac Fairview in the CBC centre. My estimate as to the cost of this—and I would be delighted to find I was too high—is that the net rent will be something in the order of \$25 per square foot and the additional rent for taxes and operating costs will probably be about \$18 per square foot. That will mean \$21.5 million per year.

A build-to-suit building in the outskirts of Toronto that desperately need some help at the moment could be had for about \$15 a square foot and \$8 in operating costs. That could be potentially in excess of a \$10-million-per-year saving, even after allowing for the shuttlebus.

Will the minister justify why he is going into this kind of expense at a time of fiscal restraint?

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** I want to tell the member that I will have to get an answer for him on that particular question and will get back to him tomorrow in the House.

**Mr Turnbull:** It is amazing. While the minister is getting his answer, maybe he will ask about the fact that he is just projecting that his staff will be 18% less, yet he is increasing floor space by 32%. Why on earth is he doing

this at this time, going into prime downtown space and increasing the cost, when we are crying out for development in the suburbs?

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** As I said to the member, I will get back to him with the answer tomorrow.

#### VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

**Ms Harrington:** My question is for the Minister of Colleges and Universities. Yesterday, he, along with the minister responsible for women's issues, announced an initiative to combat date rapes at our universities and colleges. I would like to know how this program will be developed and when it is going to be implemented.

**Hon Mr Allen:** I am delighted to respond to that question. The member will know that the campaign against date rape we have initiated with this project is part and parcel of a \$3.5-million program announced last spring for women's campus safety. It is a huge regret to all of us that with 55% of the students in post-secondary institutions in Ontario being women, they in fact do not feel safe and comfortable on campus, nor often even in classrooms.

We have therefore put out a competition for a project. The competition was won by representatives of Glendon College, of Seneca College and also of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Over the next six months, working with student groups, women and men, using their own research into sexual assault and gathering what expertise they can, they will undertake to put together a kit that will have materials in it that will be useful for all universities.

**Ms Harrington:** I understand the minister named three institutions which will be developing this kit, but will it be available for every single college and university across this province?

**Hon Mr Allen:** I am sorry; I neglected that part of the question. The project will be completed next May. I will receive a report in June, but simultaneously the team will be holding consultation sessions with representatives from all these colleges and universities in terms of the nature and contents of the kit and how it can be used on local campuses. They will then take that back to the institutions so that it will be applied campus by campus.

The kit will include leaflets, posters, booklets, resource materials and videotapes and it will also include methods and techniques of using the kit, campus by campus, across the province. I want to encourage every post-secondary institution to take this project up and to deal with it seriously and very actively in the coming academic year.

#### OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

**Mr Jackson:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I would like the Speaker to examine standing order 23(1) as it relates to the question. The standing order talks about a member not being able to speak disrespectfully of Her Majesty or any of the royal family or the Lieutenant Governor or the Administrator of Canada or the Administrator of Ontario.

Mr Speaker, I would ask you to consider seriously, and perhaps provide this House with a written response, whether the actions of a member of this House in arbitrarily withdrawing the oath to the Queen for police officers in



Ontario without notifying or consulting this House represents a breach of that standing order. As all Speakers of British parliamentary democracies and of Commonwealth members have been called upon to consider this, I ask if you would provide that in writing.

**The Speaker:** The member will take his seat, please. To his point of order, he might know that in fact he does not have a point of order. The matter to which he refers is a government decision. There is nothing in the standing orders that would allow the Speaker to make a decision regarding a government initiative or decision. I appreciate his interest in the matter and his bringing it to my attention.

#### QUESTION PERIOD

**Mr Runciman:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Standing order 32(a) has to do with oral questions. I know all parties are at fault on occasion in terms of length of questions and responses, but I am particularly concerned in light of the ongoing Liberal leadership convention that a variety of Liberal leadership candidates are taking up to 15 minutes in leader's questions. I am not critical of the government in terms of its responses, and I hope you will take note of that. We have very few days left and private members are being precluded from asking legitimate questions.

**The Speaker:** To the member for Leeds-Grenville, I appreciate the matter he brings to my attention. Indeed, I keep close watch on the clock and of course we have been timing the exact amounts used by both the questioner and the responder. I of course encourage all members to keep their questions and their responses brief.

#### PETITIONS

##### OATH OF ALLEGIANCE SERMENT D'ALLÉGEANCE

**Mr H. O'Neil:** Along with many members of our caucus and members of the Conservative caucus, I will be presenting several petitions this afternoon. I would like to present a petition with 439 signatures out of the 16,000 to 17,000 people, and it reads:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91 made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right;

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

**Mr McLean:** I have a petition signed by approximately 400 people. It says:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91 made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right;

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

1510

**Mr Kormos:** I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91, made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right;

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

That is signed by Sophie Paroschy, RR 2, Welland, Ruth R. Wilson, RR 2, Welland, Father Joseph Bubanko, Beatrice Street, Welland, and several hundred others, and of course, by myself. I have affixed my signature with some pleasure.

**Mr Mancini:** I would like to present a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91, made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right;

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

This petition is signed by more than 1,000 Ontarians, and I have also affixed my name to this petition.

**Mr Jackson:** I have several petitions today.



"Whereas the government of Bob Rae has placed our heritage in danger; and

"Whereas we live in a constitutional monarchy; and

"Whereas the symbol of our national unity and identity has been removed;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"To immediately restore the name of Her Majesty the Queen to the oath of allegiance sworn by police officers in Ontario."

This is signed by about 1,000 constituents and residents of southwestern Ontario as part of the total number of petitions. It has my signature affixed for support as well. God save the Queen.

**Mrs Fawcett:** I too have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91, made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right;

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

I have affixed my signature to it, along with 1,642 other residents of Ontario.

**Mr Cousens:** I have a petition as follows:

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91, made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right;

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

I have affixed my name. This petition of several hundred names includes many people from Markham, Unionville and Thornhill.

**Mr Cooper:** I have a petition to the Legislature of Ontario which reads:

"Whereas the government of Bob Rae has placed our heritage in danger; and

"Whereas we live in a constitutional monarchy; and

"Whereas a symbol of our national unity and identity has been removed;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"To immediately restore the name of Her Majesty the Queen to the oath of allegiance sworn by police officers."

It is signed by several residents of the province of Ontario.

**Mr Phillips:** I have a petition which says:

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91 made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right;

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

This petition is signed by over 1,000 people from Hamilton, Welland, Thorold and around Ontario, and I have affixed my signature as well.

**M. Villeneuve :** J'ai une pétition à l'Assemblée législative ontarienne qui se lit comme suit :

«Attendu que le gouvernement de Bob Rae met notre héritage en danger ;

«Attendu que nous vivons dans une monarchie constitutionnelle ; et

«Attendu que le symbole de notre unité nationale et notre identité a été enlevé,

«Nous, soussignés, adressons à l'Assemblée législative de l'Ontario la pétition suivante :

«Que le gouvernement réintègre le nom de Sa Majesté la reine dans l'assermentation d'allégeance des officiers de la Police provinciale ontarienne.»

J'ai inclu ma signature et j'appuie complètement cette pétition.

**Mr Owens:** I have a petition which reads:

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91 made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right;

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

I have affixed my signature.

**Mr Cleary:** I have a similar petition. It says:



"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

That is signed by over 1,200 residents, and I also have affixed my signature.

**Mr J. Wilson:** I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91 made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right;

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

With pleasure, I have affixed my name to this petition. It forms part of the petition of thousands of names presented to this assembly today and the hundreds of names I have presented on behalf of the people of Simcoe West in the past regarding this issue.

1520

**Mr Johnson:** I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91 made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right,

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

#### GASOLINE PRICES

**Mr McGuinty:** I have a petition which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Whereas gasoline prices are significantly higher in the Ottawa area than those in southern Ontario;

"Whereas such a price disparity discriminates against Ottawa area consumers;

"Whereas the government of Ontario has eliminated vehicle licence fees for northern residents to compensate for a similar gas price disparity between southern and northern Ontario,

"The Legislative Assembly of Ontario should urge the Ontario government to correct this injustice to Ottawa area motorists."

This petition has been signed by some 125 people, and I have affixed my signature as well.

#### OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

**Mr Runciman:** I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91 made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right,

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

I have affixed my signature. God save the Queen.

**Mr Callahan:** I am pleased to stand in the Legislature and present a series of three petitions totalling 1,236 signatures, including three of my own. They are addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91 made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right,

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

I have affixed my signature to this.

**The Speaker:** The time for presenting petitions has expired.

**Mr Carr:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: In light of the fact that there are some petitions of the same nature, I am wondering if we could have unanimous consent to extend the time period for this, if that would be acceptable.

**The Speaker:** Is there unanimous consent to extend time?

**Some hon members:** No.



**The Speaker:** No. It is now time for reports by committees.

#### REPORTS BY COMMITTEES

##### STANDING COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Mrs Caplan from the standing committee on social development presented the following report and moved its adoption:

Your committee begs to report the following bill without amendment:

Bill 135, An Act to provide for the Payment of Physicians' Dues and Other Amounts to the Ontario Medical Association / Projet de loi 135, Loi prévoyant le paiement des cotisations des médecins et d'autres montants à l'Ontario Medical Association.

Motion agreed to.

Bill ordered for third reading.

##### STANDING COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Mr Runciman from the standing committee on government agencies presented the committee's 20th report.

**Mr Runciman:** I have no comments to make.

**The Speaker:** The member has indicated he does not wish to make a brief statement, so pursuant to standing order 104(g)(11), the report is deemed to be adopted by the House.

##### STANDING COMMITTEE ON REGULATIONS AND PRIVATE BILLS

Mr White from the standing committee on regulations and private bills presented the following report and moved its adoption:

Your committee begs to report the following bill without amendment:

Bill Pr110, An Act respecting the City of Nepean.

Your committee begs to report the following bill as amended:

Bill Pr25, An Act respecting the City of Toronto.

Motion agreed to.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY

##### LABOUR RELATIONS AMENDMENT ACT, 1991 LOI DE 1991 MODIFIANT LA LOI SUR LES RELATIONS DE TRAVAIL

Mr Mackenzie moved second reading of Bill 158, An Act to amend the Labour Relations Act with respect to the Industrial, Commercial and Institutional Sector of the Construction Industry / Projet de loi 158, Loi modifiant la Loi sur les relations de travail en ce qui a trait au secteur industriel, commercial et institutionnel de l'industrie de la construction.

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** Before we begin second reading of Bill 158 this afternoon, I want to explain its importance for strengthening and improving the collective bargaining process in a major sector of the construction industry.

Members may know that province-wide bargaining has generally worked well in the industrial, commercial and

institutional sector—commonly known as the ICI sector—of the construction industry. Province-wide bargaining in the ICI sector has been a requirement of the Labour Relations Act since 1978, but after 12 years and seven rounds of bargaining a number of issues emerged concerning how well the province-wide bargaining was functioning.

Therefore, last December I appointed Professor George Adams, now a judge of the Ontario Court, to conduct a review and report his findings. The measures in Bill 158 closely follow the recommendations contained in his report.

During the course of his review, Professor Adams consulted widely with both labour and management. After I received his final report and recommendations in July, I distributed them to all interested parties for one final look. I also asked the Construction Industry Advisory Board to consider the recommendations in the Adams report.

I am pleased to inform the House that this extensive process of consultation and co-operation on the issue of province-wide bargaining has come to a successful and harmonious conclusion. As a result, Bill 158 presents three amendments to facilitate the collective bargaining process in the ICI sector. These amendments are designed to bring greater stability to Ontario's construction industry and thereby improve the prospects for greater construction activity.

The first amendment would require that all province-wide agreements in the ICI sector operate for three years, not the current term of two years. It would mean that the next set of agreements would take effect May 1, 1992, and would extend until a common expiry date of April 30, 1995. In the consultation process there was general consensus that the three-year term will help stabilize the industry and encourage construction starts. This provision would allow for longer-range planning in the ICI construction sector.

The second amendment undertakes to ensure a more democratic process in the handling of regional voting results whenever ICI sector ratification votes are held. While a proposed agreement is province-wide in scope, voting may take place on a regional basis at different times. This amendment would prevent regional results from being released while voting is still going on in another region.

Just as in all other electoral processes in Ontario, voters need to be protected from premature disclosure of results in other areas. Therefore, this amendment would forbid the release of voting results until all ballots have been cast across the province. Let me add that the act does not require ratification votes, but in many of the province-wide employee and employer associations in the ICI sector votes are held on a regional basis.

1530

The third amendment proposes the establishment of a corporation, a tripartite labour-management-government agency, to gather, analyse and distribute data concerning collective bargaining and the economic conditions of the ICI sector in the construction industry. The need for such an agency was identified in the Adams report, which called for relevant information to be gathered and provided to employer and employee bargaining agencies. With the



passage of Bill 158, my ministry officials will consult with union and employer representatives on how best to create an agency that will serve the information needs of everyone in the ICI sector.

In closing, let me point out that these proposed amendments are of a housekeeping nature and are independent of the broader measures proposed in the government's recent discussion paper on reforms to the Ontario Labour Relations Act.

**Mrs Witmer:** I would like at this time to speak to Bill 158. I would like to review briefly some of the information that has been shared by the Minister of Labour. As he indicated, on December 14, 1990, he did announce a review of the operation of the current province-wide single-trade bargaining process in the ICI sector of Ontario's construction industry. When he did that, he did point out that the current structure had been in place since 1978.

Also, he indicated at that time that the Construction Industry Advisory Board—this is an advisory body to the minister that is composed of key representatives from labour and management in the construction industry and chaired by Victor Pathe, the government's special adviser on labour-management relations—had recommended this specific review to him. This had been recommended to him because of the very important nature of the construction industry in this province and the need to reflect the changing times and organizations.

I would like to mention at this time how very important the construction industry is in this province and in this country. Construction activity in Canada is of very important economic significance to the country. The total value of construction purchased in Canada during 1990 was \$106 billion. This represents 15.6% of the country's gross domestic product. During 1990 the total value of construction purchased in Ontario was \$40.2 billion. This accounts for about 38% of the national total. That gives us some idea of the significant importance of the construction industry to Ontario.

Expenditures for construction in the ICI sector of the Ontario construction industry were \$11.2 billion. This represents 28.1% of the total value of construction in the province. In 1990 there were 291,000 individuals employed in construction occupations in Ontario. This represents 5.9% of the total number of people who were employed in the province. I think that gives us some indication of how very important this industry is to this province.

I would, however, like to continue at this point and make some comparisons between the manner in which this review was conducted and the manner in which this report was prepared. I have pointed out that the key representatives from labour and management were involved in the process. The committee was given some issues and asked to take a look at certain issues and answer certain questions, such as: Has the province-wide bargaining responded sufficiently to geographic considerations? Are the existing voting procedures of employer and employee bargaining agencies adequate? Is the current requirement of two-year agreements appropriate? Those were the types of questions that were asked of this committee.

The consultation was set up and a process was put in place, and Professor George Adams, QC, a member of the faculty of law, University of Ottawa, and the former chair of the Ontario Labour Relations Board, was asked to undertake the review last December 14. He filed his report in July 1991.

The minister had asked Professor Adams to accept written briefs from all employee and employer bargaining agencies. He required that the brief set out "the consensus of opinion" of the bargaining agency and that this information be appended to the brief. That I believe to be very significant, because this is in stark contrast to what is happening as we take a look at the labour relations proposals and if we take a look at how those are being developed, how they have been brought forward, the uncertain economic climate they have created in this province and how they are threatening investment and jobs for people in this province.

Here we have a process of consultation; we have real consultation. All the stakeholders—employers and employees—are being asked to share in the development of legislation which will impact on them all. We have here Bill 158, which is the result of management and labour achieving consensus and agreeing on the three amendments here and the need for this specific change.

However, if we take a look at the labour law reform proposals, I have to remind the minister that they were drafted by him after consultation only with trade unions. Management had no role whatsoever in the minister's original 30-point plan that was presented to the Burkett committee and, after discussion, management came back and said there is no need for any of this.

If indeed the Ministry of Labour wants to improve co-operation in this province and wants to do something about increasing harmony and partnership between employers and employees, I suggest that it follow a similar path as it has in the preparation of Bill 158. I suggest they take a look at the recent proposal put forward by Project Economic Growth.

I remind the minister that Project Economic Growth represents over 300 of Ontario's large, small and medium-sized businesses. They asked the Premier and they asked the Minister of Labour to create a co-operative task force on competitiveness and productivity in the Ontario workplace prior to making any changes whatsoever in the Labour Relations Act. This task force, which they had suggested should comprise labour, government and business, should take a look at current Ontario models of co-operative and innovative industrial relations. This task force should take a look at and identify and analyse current incentives to productivity and competitiveness in Ontario's workplace, and this task force should conduct a proper economic impact analysis of the government's labour law reform package.

However, this request, which could have led to increased labour-management co-operation and partnership, was denied. Business and employers continue to be denied a seat at the table when these proposals are being discussed, and we must remember there is not a single proposal within the discussion paper which is going to



promote partnership and co-operation. The package we are presently looking at is simply going to tip the balance of power towards labour.

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If we truly want consultation, if we truly want to improve the co-operative partnership and give all these stakeholders equal access and a level playing field, we need to approach labour relations reform in the same way as the minister has approached Bill 158 and we need to involve the key representatives from labour and management, just as they were involved in this construction review.

Our party is pleased that the consultation took place in the manner it has. We support the three amendments that are being proposed here. We recognize that the three-year agreement is going to provide much-needed stability for the construction industry, which is probably suffering as much as, if not more than, other industry in this province. I know the construction industry has many concerns about the labour relations reforms, so I am pleased that we are here able to meet some of its concerns and at least give it stability in this one area.

I agree with the amendment concerning the announcement of ratification vote outcomes. I believe it is important that no outcomes are announced until all the ballots have been counted across the province in order that one region cannot influence another region.

I am pleased that the third amendment, to establish the industry secretariat, is going to be funded, again equally by labour and management. I recognize the importance of passing this legislation this time, because I know the current agreements expire in April 1992 and the upcoming bargaining round is going to commence early in 1992.

To all those workers, to all those people in management positions, I congratulate them on working with the government in this very co-operative manner, a manner of true consultation. As I have indicated, I am pleased to be able to indicate that we will be supporting the amendments. However, I would just say again, it is in such stark contrast to the development of the labour law reform, I would again urge this minister to reconsider the discussion paper and the manner of consultation and adopt a similar method as has been adopted here in the development of Bill 158.

**Mr Offer:** I am pleased to join in the debate on a very important piece of legislation. I believe the substance of the legislation has been referred to as containing three minor changes. They may be thought by some to be minor, but to those involved in the industry, they are not minor. They are important changes. They are changes which will allow the industrial, commercial and institutional sector of the construction sector to operate and to proceed in a more timely and organized fashion. That is not minor. That is important. It is substantive, and I would like to respond directly to the minister that our party will be supporting this particular piece of legislation. We do so recognizing that the amendments contained within are important amendments and are necessary at this particular point in time. In the time today, I want to talk for a short while on

some of the substantive aspects of the legislation and also about the process.

Before doing so, I think we all recognize in this Legislature that our province is going through and has gone through a very damaging recession. All sectors of our economy have been ravaged by the recession. There is no question that many jobs have been lost, that a great deal of the confidence that people carried with them in years past is not there right now. People are hoping the economy picks up. People are hoping that the confidence which is not here right now is restored, that jobs are created, that wealth is created and that expansion continues in this province.

We have to look at that in terms of this piece of legislation, because the construction industry has not been immune from this recession. It has felt the recession. It has felt the slowdown. It has felt the stoppage of work. We all know when one sector feels that, the spinoff affects other people. It is not just one person who feels the effects of the recession. When one person does, four, five, six, seven other people in other areas of the economy also feel it and it results in a general slowdown of the economy, something which those in this Legislature and those watching on TV know all too well.

We have gone through this in the last year and a half. We hope the economy will start to pick up. We hope those who have lost jobs, many for the first time in their lives, will once more find employment and that our economy and our sense of confidence start to be restored.

This particular piece of legislation calls for three amendments. The first amendment deals with the length of the agreements. The current agreements—there are 25 province-wide agreements in the industrial, commercial and institutional sector—have a duration of two years. This bill extends those agreements from two to three years.

I believe and my party believes that is important. It is important for those who negotiate the agreements to recognize there will now be a three-year agreement. There will be greater stability in the industry. In this economy and in this province I believe that is good and we fully support it.

The second substantive aspect of this legislation deals with the announcement of ratification votes. We realize the current process is that balloting on ratification votes is done through regional centres. In fact, when one centre does its voting, the results of the voting are announced. They may be announced at a time even before another regional centre has conducted its vote. Of course there is the concern that the knowledge as to how a ratification vote in one centre has resulted may affect a vote in another centre. This particular piece of legislation and the amendment say the votes must all be taken and that no count of the vote shall take place until all votes have in fact been taken.

In essence, of course, people will be voting before they are aware of the result of any of the ratification votes, and that is not only right; it is common sense. What we want to do is make certain that in any ratification vote, all those who are entitled to vote and do vote do so at a time and place without any knowledge as to how another centre has



voted. This change is really founded on common sense and good judgement and certainly is one we will fully support.

The third aspect is something I think we will all benefit from in years to come, the setup of an industrial secretariat. Certainly there is no question that there is a need to establish a body to assist the parties in collective bargaining, providing economic and other information or a whole variety of analyses and examinations. You really cannot see it, feel it and touch it here, but I think in years to come this type of work is really going to be an important addition to the wellbeing of this particular sector.

Certainly we will support that. Anything which expands the knowledge, the examination and the analysis of the collective bargaining process in one area is something we will support. When there is a need and a body to conduct that type of analysis and that need is shown, certainly we will support that aspect.

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Our party is very much in agreement with those three substantive areas. We recognize the necessity to have the bill passed quickly and we are prepared to do that. We recognize negotiations are ongoing and will be in the early part of the new year. It is important that people recognize they are now negotiating on a three-year basis as opposed to a two-year basis. Other factors come into play. We will certainly support not only the legislation but its quick and timely passage.

I would like to take a moment to congratulate not only George Adams, whose report was the basis of these amendments, but also Vic Pathe at the Ministry of Labour and those individuals with the Construction Employers Co-ordinating Council of Ontario, especially Mike Vukobras, the executive director, and the Provincial Building and Construction Trades Council of Ontario. In that respect I commend Joe Duffy, who is the business manager and the secretary-treasurer. They have done a great deal of work for their organizations to make certain the issues were brought forward in a consultative, consensual manner so that the piece of legislation we have before us today is one which all parties in the Legislature support not only terms of substance, but also in terms of the need of passage in a timely fashion.

That does not happen magically; it does not happen by accident; it happens through initiatives and I believe, in this instance, through the work of George Adams, Vic Pathe, the Joe Duffys and the Mike Vukobrases of the world. I recognize that the minister had seen fit to bring forward the legislation early, which allows us to say yes to the legislation. We will be doing so today. When we talk about how successful this consultative consensual process has been, we cannot leave for a moment the other consultative process ongoing in the Labour Relations Act, those other aspects of the Labour Relations Act which have caused some very great concerns for businesses and labour across the province.

They are very concerned about the way that process has been undertaken, how it started, what its mandate is and the fact that it truly is not addressing the questions posed by business across the province: Why the need for change? What has prompted that type of process?

That has really resulted in the other process becoming, in a way, fundamentally flawed. It will have to carry that scar with it because business does not have the confidence in the proposed changes and the consultation around the Ontario Labour Relations Act that it did in the construction industry consultative process.

The process which resulted in the bill we are debating today was applauded. People in the sector said that it was right, that they felt part of it, that the process is there and attempting to be flexible and that it responds to their concerns. What happens as a result of that? We have a bill all members of the House, all three parties, support.

We stand in support of changes not of a minor nature, but of an important nature. "Minor" and "major" are not for deliberation in this House. What is for deliberation is importance, and these amendments are important. They are important to the construction industry. They are important to an important aspect of our economy. They are important to build in a stability and a flexibility and a foundation for future growth. That is what we end up getting.

When we talk about changes as proposed to the Labour Relations Act in another area, we do not have that type of confidence through many players—not just labour, not just management, but the general public that is concerned that the process which is now ongoing is not really going to be responsive to its concerns. They are concerned it is not going to be reflective of the issues which are important to them; it is not really going to provide the foundation for future growth in this province which will result in more jobs, an expansion of business, an opening up of options and opportunities for ourselves and our children.

There is a real concern that the implications of that change have not yet been embraced by the government. There is a concern by business that in this increasingly competitive economy it is irresponsible to move in any area without asking, "What does it mean to the economy? What does it mean to jobs? What does it mean to business?"

People understand and accept that governments have the right and in fact the responsibility to introduce initiatives, new policy and legislation. They recognize they may not agree with everything—and that is fair ball; that is not surprising—but they also say that in our economy, where the barriers are falling, where the competition is not just southern Ontario or Ontario with some other place in Canada, but also with other areas in the United States and with Europe. In places like my riding in Mississauga, where 10 years ago we would be competing with cities adjacent to ours, where we would be competing with the Torontos and the Kitcheners and the Barries, today we are competing with Atlanta, Pittsburgh and Buffalo.

That is a result of barriers falling. We may not like that, but we all recognize that this is where we are. We have to recognize that where there are initiatives announced by a government in that type of economy, increasingly competitive, it must understand what that means, what the implications of those changes are. To do so and to introduce initiatives without recognizing those implications truly is courting disaster.

That is what business is saying. Businesses are asking first, on the consultative process, "Why aren't we asking



the question as to why the necessity for change?" and second, "Why aren't we looking at what the implications of change will be?" They are saying the governments of the day must recognize that these things must be embraced. Not to do so is to court disaster and really make it increasingly difficult to compete with the economies of the world.

We say that we stand in support of this legislation and in support of the process of consultation which resulted in this legislation. We certainly commend those individuals who in no small way contributed to the consultation process which resulted in the legislation. We say it is an example of something that works. We say it is a model to be followed. That type of activity, that type of consultation, resulted in a consensus which all members of this Legislature stand on proudly and say they support.

But remember also that there is this other process of consultation going on where there is not that feeling, where there is a very strongly held belief that it is fatally flawed, that the consultation is one that is exclusionary, that people do not feel part of, that they do not believe the government recognizes the implications of.

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That is something which is going to cost jobs. It is going to cause lack of expansion. It is going to cause an increasingly large difficulty for people in the Mississaugas and the Barries and the Kitcheners and the Windsors and the Waterloos and the Ottawas and the Kingstons of our world to be able to compete with the Atlantas, with cities in Tennessee, Florida, Pennsylvania and New York state.

We had better realize that this is where the competition is coming, and we had better realize that when we announce initiatives here, we had better know the implications of those things. We do not want those people who have businesses here to think about moving them elsewhere or to think about expanding them elsewhere, because that affects each and every one of us. It affects each and every person in this province, and it is something we just cannot afford to continue.

In conclusion, I once more stand with my party. We are supportive of this particular piece of legislation and certainly we will be voting in favour of it. We think it is a good piece of legislation, although it certainly does meet three very important needs.

But we also use this opportunity and this time with the minister in the House to impress upon him that in his other consultative process there is some deeply felt concern about the process of consultation that is ongoing and what it means to the economy of this province, to the creation of jobs, to the expansion of business and the creation of wealth. We ask the minister to look at the success of this bill and the process of consultation which resulted in this bill and to compare that with this other consultation, which does not share in that type of confidence, flexibility and in fact good feeling.

There is an opportunity here for the minister to relook at what he is doing with the Labour Relations Act, to relook at the process of consultation, for him to say: "This bill, as passed today, had a process which everyone felt part of and felt good and confident with. The other process

doesn't. Let's see if we can change it now, before the damage is done."

My party will support this legislation. We commend all of those who have had part in its creation—I mentioned them earlier—and we ask the members of the government to look at that process, to compare it with the other process, which I am sure they are all well aware of, and to say: "Now is the time. It's not too late. It can be changed. We can make it better. We can instil a sense of confidence in business and labour in this province." Where there is that will, then it can be accomplished.

**Mr Sterling:** At first I was not going to enter the debate, but I thought it was important after I heard the member for Mississauga North put forward his comments to bring forward to the Legislature my wholehearted endorsement of this legislation. This legislation is an amendment to the Ontario Labour Relations Act which deals in one very small part of the act with the construction industry in the province.

Back in 1977 and 1978 when I was then a member of this Legislature and a member of the government at that time, that government saw a problem in regard to the settling of strikes and construction disputes across this province. That government went to the construction industry, that government went to the labour unions which represented construction workers, and it had meaningful consultation and brought forward an amendment to the Ontario Labour Relations Act at that time which has proved itself successful save and except perhaps for one exception a year ago.

That is an example of what a government should do in dealing with business and labour interests. When there is a problem, when there is industrial strife, what they should do is go to the parties and consult with them to find a solution to the problem. That is what the former Conservative government did with regard to this legislation. It was successful in finding a solution, and today we are fine-tuning that solution in order to make what was a very successful resolution mechanism even more successful. That is why we are adding our support.

However, we are very concerned when this government goes to the labour side alone, as it did with its present proposed amendments to the Ontario Labour Relations Act. The government went to labour lawyers representing the labour side who brought forward their recommendations to change the Labour Relations Act, without any evidence that there was abject industrial strife widespread across Ontario. There is no evidence of that at this time. In fact, I understand about 95% of industrial disputes are settled amicably without strike action, without any confrontation, etc.

But this government is not operating on that kind of agenda. What we are seeing day by day in the legislative and policy initiatives of this government is a union-driven agenda for the workplace of Ontario. We have it in terms of the policy paper put forward under the Ontario Labour Relations Act. It is an agenda of the Ontario Federation of Labour; it is an agenda of the labour union movement. It is not trying to address a problem we have in Ontario; it is an



attempt for union control. That is what this government is all about. It is a control issue.

We could talk about it in terms of the presentations brought forward in regard to setting up the new Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, which is going to be controlled essentially by labour and unions; a \$2-billion government expenditure that is going to be turning that control over to the union and labour movement.

Then we see another piece of legislation, Bill 150, which we are going to debate perhaps tomorrow. It provides for union takeovers of businesses, to be contributed to or invested in with taxpayers' money. A worker can put up \$41,500 of our taxpayers' money through his union to take over a company under this new legislation, Bill 150, which we are going to talk about tomorrow. That is another spoke in this wheel in terms of union control of the economy and the government.

Let me speak about another one the government is going to bring down the pike in a very few days: getting control of public service pensions and investing them, through union control, in other businesses across this province. It is control, control, control. That is the agenda of this government. It does not care about the workers; it cares about the union bosses, the union bureaucracy, the Gord Wilson daughters, the Gord Wilson offspring, in terms of what they are going to get out of the system. That is what this government is all about.

1610

I want to alarm business. I want business to understand that the agenda of this government is not to remedy problems. The agenda of this government is to gain control of the economy and hand it to union people who have no direct responsibility for investing in the businesses of this province.

This piece of legislation graphically shows the differences between the approaches of two governments. The Progressive Conservative government in the late 1970s, when there was a proven problem of industrial or construction strife, as in this case, would go to both sides and say, "We will consult and we will find a solution to that problem and we will amend the legislation in order to deal with that problem."

With this government we have a very frightening approach with its change in legislation and the financial structures of this province. As day by day goes by and we are given more and more pieces of the jigsaw puzzle, what we are seeing is the destruction of Ontario and the destruction of people's desire to invest in this province. We are very much concerned on this side about the ideology of this government, how much it is owned by the union leaders across this province and how much it kowtows to the union movement.

I read the Ontario Federation of Labour Outlook last week, which was blue in colour incidentally. It should have been pink in colour because it was an agenda for union control in this province. As we read forward their economic vision for this province, we see the pieces put in place by this government to give those unions control over various parts of government, which means our tax dollars or the tax dollars of our constituents, without the responsi-

bilities people who have had control before have had to bear.

While we are in full agreement with this piece of legislation, we will continue to sound the warning bells with regard to the overall strategy of this labour party to put forward the unions as the ultimate masters of the people in this province and not the legislators in this Legislative Assembly.

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** I want to thank my opposition colleagues the member for Waterloo North and the member for Mississauga North for their comments and their indication of support of the bill. It is, we think, a win-win situation for both management and labour. We are pleased to be able to get it through in time for the bargaining, which is a very tight fit.

Motion agreed to.

Bill ordered for committee of the whole House.

# MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND FOOD STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1991

## LOI DE 1991 MODIFIANT DES LOIS RELEVANT DU MINISTÈRE DE L'AGRICULTURE ET DE L'ALIMENTATION

Mr Buchanan moved second reading of Bill 144, An Act to amend certain Acts administered by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food / Projet de loi 144, Loi modifiant certaines lois dont l'application relève du ministère de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation.

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** This is an omnibus bill to amend the Beef Cattle Marketing Act and the Milk Act. As members may recall, the purpose in amending the Beef Cattle Marketing Act is to remove the upper limit on the checkoff licence fee and provide enabling legislation for the proposed national beef checkoff system.

The checkoff system provides funding based on a low percentage of the sale price on each head of cattle. The Ontario Cattlemen's Association uses these funds to promote the beef industry. Traditionally, the Ontario Cattlemen's Association has had to request an amendment to the act every time it wanted to increase the licence fee. With the removal of the upper limit, the association will be able to request and receive these increases more rapidly, through the regulatory process.

Of course, the government will retain control and scrutiny of any increases through the regulatory process. The current fee stands at one fifth of 1% of the sale price. The OCA has secured the support of the majority of its members to increase it to one quarter of 1%. The fee increase will in no way affect the price of beef to consumers. At the same time, the amendments would provide enabling legislation to allow the OCA to participate in a national beef checkoff system.

The second part of the bill would amend the Milk Act. Changes proposed would allow an increase in the producer levy charged by the Ontario Dairy Herd Improvement Corp. The levy would move from a maximum of three cents a hectolitre of milk to six cents. This change will be put in place over a three-year period.



The Ontario Dairy Herd Improvement Corp is run by producers and provides information on herd management and health. The corporation also uses this information to help in marketing and breeding stock. It was government-funded until 1981 and is now funded by milk producers, the federal and provincial governments and the Ontario Milk Marketing Board levy.

The increase in the upper limit of the levy was because of anticipated increasing costs due to decreases in government funding. Our long-term objective is to encourage the corporation to become more self-reliant. It has proven itself as a very efficient and capable operation that contributes substantially to the industry's high standards and competitiveness.

These amendments will help ensure that our beef and dairy industries continue to produce top-quality products and market them effectively. They deserve our support.

**Mr Cleary:** I intend to make only some brief remarks on this legislation. Our caucus has been contacted by both the Ontario Cattlemen's Association and the marketing boards. It is our intention to support this legislation. However, there are a few brief remarks I would like to make.

This bill proposes changes to checkoff fees under the Milk Act and the Beef Cattle Marketing Act. I am glad to see that the amendments under the Beef Cattle Marketing Act simply provide that the licence fees may be set by regulation. Too often, we waste time in this Legislature setting fees and fines and numbers in legislation that are changed shortly thereafter. This is the type of amendment that will allow the fee changes the Ontario Cattlemen's Association has requested but will also allow the fees to be changed in the future without requiring further amendments of the act.

There is a tradition under many marketing schemes that the democratic administration of agriculture boards and agencies provides the necessary accountability to set fees and levies. We support the principle that farmers be able to manage their own affairs, and establishing fees and levies through regulations provides the simplest way to do this.

I want to know why the minister is not following the same procedure with the section of the bill dealing with the Milk Act levies. Why are fees and levies to be set by regulation for cattle but capped at a certain rate for milk? I hope the minister can answer why the two commodities are being treated differently.

The minister will know that the dairy farmers and the cattle farmers affected by this legislation have a number of other larger concerns and may be preoccupied at this time. Dairy farmers are quite concerned about the future of their entire industry under the current GATT talks.

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The minister knows that while there has been movement to resolve the international subsidy wars, our marketing boards are still under threat of changes to article 11 of GATT. I cannot emphasize enough how important the GATT issue is to our farmers. If marketing boards are threatened under GATT, then the legislation we are dealing with here today is meaningless.

The minister will also be aware that the cattle farmers have many other things on their minds besides the changing fees. As they head into the winter months, many farmers who are not protected by marketing boards, such as cattle producers, are wondering how they are going to survive in the income crunch of 1991.

At the Ontario Federation of Agriculture's convention last week, my colleagues heard one message: that the government does not understand the crisis the farmers are facing. We have already raised the issue of the minister's strange mathematics. The Minister of Agriculture and Food told the House that his government put \$119 million into new funding for agriculture, but the money he talked about just is not there. The ministry's budget is only up \$48 million over last year and agriculture's share of the provincial spending actually dropped.

This government has shown how much it wants to help civil servants and doctors through tough times, but it tells the farmers it is out of money. Too often I hear farmers saying the government does not care about the particular sectors of farming—dairy, cattle and other commodities.

I ask the minister to listen to what farmers are saying about the policies of this government and then react by really assisting the province's agriculture industry. My remarks have just about concluded, but I hope the minister will answer some of my questions. I have been pleased to participate in this debate.

**The Acting Speaker (Ms Haeck):** Any further comments or questions? Any further debate? The member for S-D-G & East Grenville.

**Mr Villeneuve:** First, thank you, Madam Speaker, for allowing me to participate in this debate by replacing me in the Chair. It is most appreciated. Let me also congratulate the Minister of Agriculture and Food on, I believe, his very first bill before this Legislature. I think it is one that we all support wholeheartedly.

Our caucus has discussed it with the Ontario Cattlemen's Association and with farmers' groups in general and everyone is very supportive of the increase in checkoff both to livestock marketing and to milk marketing because they need to improve their situation both on the local front and on the world front. Without money, this does not occur.

The cattlemen's association certainly has to continue bringing to the fore the message that indeed red meat is a wholesome product. Red meats have been traditionally and continue to be very excellent sources of animal protein in our diet here in North America.

We have many concerns, and I speak as a livestock producer, as we see groups of people forming into organizations that tend to be against livestock producers. We have those people who believe there should not be any meat in our diet at all, and certainly I do not agree with that. If they do so for their own purposes, that is fine. However, to be preaching that red meats and meats in general are not wholesome and that livestock are not cared for properly is very disconcerting to the livestock industry and indeed is not true. I know the minister is very concerned about animal rights groups, as we are in our party,



and about those people who preach very much against the consumption of red meat.

Certainly the farming industry here in Ontario, and indeed across Canada, is very heavily involved in the production of grain and the production of meat. We often have so-called doctors from other parts of Canada and possibly also from the United States who, for whatever their reasons, all of a sudden come out with a very strong campaign against red meat consumption for health reasons, cholesterol and what have you.

Quite often the cattlemen's associations, both in Ontario and in Canada, have to refute these and prove them wrong. In 99% of the cases it has been done. However, it does not get the same play in the media, a front-page story. Proving that some of the statements that come through indeed are not true winds up on the back pages, and our consumers are left with the perception that the consumption of red meat is an unhealthy situation. That is not true and I know the minister knows that.

As far as the dairy industry is concerned, the Ontario Dairy Herd Improvement Corp, or ODHIC for short, has been around for a long time. I think it has been one of the very excellent tools of increasing the production and the management capacity of our dairy producers, those who produce nature's most nearly perfect food: milk and milk products.

Certainly they have to be supported in their campaigns to assure the purchasing public, the housewife who on a weekly basis purchases dairy products, that indeed the cholesterol in dairy products is a positive, it is good cholesterol and that, yes, there is cholesterol, but there are two kinds. It takes a long time and a lot of education, and this is the responsibility of the Ontario Milk Marketing Board.

I certainly want to commend them for the promotion programs: the "Cheese, Please" campaign and the number of high-profile athletes and former athletes now promoting the use of dairy products as compared to soft drinks and other replacement products that quite often the modern-day housewife and our young people tend to consume instead of milk, which, in the long run, will create health problems and will cost us in the health care of the people.

I know that my Progressive Conservative leader has brought forth a private member's bill to promote the consumption of dairy products along with others in schools. I heard the reply from the Premier today, and indeed we do not want to involve government spending; we simply want to make sure that private industry such as the dairy farmers of Ontario and Canada, along with other groups, can promote and provide dairy products to our students while they are still in school to promote good health and increase their ability to learn and absorb.

I commend the minister on his first piece of legislation. I could probably talk about a number of areas. I know there is one couple in particular in the North Gower area who are trying to set up their own small milk processing plant, which would be a European-type yoghurt, and they are having one heck of a time trying to get through the bureaucracy. I have been involved and I know the minister has been involved. We have to promote that type of thing, because we are faced with a declining per capita consump-

tion of dairy products and we cannot allow this to happen simply because bureaucrats seem to want to interpret the letter of the law. We must bring common sense.

I compliment the minister on his first bill. He has unanimous support. It may not always happen, but he has it today. I look forward to his bringing forth legislation soon that will enable the production of ethanol in the province of Ontario.

These are a number of things he has unanimous support on from everyone. We are here to assist agriculture, to assist in cleaning up the environment and to provide us with not only a healthy economic climate but a healthy population in Ontario. We are 100% with the minister on this one.

1630

**Mr Sterling:** It may surprise some, but in my riding of close to 100,000 people, I still have a number of farms in my area, and I am very much concerned when the Legislature gives to the cabinet of Ontario more regulation-making power, which this legislation basically does.

One of the reasons I am concerned about it in this area is because one of my constituents, Ulrich Bollinger, has been going through a horrendous fight with the dairy inspection branch and the Ontario Milk Marketing Board. Mr Bollinger and his family operate a dairy farm near the small community of North Gower and they want to take the dairy product from start to finish. They want to feed the cows and milk the cows on their own farm and take that milk and produce a final product to sell at the farm gate.

**Mr Villeneuve:** Through the board.

**Mr Sterling:** Through the Ontario Milk Marketing Board. Mr Bollinger went, I believe, before the necessary licensing body and got a licence to do this. Then the milk marketing board evidently got wind of the fact that Mr Bollinger got his licence. It started to impose conditions on that licence, and the dairy inspection branch got into the act in terms of imposing more and more conditions.

Quite rightly, I think, the milk marketing board has a genuine role in terms of this matter. Under our market supply system, a milk producer has to buy a quota, has to buy the right to produce milk, and he is limited in how much milk he can produce. When there is a vertical integration taking place on one farm in one area, it is very difficult to know whether that farmer may or may not be living within what he is supposed to be producing, when he is taking the milk and actually producing the product and selling the product at the farm gate. If in fact he was producing 100% of his quota or 120% of his quota, no one could probably tell.

I do not think any of the officials are challenging the integrity of Mr Bollinger or his farm, but we always have to be concerned with precedent when we are dealing with these matters. If Mr Bollinger obtains a licence to have a vertically integrated operation, where he is taking the milk and producing the product at the end, it could happen on a number of occasions in much larger operations. The milk marketing board must have some inspection and control over the situation.



Mr Bollinger, even though he is a qualified grader, has agreed to have an independent grader come on to his farm and have things checked out as to how much he is producing, etc, but the roadblocks are continually being set up by the dairy inspection branch and the OMB. At least that is the suspicion of Mr Bollinger.

What is really very, very discouraging about this is that here we have a dairy farmer in our own area of Ottawa-Carleton, where it has been getting more and more difficult to farm because of the urbanization of the area, and he wants to be an entrepreneur. He is willing not only to invest in his dairy herd but to invest in production machinery. I believe he wants to produce some specialty yoghurt and that is what the end product would be. He also wants to bring schoolkids out, show them the operation from the point of calves being born, to feeding calves, milking the cows, showing how the milk is processed and how the end product comes out.

But as we set up these structures, and within our legislation, we give certain powers to the milk marketing board, the dairy inspection branch and other administrative bodies under the Ministry of Agriculture and Food. They get further and further away from political control and feel they are stronger and stronger in terms of what they can say to our constituents and what their powers really are.

I wanted to bring Mr Bollinger to the attention of the Minister of Agriculture and Food, because Mr Bollinger and his family are not going to quit. They came to our country, I believe back in the 1950s, worked hard and raised a very successful business. They are not going to quit. In fact Mr Bollinger, on the strength of the licensing, has prejudiced himself to the tune of something like \$80,000 to \$100,000 in constructing production facilities, yet he continues to find roadblocks placed in his way. All he is asking for is fair dealing from these bodies.

While we delegate responsibility, I want the minister to know that I, as a member of this Legislature, expect him to go back to those bodies and say, "Look, we gave you this responsibility, but you must be fair in how you mete out your powers." In this case, I believe Mr Bollinger and his family are being badly done by. It appears now that the milk marketing board is writing him letters about other infractions, in effect trying to intimidate Mr Bollinger, in my view. I do not think he is being dealt with fairly by people we have placed a great deal of trust in.

The milk marketing board is not going to like my saying that, but I must stand up for my constituent in this case and say to the minister that I hope he will look into this matter and resolve it quickly. Mr Bollinger has been on the hook now for a year and a half. He had the licence to begin with and then everybody started to look over their shoulders and say: "Hey, we let something go by us. We didn't know what happened."

Mr Bollinger has acted in good faith, and I think his operation will be a tremendous asset to the community and to the dairy industry because kids could come out there. He has expressed a great desire for local schoolchildren to come out and see milk from the raw production stage right to the finished product.

I have a great deal of faith in the Bollinger family and the hard work they have put into Canada over the last 30 years, and I hope our government institutions can respond to people who have put that much into our country and our province and be fair to him.

**Mr Villeneuve:** I fully support the position of my colleague the member for Carleton. I was at the Ulrich Bollinger farm in January of this year and, yes, the building is partly complete and many hoops and barriers have been placed in the way of their progress after they had been granted the right to produce, process and retail, all through the board, and all done with what any dairy farmer normally has to go through.

We met with representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food. We had an excellent meeting and I thought we had everything in order and ready to go. However, it still is not clear what has to be done to meet the requirements of this family in producing, processing and retailing on the farm, going through the milk marketing board, as my colleague the member for Carleton mentioned.

I want to touch on another subject, which I believe is in the minister's hands right now. It pertains to the supply of milk to a thriving cheese processor in my area and I know the minister is involved with it. It is the cheese factory in St. Albert, which is a little north of the north limit of the riding I represent. However, many of the producers and shareholders of this co-operative live in my riding, and they are in desperate need of additional milk supply so they can produce sufficient fresh curd to meet the over-the-counter demand. This is not replacing the cheese that is being sold elsewhere. It is a very specialized, excellent product. I had some at the Ontario Federation of Agriculture annual meeting a week ago today and they are always complimented on some of the best curd anywhere, bar none.

**Mr Sterling:** Mr Speaker, I agree with everything the member for S-D-G & East Grenville said. Of course, it was all complimentary to me and you might understand why I might be in agreement with it.

1640

**The Deputy Speaker:** Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate? If not, the minister.

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** I have just a couple of things. First, I would like to thank the opposition parties for their support in this. For me, this is an example of the opposition parties and the producers, the Ontario cattlemen and the ODHIC group, being able to talk about what some of the problems are and sort of work together. It is a co-operative effort that we can exchange ideas and concepts and bring in a bill that is agreeable to everyone in the House as well as to the producers, and I thank all members for their support.

The member for Cornwall raised a few points about GATT talks and so on and the future of supply management. I think I would like to talk about that perhaps at a future time.

The concept of the family farm has been raised here. This government supports very strongly the family farm,



and if the member for Carleton has not heard me say it in the past, I have been saying over and over that we have to get more of the consumers' food dollar into the hands of farmers. The kind of operation his constituent has sounds to me very much like that kind of operation. I think perhaps the member for Carleton and I need to sit down and discuss his constituent's problems and get them resolved, because the kind of family farm operation he is talking about is certainly the one this government supports and I want to do what we can to facilitate that project getting under way.

Again, I would like to thank everyone for participating and for the co-operation and support we have received, and I hope this will serve to support the dairy industry and the beef industry in Ontario.

Motion agreed to.

Bill ordered for third reading.

#### GASOLINE TAX AMENDMENT ACT, 1991

##### LOI DE 1991 MODIFIANT LA LOI DE LA TAXE SUR L'ESSENCE

Ms Wark-Martyn moved second reading of Bill 86, An Act to amend the Gasoline Tax Act / Projet de loi 86, Loi portant modification de la Loi de la taxe sur l'essence.

**Hon Ms Wark-Martyn:** Bill 86, An Act to amend the Gasoline Tax Act, implements tax increases in the Treasurer's budget of April 29, 1991. It will also reduce tax evasion through registration and bonding of those who deal in gasoline, aviation fuel or propane and through increased fines and penalties for non-compliance. The amendments to the act support the need to impose tighter restrictions on the sale of motor fuels in Ontario. Unlawful practices and wilful gasoline tax evasion cost the province and the people of Ontario millions of dollars annually. These amendments complement existing anti-evasion measures by the Ministry of Revenue.

Changes to the act will also enable the exchange of operator and vehicle information among provincial, federal and state governments. This information will assist the province in registering all Ontario gasoline transporters.

Stricter regulations are being proposed for importers and exporters in collecting tax on gasoline. Importers who register under the act can by so doing refrain from paying tax at the Canadian border. Exporters are also required to register to transport gasoline out of Ontario and must account for all exported gasoline. Both importers and exporters must provide security upon registration. These measures were recommended in 1989 by the Legislature's standing committee on public accounts.

There are provisions in the proposed amendments which require interjurisdictional transporters of gasoline to register. Those provisions will allow the detaining of vehicles for inspection, and gasoline, aviation fuel or propane can be seized from those who fail to comply with the legislation. If a penalty is not paid, the product is sold to ensure it does not improperly re-enter the market. Penalties for non-compliance with the act have been increased and tax evaders are subject to prosecution, fines and possible jail terms. In keeping with the Treasurer's budget, the tax

on gasoline and aviation fuel increases is included in this legislation.

Clearly these changes are intended to improve tax collection and compliance in the gasoline distribution system. The result will be increased provincial revenue, to the benefit of the Ontario taxpayer.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Are there any questions or comments? The member for Ottawa-Rideau.

**Mrs Y. O'Neill:** I would just like to comment on the minister's opening remarks. I am certainly happy that there will be further efforts to reduce tax evasion in this province because we certainly, with this government, need every bit of revenue we can get. What bothers me is that the minister would totally avoid any mention at all of the 1.7-cent increase that is going to take place in this province on January 1, 1992, as a result of Bill 86. That particular clause of this bill has engendered discussion from every corner of this province. There was not one mention of it, not one mention that anything has been heard. We certainly all have heard much.

**Hon Ms Wark-Martyn:** I would just like to respond to the member, stating that I did mention the fact that this bill includes the increase in the gasoline tax.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Are there any other members who wish to participate?

**Mrs Y. O'Neill:** I rise today to participate in the debate on Bill 86, An Act to amend the Gasoline Tax Act. The Treasurer, in his April 29 budget, announced a number of fuel tax increases. Taxes on diesel fuel for trucks, trains, boats and other vehicles are covered in the Fuel Tax Act which we have just debated, while increases to the tax on gas for automobiles and on aviation fuels are covered in amendments to the Gasoline Tax Act which we are discussing at this moment.

Among other things, this bill authorizes the government to collect gasoline tax increases contained in the Treasurer's budget of April 29, 1991. These excessive increases, one of which consumers and businesses are already paying and another of which will befall them all on January 1, 1992, will take another painful bite out of the competitiveness of Ontario's small business sector and every border community in this province. Bill 86 will take millions of dollars out of the pockets of Ontario drivers.

In the course of these remarks I would like to comment on the effect of this government's budgetary policy on two specific areas of concern on this side of the House. The impact of Bill 86 on the struggling economies of many areas of eastern Ontario and the burdened economy of northern Ontario and the crisis of cross-border shopping which is devastating the retail sector of Ontario's border communities and spreading its negative impact across the whole economy of this province are the areas I wish to emphasize.

On April 30, 1991, the Ontario budget increased the tax on gasoline by 1.7 cents per litre, to 13 cents per litre for unleaded gas and 16 cents per litre for leaded gas. Aviation gasoline and fuel taxes were increased by 0.3 cents per litre, to 2.4 cents per litre, also effective April 30, 1991. On January 1, 1992, the tax on gasoline will increase



by a further 1.7 cents per litre for unleaded fuels, bringing the total tax to 14.7 cents per litre, and also on leaded gasoline tax by the same amount, bringing the total tax to 17.7 cents per litre.

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The Treasurer's own forecasts indicate that a total of \$205 million will be raised by this budget initiative in the 1991-92 fiscal year. This figure includes leaded and unleaded gasoline and aviation fuel. Of this total, the portion which will come into effect on January 1, 1992, is expected to raise \$79 million by March 31, 1992. This is \$79 million the Treasurer could put back into the pockets of Ontario drivers.

Also on January 1, 1992, the tax rate on aviation gasoline and fuels will be raised by 0.3 cents per litre, to a total of 2.7 cents per litre. In total, the new gasoline and aviation fuel tax increases will raise over \$410 million in new revenue on an annual basis and will cost the average Ontario driver \$88 more this year alone and every year thereafter.

Ontario's gasoline tax increase will become the highest in all Canada in January 1992. Is that a distinction we in the Ontario Legislature need? It certainly is not one the Ontario economy can afford at this point.

This new tax is being implemented at a time when gas prices are reportedly lower in the United States by an average of 2 cents per litre. This means there will be an additional 5-cent differential in the price of gasoline between Ontario and the United States when Bill 86 is fully implemented. This situation only serves to encourage more people in border communities to shop in the United States for their gasoline and indirectly—in fact almost directly—encourages them to shop for other things while they are there.

In the city of Sarnia alone, estimates tell us that the effect of cross-border shopping will be the loss of over 200 jobs in 1991: 200 jobs lost in one Ontario city in one year.

Eastern Ontario, an area from which I come proudly, is suffering. Gasoline prices in Ottawa-Carleton have been consistently among the highest in Ontario. We all know that. Statistics from the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources have shown that between the years of 1985 and 1990 gasoline was, on average, over 3 cents per litre more expensive in Ottawa than it was in Toronto, day after day, week after week.

According to an editorial in the *Ottawa Citizen* on October 28, "For 23 of the past 24 weeks, our city has been competing with Timmins as the home to the highest gas prices in Ontario." In the latest survey of Ontario gas prices, Ottawa is reported to have the fourth-costliest gas among the 16 Ontario communities surveyed.

The federal competition bureau is conducting an investigation into the Ottawa-Carleton gas market and a House of Commons committee has held hearings into gasoline pricing. However, this government, the Ontario government, the NDP government, is going blithely along slapping a 1.7-cent tax increase upon 1.7-cent tax increase.

Has the minister had any input into the federal government's study? Has she appeared before the House of Commons committee, as other ministers have gone to Ottawa to appear on other issues? Is she pressing her fed-

eral counterparts to push along that study's completion and co-operating with the federal competition bureau? I would like to have some answers. Bill 86 does nothing to help the citizens of Ottawa-Carleton, who are dealing with, among other things, Ontario's highest-priced gasoline market.

Then we turn to the north of the province. Northerners feel particularly disappointed with the NDP for raising the gasoline tax. The Minister of Revenue herself is from Thunder Bay, a northern community. She must be aware that people in northern Ontario have to travel longer distances over rougher roads and in larger vehicles. Northern communities do not have access to the public transportation systems found in many other parts of Ontario—the minister knows that—and therefore they are forced to use the automobile as their primary means of transportation, whether they are going to work, to shop, to visit or indeed to have health care.

When the Liberal budget review tour travelled in northern Ontario last spring, my colleagues often heard complaints about the increased impact of gasoline and fuel taxes. In fact, that was the common thread in every single community. These concerns were the strongest that came forward. Everywhere the budget review tour travelled in the north, people emphasized the direct effect increased gasoline prices have on them, specifically because as residents of northern Ontario they are required, as I mentioned before, to drive longer distances for work and recreation.

While the budget removed the \$33 annual licence fee for the residents of northern Ontario, the increase in fuel taxes will mean average northerners pay at least \$110 more for gasoline every year, leaving them on balance worse off by \$77. The Treasurer has given a little with one hand and taken a lot with the other. That seems to be a consistent method to implement policy by this government.

I now turn to the border communities. The border communities come up in this House from day to day in a few little initiatives here and a few little initiatives there, but the real crisis is not faced head on. To the Ontario border communities, the lower price of gasoline in the United States is a very strong factor. It lures Ontarians to the other side of the border. They are attracted because we know how closely people are having to watch their pocketbooks in 1991. The Ontarians go over to get gas and then they stop for weekly shopping, grocery shopping and shopping for other staples. We all know this.

Mayor after mayor, person after person, has brought this message to Queen's Park and to two standing committees that served over a long period of time in hearings on this issue. They have begged us—I use that word advisedly—to assist them in some meaningful way, and all this government can do and see fit to provide in their hour of need is more and more scapegoats and less and less real help that would be so simply implemented and that would be to remove the second stage of implementation of Bill 86. These communities need solutions. They do not need scapegoats. They do not need Band-Aids. They need a change in policy. They need a change in budget '91 and Bill 86.



It seems that this government takes every opportunity to do nothing, or even worse, to do the wrong thing, to make the wrong policy decision for border communities in this province. Bill 86 is the wrong policy decision, particularly as things have worsened through 1991 and the second stage will still be implemented on January 1, 1992. The estimated annual lost sales resulting from cross-border shopping is \$1.24 billion. That is \$1.2 billion this year in lost sales. Lost sales mean lost jobs: lost retail jobs and lost manufacturing jobs. The NDP government answers all of that by imposing new gas taxes on January 1, 1992.

The NDP ministers, including the Minister of Revenue, have stood in this House time and time again and said that the federal government is the only culprit in the cross-border shopping problem, indeed the main culprit, and denied provincial responsibility. Surely the minister cannot deny that increasing provincial gas taxes will tempt more and more residents of Ontario border communities to go to the US to buy their gas. Every single day of every single week and more on weekends if you cross the border the first gasoline station you come to has at least 10 cars at the pumps. It is certainly becoming a way of life for people within at least a 10-mile radius to go to the other side for their gas.

We have offered several suggestions as to how gas taxes could be graduated, how border communities could have special exemptions and considerations, but everything has gone unheard. None of it is going to be implemented. "Just slap 1.7 cents on every litre of gas. That is so simple. Let's do it, let's get that revenue in." In the meantime jobs are lost, revenues are lost, businesses are going bankrupt and stores are closed.

1700

Over the past year, particularly during the Liberal budget tour, my colleagues and I continued to visit those border communities. As I noted before, the minister is from Thunder Bay and should be aware that communities suffering from cross-border shopping—or out-shopping, as it is called in her community—are also suffering the deepest recession, for the reasons I have just outlined. Business bankruptcies and unemployment are well above the provincial average in every single one of these communities and this government knows that.

Cross-border shopping has reached epidemic proportions in Ontario, and through its first complete year in government the NDP has been unwilling or unable to act meaningfully. The statistics being compiled by several groups, including fair shopping organizations, retail councils and other independent groups and affected municipalities, are all equally forthright. These groups have done outstanding work and have certainly supplied those of us who read their reports with wonderful, up-to-date data from business people who know what is really happening in these communities. Unless the provincial government acts quickly, the numbers we have seen so far, millions of dollars in trade and thousands of jobs, will continue to be lost and the numbers will increase.

The Ontario Border Communities Mayors' Task Force on Cross-Border and Sunday Shopping reported in January 1991: "Border communities have lost sales of gasoline in

excess of 300 million litres annually." That was in January 1991, before these taxes were imposed.

The Retail Council of Canada has estimated that cross-border shopping will cost Canada's retail sector \$3.5 billion and 55,000 jobs this year. That is the population of quite a few larger Ontario communities.

Almost a whole year has passed since those numbers were released, a whole year of worsening economic prospects for Ontario's border community retailers and a whole year of inaction or worse. Now we get misguided taxation policies still flowing from this government at this late date, with all the knowledge it has after 14 months in power.

The Canadian Automobile Association released a position paper last week which stated that in August of this year, when the average cost of a litre of gasoline was 58.5 cents across Canada, average taxes amounted to 25.2 cents of that cost. By comparison, US taxes, stated in Canadian funds, amounted to 10.1 cents. This government can no longer deny its responsibility for a significant share of this discrepancy. The finger-pointing does not work. We are talking about a provincial tax bill.

The government has been asked by the chambers of commerce and municipal leaders from several major Ontario communities to take action to deter cross-border shopping, but this minister and this government have done little but implement new taxes to encourage even more people to go across the border to shop.

This budget will create new jobs, but we all know where they will be. They will be in Buffalo, they will be in Detroit, but not in Ontario where our economy desperately needs them to be, where this government promised to create them.

Ontarians from all walks of life are angry about this new gas tax. They are going to be even angrier when they go to the pumps on January 1 and 2, 1992, and see that it is going to be even more out of their pockets in the cold months of winter when many of them will be unemployed, and many are unemployed.

I would like to share with the House some of the things Ontarians are saying. During the Liberal budget tour, Sarnia Mayor Mike Bradley noted his concerns regarding the impact of the new gas tax increases on cross-border shopping. He recalled that the border mayors met with the Premier before the budget. Again I use the word "begged" for relief on gas tax. He also recalled the devastation of realizing, after the budget was introduced and this government raised that tax by over 30% after communities came and begged to be heard, that he and others had been totally ignored.

David Bradley, vice-president of the Ontario Trucking Association, was quoted recently in the *Ottawa Citizen* as saying, "Ontario's New Democratic Party government should send out a signal of hope." A signal of hope is what people want in 1991. That is what good government does. It leads towards hopefulness. The signal these people wanted was a cancellation of the proposed gasoline tax increase of 1.7 cents per litre set to take effect January 1, 1992. That still could be changed.

Windsor's former mayor, John Millson, concurred. He called the NDP's 30% increase on gasoline tax a slap in



the face of the communities trying to combat cross-border shopping. Windsor is one of those.

The Hamilton Spectator said on April 30, 1991, "Gas taxes in the new Ontario budget will drive more shoppers across the border to fill their tanks and empty their wallets in the United States."

Catherine Newell of the Hamilton Automobile Club said, "It's an unfair, unjust, regressive and inflationary type of tax that affects everybody," whether they are rich or poor, old or young living in parts of the province that have public transportation or parts of the province where automobiles are a necessity. The Treasurer has pledged that money from gas taxes will go towards the improvement of public transportation, but that is not going to help everyone.

I have just explained that many parts of the province do not have public transportation. The word was always: "Let's have progressive taxes. The NDP will put progressive taxation in when it gets to be government." And the words "unfair, unjust": Unfortunately the Ontario public is describing the NDP's taxation policies as "regressive, simplistic, unjust, unfair, inflationary," and we could go on likely for 20 different and not very complimentary adjectives.

The majority of Ontarians have to use their cars to go to work. They do not have the luxury of the transit system outside the doors of this building as Toronto does. This tax forces rural Ontario to pay for urban transit if we are to listen to what the Treasurer said the revenues will go to.

David Bradley of the Ontario Trucking Association has been quoted as saying, "It is a tax on distance, so shippers, manufacturers and consumers outside the major metropolitan areas are going to be hit.... I don't know what it is going to take for the federal and provincial governments to wake up and smell the coffee.... We need governments at both levels to look at tax levels."

This is not just a tax on drivers; it is a tax on shippers, manufacturers and consumers. It is a tax on us, again, being uncompetitive, a tax which is certainly going to have its effect on jobs, the retail industry and the manufacturing industry. Again we asked for data collection on impact studies. We ask for them, we talk about them, but we never see them.

Even the OPP, as the member for Renfrew North has brought to our attention, which we learned earlier this month is facing a \$16-million deficit, is suffering as a result of this government's tax policy. The OPP has stated that the NDP's own gas tax is a leading contributor to this huge deficit and has caused restrictions to be placed on the use of cruisers to cut down on gasoline costs. That is a judgement call that is being made by the OPP in its budget line.

1710

Finally, let me quote from the January 2, 1991 edition of the Sault Star: "The provincial government hopes to find a way this spring to reduce the price of gasoline and keep Canadian consumers on this side of the border." Who do you think said that, Mr Speaker? None other than one of the ministers of the NDP government, the member for Algoma. "The provincial government hopes to find a way

this spring"—he is talking about spring 1991, long past—"to reduce the price of gasoline and keep Canadian consumers on this side of the border." A cabinet minister in this government had some very good, progressive ideas.

"He said reducing taxes on gasoline—not introducing a subsidy—would be the best way to lower gas prices in Sault Ste Marie and to fight cross-border shopping," a real problem in that community. "However, one way to lower the price of gas and give Canadian shoppers less reason to cross the bridge to fill up could be to reduce the amount of taxes that are included in the price."

How novel—a minister of the NDP government saying what everybody else in the province is saying about how we could help these communities. Even members of the cabinet obviously agree with some people in Ontario, most people in Ontario, that this tax measure is not helpful to cross-border cities. It seems the hopes of this particular northern Ontario cabinet minister have not been realized. At the cabinet table, his arguments were lost. Budget '91 was prepared and presented after the consultation process. Obviously some of the cabinet had heard what some people in Ontario were saying, but unfortunately their message was not acted upon.

In view of the overwhelming negative response to this tax policy—you have heard it, Mr Speaker, and I am sure every single member in this Legislature has heard a comment in the negative about Bill 85 and certainly even more directly about Bill 86. In view of this, I want to ask the minister—who of course did not find time to stay for the debate; she had to leave—if she collected data on the impact of this gas sales tax in border communities. I think that is really important. I have not heard her mention one impact study on this issue or other issues in related bills in this budget. I hope and trust she considers this information essential. I hope she has this information even if she has not shared it.

If this government is going to work on the economic recovery of our province, we have to have the facts. They are readily available. I ask the minister—I wish she were here to answer—to indicate whether her ministry has conducted any study of a graduated gas tax system. That has been brought forward by many people. It is used in the province of Quebec. It is used in all of the New England states that border my part of the province, eastern Ontario. It certainly has its effect on prices in that area. This system has been successful. We have asked that it at least be studied and tried, but there has been no response, not one word, in answer to the graduated gas tax system.

If the minister has studied this option, I wish she would make that information available to us. I do not think she has, but perhaps she has, and I now give her the opportunity. If this option has not been studied, I want to know why. I think the people of Ontario want to know why, because many border communities have asked that this at least be studied and many have requested pilot projects in their own communities.

Bill 86 is another example of the NDP's policy of hurting small business. Certainly it is another example of the stifling of economic growth in the middle of a recession. This government continues to implement draconian,



regressive, old-fashioned taxation policies that add additional costs to one of the most fundamental pieces of the puzzle of business, and that is transportation.

Bill 86 is a tax policy that hits the pocket of every driver in this province, a regressive tax. This is my opinion and certainly the opinion of many others in Ontario. It is a backward step and, as has been stated by many in the province, indeed a slap in the face.

We are in for more of the same in January 1992 from a government that says it is listening, from a government that says it is consulting. This is a very simplistic message, a gas tax increase that may not and could not, but will, however, be placed on January 1.

This government should indeed present a new budget. Many of us have suggested that. Bill 86 is but one of the many policy decisions that need to be reassessed if Ontario is to be competitive and productive.

I want to end by drawing to members' attention a cartoon. Really this is not funny, but sometimes you have to take the heavy things in life a little lightly. We have the Ontario taxpayer pictured here, both pockets being emptied, one on one side by the federal and one on the other side equally—in fact I think the arm is a little longer—by the provincial. His comment as he helplessly stands is, "There ought to be a law against tax harassment."

Bill 86 is tax harassment, harassment that could easily be prevented by this government not implementing the second stage on January 1, 1992, a sign of hope, a sign that people have been listened to. But I understand there are no changes. I gave the minister opportunity earlier today and there has been no indication, no movement on the part of this government to change this bill. I feel it is a real slap in the face. It is a real regressive action on the part of the NDP government to introduce and to continue to push Bill 86 without amendments.

**Mr Johnson:** I listened with great interest to the member for Ottawa-Rideau. It concerns me when I hear the members of the opposition speak as if the times are better than they actually are, as if this is not the worst time the government of Ontario has seen in, I guess, 50 or 60 years. Those of us who have jobs and those of us who are working may not be aware that this is probably the worst recession we have faced in a long, long time.

The government needs to raise revenues. The opposition members tell us, on one hand, that there is a need to fund many programs, that many programs are necessary in this very difficult time and, on the other hand, they tell us we have to cut taxes. God, I would like to ask them, where do they think the money comes from? If they want the programs funded, where are we, the government, going to get the money? Well, somewhere, and it just happens to be that taxes is where we get it from.

There are fewer people working now in Ontario because of the recession that we have to deal with, so the people who would normally pay personal income tax are not. They are either collecting unemployment insurance or may even be worse off and collecting welfare, an expenditure for this government. I think that is something that is not taken into consideration.

When you speak about the highways around the province and the maintenance that is required to look after these highways, and the fact that people have many demands and many interests in seeing them built in the north and built up and made better in other parts of the province, tax money has to be raised somewhere to make sure these programs occur. Where is the money going to come from? Certainly people who drive on the highways can make a contribution by paying their taxes.

The Liberals, I want to say, recently were quite handy at raising taxes over the past few years, and I am sure when they raised the taxes, they raised the taxes, in their opinion, for a good purpose, to maintain the highways, to maintain the services that are necessary on those highways and in fact even to make sure we had services like the OPP to police the highways. Certainly these are expenditures we have to fund.

1720

**Mr Ruprecht:** I listened to the comments of our colleague the member for Ottawa-Rideau describing the excessive increases in gasoline taxes. Obviously she has a point. As she said, this will take millions out of the pockets of taxpayers, especially in Ontario, and Ontario will now have the highest gas prices. In all of Canada, that distinction will go to us. What will that mean? It concerns me a great deal, because we have to think about competitiveness and the competitive position Ontario will be in compared to all other jurisdictions in North America. Today we know what the facts are.

A day does not go by that every one of the corporations that is exporting to the United States, whether it is widgets or fridges or stoves or whatever we produce here—a day does not go by that other jurisdictions—it may be Ohio or Wisconsin or even North Dakota or Vermont or New York—are not sending letters to our manufacturers asking them to relocate. Why are they doing that? Under normal circumstances they would be unable even to get a response or a reply. They are getting a response and a reply simply because in this jurisdiction our taxes, our prices and our labour costs are simply too high. To add gasoline prices in order to raise \$205 million from the public will be another nail in the coffin of industry in Ontario. It becomes obvious that unless this government looks at wealth creation and not distribution, we will not be in a position to recover.

**Mr Stockwell:** I thought the comments brought forward were very insightful. They offered some sincere criticism, I think, to this government and its piece of legislation. It is no real secret out there that there are many constituents, businesses and taxpayers that have some real money problems. When the government institutes pieces of legislation such as this, it only exacerbates the difficult times we are in even further, because you are faced with new and unexpected expenses that you can very doubtfully afford at this time.

It was put forward by some members opposite that it is exactly when we are in very difficult times—30 or 40 years ago, I assume he was talking about the Great Depression—that we need revenues to offset social programs, etc. I guess my concern is that this point in time, when we can



least afford new taxes—taxes that make you even that much more uncompetitive, taxes that directly impact the bottom line of any viable operating business, taxes that in some instances can take a business that is marginally profitable and put it over the edge, making it unprofitable and causing many people to lose their jobs—is exactly the wrong time to go about increasing taxes on the taxpayers, the businesses and the people of this province.

Anyone who suggests, simply stated, that because the economy is running so poorly and because we are in such dire economic straits this seems like a logical time to increase taxes simply has no understanding of business, no understanding of the private sector and no understanding of what it takes to meet a payroll and operating expenses. This is the worst time to pass on new taxes to businesses for sure, because this is the time when those businesses can least afford it.

**Mr Mills:** I would like, for the record, to correct something the member for Ottawa-Rideau said that is not correct. She attributed the leading cause of part of the \$60-million deficit of the Ontario Provincial Police to the cost of gasoline. That is not correct. The leading cause of the deficit is the fact that about 250 Ontario Provincial Police officers were to retire and that attrition did not take place. In fact, only 40 or 50 retired.

Another leading cause of the \$16-million deficit the Ontario Provincial Police is facing is of course due to unexpected demands for services and the overtime that those services result in. I would just like to correct that for the record.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** The honourable member for Ottawa-Rideau has two minutes to reply.

**Mr Chiarelli:** I believe there might be one more comment. Can we check the count on that?

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** We have had four participants. We have reached our maximum, and the honourable member for Ottawa-Rideau has two minutes to reply.

**Mrs Y. O'Neill:** I am sorry I was misquoted by the member for Durham East. I did not say it was the leading cause; I said it was one cause of the OPP's budget problems, and I certainly think it is. Anybody who would deny that would certainly have difficulty.

I really agreed with the member for Etobicoke West when he talked about the assessment of how this tax is affecting people in the worst time, the worst place and the worst way. Taxation can be creative, and it can be full of incentives. This is a very simplistic manner to raise revenue that is taking place here, and it really is not taking into any account what the business people or the people in this province who must use transportation for all of their activities have said to this government, indeed to each member of this Legislature.

I feel very strongly that the member for Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings should take a look at and listen to some of the things that I have said. It certainly is a very strong argument that business is making. There is nothing wrong with business telling us how it can be more competitive. Indeed, that is what we need to create jobs in

this province, and this is one tax that it has told us over and over, consistently, is not going to help it to be more competitive. It is certainly not going to help to feed the families who are unemployed when they have to use their car to go to the grocery store that they have to put 1.7 cents more out of their pockets every time they go up to the pumps as of January 1, 1992. This tax is very poorly placed at the wrong time. It is the wrong thing happening at the wrong time—a double negative.

**Mr Sterling:** As the critic for Revenue from my party, I am pleased to enter this debate. First of all, I would like to say to the member for Durham East, who claims the problem with the budget was that 250 police officers who were expected to retire or take early retirement stayed around on the job, that it is not our fault. It is not the OPP's fault. It is the fault of the Solicitor General for not properly budgeting last year. When times are tough, he has to know that most people will stay on longer in terms of their jobs because there are no other jobs to go to. When times are tough, people stay in their jobs. That is a logical conclusion to come to.

Last year when the Treasurer was sitting down to budget, he knew that times were tough, because he had a \$9.7-billion deficit. It is not our fault. It is not the OPP's fault. It is not the fault of the communities in eastern Ontario and the rest of Ontario which are suffering. It is the fault of this inept, incompetent government.

I want to start into the debate on this bill by, first of all, offering an apology to the officials of the Ministry of Revenue who are sitting behind the Speaker. When I was dealing with Bill 85, I said to those ministry officials that they had not supplied me with the information I had asked of them at our briefing session, which they were so kind to give to me and the critic for the Liberal Party. At that time I must admit I ripped a bit of a strip off them for not giving me that information prior to getting into the debate. After I sat down on Bill 85, which was a similar bill to this bill, the parliamentary assistant came over and gave me the information I asked for. So I should not have been ripping a strip off the ministry staff who supplied the parliamentary assistant with the information. I should have been ripping a strip off the parliamentary assistant for not doing his job.

1730

**Mr Johnson:** We understand you got it and lost it.

**Mr Sterling:** I did not get this information. I never had this information. I had asked for this information so that we could bring a proper perspective to this debate and could compare the different taxes implemented by this government with those of other surrounding jurisdictions.

What a lot of people do not realize is that last year in May, when the Treasurer brought this budget down, he increased gasoline taxes in this province by 30%, by one third. People in the government like to talk about 1.7 cents. But if you add up 1.7 cents last April or May, whenever this was instituted, and then the 1.7 cents that is going to come in on January 1, that adds up to 3.4 cents. It increases the tax from some 11 cents up to, I believe, 14.7 cents per litre, which is going into the coffers of the Ontario



government. That is higher than any other province in Canada.

Mr Speaker, because you and I live near the Quebec border, we know about our concern in those areas of eastern Ontario that businesses which formerly would locate in the Ontario will locate in Quebec. In 1985, when the Progressive Conservative Party left government, corporate income taxes in Ontario were about 10% lower than they were in Quebec. We had an advantage. We could say to business, "Come to Ontario because you're going to get a better break on taxes in Ontario than you will in Quebec or in many other jurisdictions in the United States." We had a heck of a tool to say to people: "Come on and invest, entrepreneurs. We're not going to take an unfair amount of your profits away." Over the last five or six years corporate income taxes have increased so that now we are even. There is no advantage to being in Ontario over Quebec in terms of corporate taxes.

We used to be able to say to people in Ontario who were doing business and were involved in transporting their products across Ontario, "Come to Ontario because you can purchase gasoline cheaper here, which will then mean you will have cheaper costs in transporting your goods from your plants to your customers." With this gas increase on January 1, we are going to forge ahead of Quebec, which is now second in gasoline tax. They charge 14 cents a litre and we are charging 14.7 cents a litre.

The tax rates which were supplied to me under the good offices of the officials of the Ministry of Revenue and which I eventually received from the parliamentary assistant show us to be at a tremendous competitive disadvantage with the United States, particularly those states which surround us, in talking about gasoline.

In eastern Ontario one of the most important industries, particularly for the rural areas and the areas outside Ottawa-Carleton, although Ottawa-Carleton is very important as well, is the whole industry of tourism. We are finding that more and more Americans, who used to come to Canada and spend their dollars at our resorts and at our hotels and at our recreation complexes, are no longer there. Upper Canada Village probably suffered tremendously this summer as a result of the decline in American tourists.

That is because if you look at the comparable tax rates for gasoline—I am talking about provincial and federal tax rates together—in the state of New York, federal and state taxes amount to seven cents per litre. After January 1, in our province it is going to be 23.2 cents per litre; three times as much tax on gasoline in Ontario as New York, and that is the most important state for us in terms of attracting tourists in eastern Ontario.

In the state of Michigan, the total tax, federal and state, is nine cents per litre. In Ontario, after January 1, 23.2 cents per litre in tax: 14.7 cents per litre by the province and 8.5 cents per litre by the federal government, about two and a half times as much tax as Michigan. In the state of Minnesota, although there are not as many tourists who come from Minnesota, the tax is 10.5 cents per litre, federal and state. Ours is 23.2 cents per litre.

By increasing taxation by 30%, by taking taxes up to 23.2 cents per litre, how does this government expect tour-

ists, families in cars, to drive over to Ontario, fill up on gas and drive around Ontario and visit the many scenic places we have? What the Americans have said to us is, "Enough is enough." But unfortunately you and I, Mr Speaker, and our constituents have to put up with the onerous taxation of this government.

One of the arguments I heard from the parliamentary assistant was, "We've got to have the money because we've got to pay for roads and we've got to pay for the schools and we've got to pay for all of these other things." My answer to him is, he should not spend the money before he has the money. We have seen this government continue to expand, to spend money.

Today our leader brought forward an example of the very prudent spending this government is undertaking. In Wawa, Ontario, which is rapidly depopulating at this time—I believe they have a vacancy rate of something like 15% or 20% in their housing—what is this government doing where there are empty houses going begging for people to live in them? This government is going to spend \$4 million or \$5 million in building 40 new units of housing in Wawa, Ontario; \$4 million or \$5 million in what is a rapidly depopulating town.

**Mr Mills:** It's not always going to be that way.

**Mr Sterling:** We hope it is not always going to be that way, but you can buy the accommodation for a quarter of the price that government is going to pay for it. My leader says, "If you want to spend \$4 million or \$5 million helping the people of Wawa out, don't build a brand-new building which is only going to make the vacancy rate in the already surplus housing stock increase." Have you ever heard of such a stupid thing for the government to do, Mr Speaker, as to go out and spend \$4 million or \$5 million in a place which does not need any additional housing?

People from Wawa have written to me. Over the last four or five days I have received numerous faxes and letters from the people of Wawa and they have said: "Don't favour us with your kindness. Don't do us the damage."

I was talking in response and I will try to come back to the bill. But when the parliamentary assistant says to us, "We've got to have this money because we're going to spend it in good places," I say, "Humbug." They are not spending it good places. They are not spending it on the roads. They are not spending it on things we need, the basic services. They are finding new ways to spend money—or new ways to waste money is really what is happening in this government—and the people of Ontario are fed up with it. They see day by day the examples of waste from this government. It is getting very discouraging for the businesses that have to pay the taxes and the people who have to pay the taxes in order to support these wastrels.

1740

I sat on the economic development committee last year when we had hearings on cross-border shopping. Mr Speaker, as a representative of a very long reach of border with the United States—probably you have the longest contiguous border area in the province held by any single member; I believe your area goes on for probably about



100 or 110 miles along the New York border—you understand the problem with cross-border shopping. When you and I sat in Cornwall and listened to the various people who presented briefs to us, and as the economics committee of this Legislature sat and heard briefs from people who were concerned about cross-border shopping, if you listened to all their briefs, to them the most important issue of all was gasoline taxes, gasoline prices. If there were anything this government could do to dissuade people from going over to the United States to cross-border shop, it would be to decrease the price of gasoline. That would be the best thing, in terms of the evidence we could hear, which would dissuade people from going across the border.

In fact, in our minority position to the cross-border shopping committee, we recommended that this government meld, put together, the provincial sales tax and the GST into one tax. That would generate a significant amount of revenue for this government. We suggested as a result of that move that all the windfall this government would receive from joining those two taxes should be used to drop the tax on gasoline. It is our opinion that of all the areas that need amelioration in terms of taxation, gasoline is the most important one to the people of Ontario, and particularly to those businesses which are suffering along the borders of the United States.

I have heard the government say in response to the other bill, Bill 85, that during the former Progressive Conservative government we increased taxes nine times over a period of two or three years. That was the story. I do not know if it was eight or nine or whatever it was, and do members know what? If you take those nine increases, they do not even add up to the two increases these people are instituting. All we have is two increases of 1.7 cents each, which are two bigger hits than we took in nine bites. We took nine bites, and we took them over a period of time so that industry could readjust to the increase in taxation.

I want to add too that by the time we left office, taxes on gasoline were only 8.3 cents a litre, and now these fellows have it up to 14.7 cents. The NDP and the Liberals have increased it from 8.3 to 14.7 over six years.

If members also look at the percentage of the budget which was taken up by the Ministry of Transportation back in the early 1980s, they would have seen that the percentage of gasoline tax going back into our roads and bridges was much higher than the percentage of tax that is going into those particular hard services at this time.

We have a government that is spending tax money on buying the groceries, not building the house. That is the problem we have with this government. We have a government that is taking taxes from the people and in order to operate, to run the machine of government, it is going into debt. Day after day they are going into debt. They are not spending it on buying new schools or building roads or whatever; they are spending it on buying the groceries. That is how we equate it to the members' lives and my life.

Mr Speaker, you and I were members of a government that was in power for 42 years, and when we left government we were spending about \$26 billion to \$27 billion a

year. Over six to seven short years, we are now at a budget which is twice what the budget was six or seven years ago. If you take inflation, which some of the members over here would like to talk about, you would be at about \$40 billion. So there has been a \$13-billion increase over the last six years due to the spending of the Liberals and now the spending of the New Democratic Party, and they talk about us not being good managers.

**Mr Mammoliti:** Oh, no. I said that you were the best.

**Mr Sterling:** We are the best. You are right. I am glad the member for Yorkview is suggesting we are the best managers of fiscal management of this province. Thank you very much, sir. I appreciate that.

The people of Ontario, even the 25% who voted for the NDP in the last election—

**Mr Turnbull:** Twenty-three per cent.

**Mr Sterling:** Twenty-three per cent. I am sorry. Thank you very much.

Even the 23% who voted for the NDP in the last election will now realize that they made a mistake. It would only do my heart good, as I read the polls that are now taking place: 41% for the Liberals; 31% for them, down from where they were in the last election, and 23% for us. Their popularity is falling. People realize that the management of the financial resources of this province is out of control.

Probably a gasoline tax is the meanest tax of all for the poor people who live in your constituency, Mr Speaker, and in my constituency. It is regressive.

**Mr Johnson:** Poor people don't drive cars.

**Mr Sterling:** The poor people in our constituencies live in the outskirts. I suspect the member for Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings would know that. But in our constituencies the poor people live further out from the urban centres and actually rely on their automobiles much more than the people who are able to purchase homes that are closer in to the urban areas. Because the land is cheaper out there, the houses are cheaper, and quite frankly a lot of them live quite a piece away from the places where they must go to work and where they must shop for groceries and those kinds of things. There is no public transportation out in those areas, so the poor people whom the Acting Speaker and I represent in the riding of the regional municipality of Carleton and the riding of S-D-G & East Grenville are suffering more because of the gasoline tax increases than any other kind of tax increase that this government could have brought in. This is a cruel tax for them to bring in.

We oppose it on that basis as well. Taxation should be progressive. If the government has to bring it in, it should be against the people who can afford to pay. This is an indiscriminate tax which taxes in large measure people who are less able to afford it. We are against this particular tax for that reason as well.

I want all the people of Ontario to understand we not only have the distinction of being the highest-taxed jurisdiction in all of North America thanks to the Liberals, but we are now paying the highest gasoline taxes in all of Canada because of the New Democratic Party.



1750

**Mr Johnson:** Again I listened with great interest to the member for Carleton. He mentioned some things about Ontario. One thing I would like to say about Ontario is that it is probably the finest place to live in the world. I think the reason it is the finest place to live in the world has a lot to do with the systems that are in place, systems that probably for the most part were initiated by the Conservative government, were worked on more by the Liberal government and were inherited by us, systems we would like to modify because we like to think we can improve them. I have no doubt that in time that will be shown to be true.

The member for Carleton talked about cross-border shopping. I think to say a 1.7-cents-per-litre tax increase on gasoline is the reason people cross the border is not true. It is a factor; I would be wrong if I said it was not. I think one of the most important factors is that the Canadian dollar is becoming more closely aligned with the American dollar. The advantage we used to have not too many years ago with regard to the difference in our dollar is wrong. That is something he never talked about.

If we look at the idea of taxing gasoline in the first place, we certainly know it was the Tory government's idea. The Tory government in the last five years increased gasoline taxes 100%. The Liberals were quite handy in the short period of five years in increasing gasoline by six cents per litre. I think the increases we have made are marginal in comparison.

**Mr Callahan:** I have listened very carefully to the speeches that have been made in this House. There is one factor that keeps being very elusive. As I drove out of my riding today, gasoline was 49 cents. As I drove into Toronto it was 52 cents. I am sure if you drove north you would find the price was different. My good friend is nodding over there. Where is that great promised board the Premier said he would set up to monitor whether the prices are going up and down as a result of some sort of big deal that is going on with the oil companies? The Premier of this province made that promise. I know rhetoric is easy on the stump when you are trying to be elected, but where is that promise? Has he fulfilled that promise to the people of this province? Has he set up that board? Every time we ask the question in this House he avoids it.

The essence of any government is the credibility of its Premier. Today we heard one of our members point out to the Premier that the deal made with the Ontario Hydro chairman was that he would reduce his salary by half, and we found out afterwards they had negotiated a little deal in the back room that it would be a five-year deal. Surely the people of Ontario are waiting. Now that the Premier has made the deal with the Hydro chairman to up his salary so that he gets the same amount, they are waiting for that board. They want to see why the prices in gasoline seem to go up and down with the number of times the Premier can raise the ladder. These people deserve an answer from the Premier. He should set up that board, because he said on the stumps while he was politicking to be Premier that he would do it.

**Mr Stockwell:** I think a very important and poignant point brought forward by the member for Carleton was the increases this government has brought forward and the number of cents of increases they represent on a litre of gasoline.

The member for Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings suggested that the Conservatives, in their five years, increased the gas tax by something like 100%. Let's just examine those numbers very carefully, because I find NDPers tend to do this—they give you a bit of information. The real information is that in five years, under a Conservative government, that 100% increase represented four cents in gas tax over five years. I do not know if the member realizes it, but this government has increased it by 3.4 cents in one year. If it went along under that theory and was in power for four years, it would increase the gas tax by some 12, 13 or 14 cents over the same time period the Conservatives increased it by four cents; a rather shallow argument, typical of the NDP. They give you some of the information and allow you to make a decision with partial information.

Second, the member suggests the information about cross-border shopping—and the member for Carleton spoke to this—is not necessarily related to gas. The cross-border shopping committee met with many border towns and the three most important issues for why people cross the border—and many members who sat in on the committee can attest to this—are (1) alcohol, (2) cigarettes and (3) gasoline. What did this government do in the last budget, knowing full well the three most important issues that drive people across the border? It increased taxes on alcohol, cigarettes and gasoline. It is so far out of touch with the economic realities that it brought that forward and crucified border towns even further.

It is hilarious to listen to the defence, because there is no defence.

**Mr Mammoliti:** I sat here and listened in dismay to the member for Carleton. I did not say a word. The member has the audacity to stand up and talk about our neglect. I would say to that member, "Don't contradict yourself." We are all concerned about taxes, and rightly so; of course we are concerned about taxes. My point is that this member stands up and complains about this government.

I want to ask this member a particular question. I believe this is my forum to ask that question. Has this member written a letter to the federal Conservative government in reference to the GST? That is the question I want to ask him and I am hoping he will respond, because it is probably no. After his concern with taxes and tax increases, I think the letter would say he disagrees with it and wants to get rid of it. I am willing to bet he did not write that letter, and if he did, I would like to see it.

Second, again federally, in 1979—and I think it is important to mention—why did Mr Clark, the Prime Minister at that time, get booted out of office? It was because of his neglect.

**Mr Sterling:** I may be one of the few members in this House who agrees with the GST. I think it was a progressive step. All three parties in the federal Parliament realized there had to be a value added tax. That was agreed in the



finance committee of the House of Commons. When it comes to guts, in terms of doing it, I congratulate the federal government for doing that.

I agree with lowering the manufacturers' sales tax from 13.5% to 7% or 8%, because our manufacturing industry in this province has suffered tremendously. If the government had not taken that step, we would be in an even more disastrous position.

I think the GST is going to prove a tax which Audrey McLaughlin will not turn around on, or Jean Chrétien, or any other Prime Minister in this country. Mark my words: Every party knew it had to be done and there was only one party that had the guts to do it.

Ontario used to be one of the finest places in the world. I still think we have the opportunity to rescue Ontario, but unfortunately day by day the people who create wealth in this province are leaving. Today we have only an example of one of those reasons why those people are leaving this province and that is that useless spending on the part of the government and the concurrent need to raise taxes put us in a position where we cannot be competitive in transporting our goods and we cannot be competitive in attracting tourists. I believe this tax is a bad tax for Ontario, and we will oppose it vehemently.

The House adjourned at 1801.



**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO  
ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO**

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**Akande, Zanana** (St Andrew-St Patrick ND) Chair, standing  
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Development/Ministre des Collèges et Universités,  
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**Arnott, Ted** (Wellington PC)

**Beer, Charles** (York North/-Nord L)

**Bisson, Gilles** (Cochrane South/-Sud ND) parliamentary  
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parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for  
francophone affairs; Vice-Chair, select committee on  
Ontario in Confederation/Adjoint parlementaire du  
ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines,  
adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires  
francophones, vice-président du Comité spécial sur le rôle  
de l'Ontario au sein de la Confédération

**Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion** (London Centre/-Centre ND)  
Minister of Community and Social Services, minister  
responsible for women's issues/Ministre des Services  
sociaux et communautaires, ministre déléguée à la  
Condition féminine

**Bradley, James J.** (St Catharines L) Leader of the Opposition/  
Chef de l'opposition

**Brown, Michael A.** (Algoma-Manitoulin L) Chair, standing  
committee on general government/Président du Comité  
permanent des affaires gouvernementales

**Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer** (Hastings-Peterborough ND)  
Minister of Agriculture and Food/Ministre de  
l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation

**Callahan, Robert V.** (Brampton South/-Sud L) Chair, standing  
committee on public accounts/Président du Comité  
permanent des comptes publics

**Caplan, Elinor** (Orillia L) Chair, standing committee on social  
development/Présidente du Comité permanent des affaires  
sociales

**Carr, Gary** (Oakville South/-Sud PC)

**Carter, Jenny** (Peterborough ND) parliamentary assistant to  
Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights,  
disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations  
/Adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires  
civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires  
des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes  
âgées et aux Relations interraciales

**Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian** (Hamilton Mountain ND)  
Minister of Financial Institutions/Ministre des Institutions  
financières

**Chiarelli, Robert** (Ottawa West/-Ouest L)

**Christopherson, David** (Hamilton Centre/-Centre ND)  
parliamentary assistant to Treasurer of Ontario and  
Minister of Economics/Adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier  
de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Economie

**Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn** (Riverdale ND) Minister of  
Consumer and Commercial Relations/Ministre de la  
Consommation et du Commerce

**Cleary, John C.** (Cornwall L)

**Conway, Sean G.** (Renfrew North/-Nord L)

**Cooke, Hon/L'hon David** (Windsor-Riverside ND) Minister  
of Municipal Affairs, government House leader/  
Ministre des Affaires municipales, chef parlementaire du  
gouvernement

**Cooper, Mike** (Kitchener-Wilmot ND) Chair, standing committee  
on administration of justice; deputy government whip/  
Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la  
justice, whip adjoint du gouvernement

**Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley** (Niagara South/-Sud ND)  
Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/  
Ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement

**Cordiano, Joseph** (Lawrence L)

**Cousens, W. Donald** (Markham PC)

**Cunningham, Dianne** (London North/-Nord PC) Progressive  
Conservative chief whip/Whip en chef du Parti  
progressiste-conservateur

**Curling, Alvin** (Scarborough North/-Nord L) opposition deputy  
whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition

**Dadamo, George** (Windsor-Sandwich ND) parliamentary  
assistant to Minister of Transportation/Adjoint  
parlementaire du ministre des Transports

**Daigeler, Hans** (Nepean L)

**Drainville, Dennis** (Victoria-Haliburton ND) parliamentary  
assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs; Chair, select  
committee on Ontario in Confederation/Adjoint  
parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales,  
président du Comité spécial sur le rôle de l'Ontario au sein  
de la Confédération

**Duignan, Noel** (Halton North/-Nord ND) Chair, standing  
committee on the Legislative Assembly; Co-Chair, special  
committee on the parliamentary precinct/Président du  
Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative, coprésident  
du Comité extraordinaire de l'enceinte parlementaire

**Elston, Murray J.** (Bruce L)

**Eves, Ernie** (Parry Sound PC) Progressive Conservative House  
leader/Chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur

**Farnan, Mike** (Cambridge ND) First Deputy Chair of the  
Committee of the Whole House/Premier vice-président du  
Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative

**Fawcett, Joan M.** (Northumberland L)

**Ferguson, Hon/L'hon Will** (Kitchener ND) Minister of  
Energy/Ministre de l'Énergie

**Fletcher, Derek** (Guelph ND) parliamentary assistant to  
Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/Adjoint  
parlementaire du ministre de la Consommation et du  
Commerce

**Frankford, Robert** (Scarborough East/-Est ND)

**Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn** (Ottawa Centre/-Centre ND)  
Minister of Housing/Ministre du Logement

**Grandmaître, Bernard C.** (Ottawa East/-Est L)



- Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.** (Etobicoke-Lakeshore ND) Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/Ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
- Haeck, Christel** (St. Catharines-Brock ND) Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman/Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman
- Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard** (Rainy River ND) Attorney General/Procureur général
- Hansen, Ron** (Lincoln ND)
- Harnick, Charles** (Willowdale PC)
- Harrington, Margaret H.** (Niagara Falls ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/Adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Logement
- Harris, Michael** (Nipissing PC) leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/Chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
- Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen** (Perth ND) Minister of Culture and Communications/Ministre de la Culture et des Communications
- Hayes, Pat** (Essex-Kent ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (agriculture)/Adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (agriculture)
- Henderson, D. James** (Etobicoke-Humber L)
- Hope, Randy R.** (Chatham-Kent ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/Adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
- Huget, Bob** (Sarnia ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of Energy/Adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie
- Jackson, Cameron** (Burlington South/-Sud PC) Chair, standing committee on estimates/Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
- Jamison, Norm** (Norfolk ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for small business/Adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie, délégué aux Affaires des petites entreprises
- Johnson, Paul R.** (Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings/Prince-Edward-Lennox-Hastings-Sud ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of Revenue/Adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Revenu
- Jordan, W. Leo** (Lanark-Renfrew PC)
- Klopp, Paul** (Huron ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (food)/Adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (alimentation)
- Kormos, Peter** (Welland-Thorold ND) Chair, standing committee on resources development/Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
- Kwinter, Monte** (Wilson Heights L)
- Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances** (Beaches-Woodbine ND) Minister of Health, minister responsible for the provincial anti-drug strategy/Ministre de la Santé, ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue provinciale
- Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd** (Nickel Belt ND) Deputy Premier, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/Vice-premier ministre, Trésorier de l'Ontario et ministre de l'Économie
- Lessard, Wayne** (Windsor-Walkerville ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities/Adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges et Universités
- Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob** (Hamilton East/-Est ND) Minister of Labour/Ministre du Travail
- MacKinnon, Ellen** (Lambton ND) Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et projets de loi privés
- Mahoney, Steven W.** (Mississauga West/-Ouest L) chief opposition whip/Whip en chef de l'opposition
- Malkowski, Gary** (York East/-Est ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/Adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
- Mammoliti, George** (Yorkview ND) parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the provincial anti-drug strategy/Adjoint parlementaire de la ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue provinciale
- Mancini, Remo** (Essex South/-Sud L) opposition House leader/Chef parlementaire de l'opposition
- Marchese, Rosario** (Fort York ND) parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/Adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
- Marland, Margaret** (Mississauga South/-Sud PC) Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
- Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley** (Sudbury East/-Est ND) Minister of Northern Development and Mines/Ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
- Martin, Tony** (Sault Ste Marie/Sault-Sainte-Marie ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/Adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de l'Éducation
- Mathyssen, Irene** (Middlesex ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment, government whip/Adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement, whip du gouvernement
- McClelland, Carman** (Brampton North/-Nord L)
- McGuinty, Dalton J.P.** (Ottawa South/-Sud L)
- McLean, Allan K.** (Simcoe East/-Est PC) Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
- McLeod, Lyn** (Fort William L)
- Miclash, Frank** (Kenora L) opposition chief whip/Whip en chef de l'opposition
- Mills, Gord** (Durham East/-Est ND) parliamentary assistant to Solicitor General/Adjoint parlementaire du Solliciteur général
- Morin, Gilles E.** (Carleton East/-Est L) Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
- Morrow, Mark** (Wentworth East/-Est ND) Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman; Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman, vice-président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
- Murdoch, Bill** (Grey PC)
- Murdock, Sharon** (Sudbury ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/Adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
- North, Hon/L'hon Peter** (Elgin ND) Minister of Tourism and Recreation/Ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs
- O'Connor, Lawrence** (Durham-York ND) parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/Adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto



- Offer, Steven (Mississauga North/-Nord L)
- O'Neil, Hugh P. (Quinte L)
- O'Neill, Yvonne (Ottawa-Rideau L) opposition deputy whip/  
Whip adjointe de l'opposition
- Owens, Stephen (Scarborough Centre/-Centre ND)  
parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial  
Institutions, government whip/Adjoint parlementaire du  
ministre des Institutions financières, whip du  
gouvernement
- Perruzza, Anthony (Downsview ND) parliamentary assistant to  
Minister for Skills Development/Adjoint parlementaire du  
ministre de la Formation professionnelle
- Philip, Hon/L'hon Ed** (Etobicoke-Rexdale ND) Minister of  
Industry, Trade and Technology/Ministre de l'Industrie,  
du Commerce et de la Technologie
- Phillips, Gerry (Scarborough-Agincourt L)
- Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan** (Oshawa ND) Solicitor General,  
Minister of Correctional Services/Solliciteur général,  
ministre des Services correctionnels
- Poirier, Jean (Prescott and Russell/Prescott et Russell L)
- Poole, Dianne (Eglinton L)
- Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles** (Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon ND)  
Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for  
francophone affairs/Ministre du Transport, ministre  
délégué aux Affaires francophones
- Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob** (York South/-Sud ND) Premier,  
Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/Premier ministre,  
ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
- Ramsay, David (Timiskaming L)
- Rizzo, Tony (Oakwood IND)
- Runciman, Robert W. (Leeds-Grenville PC) Chair, standing  
committee on government agencies/Président du Comité  
permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
- Ruprecht, Tony (Parkdale L)
- Scott, Ian G. (St. George-St. David L)
- Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony** (Dovercourt ND) Chairman of the  
Management Board of Cabinet, Minister of  
Education/Président du Conseil de gestion du  
gouvernement, ministre de l'Éducation
- Sola, John (Mississauga East/-Est L) Vice-Chair, standing  
committee on social development/Vice-président du  
Comité permanent des affaires sociales
- Sorbara, Gregory S. (York Centre/-Centre L)
- Sterling, Norman W. (Carleton PC)
- Stockwell, Chris (Etobicoke West/-Ouest PC)
- Sullivan, Barbara (Halton Centre/-Centre L)
- Sutherland, Kimble (Oxford ND) parliamentary assistant to  
Chairman of the Management Board of Cabinet;  
Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic  
affairs/Adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de  
gestion du gouvernement, vice-président du Comité  
permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
- Swarbrick, Anne (Scarborough West/-Ouest ND)
- Tilson, David (Dufferin-Peel PC)
- Turnbull, David (York Mills PC)
- Villeneuve, Noble (S-D-G & East Grenville/S.-D.-G. &  
Grenville-Est PC) Second Deputy Chair of the Committee  
of the Whole House/Deuxième vice-président du Comité  
plénier de l'Assemblée législative
- Ward, Brad (Brantford ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister  
of Industry, Trade and Technology with responsibility for  
trade and technology/Adjoint parlementaire du ministre de  
l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie et délégué  
au Commerce et à la Technologie
- Ward, Margery (Don Mills ND) parliamentary assistant to  
Minister of Government Services/Adjointe parlementaire  
du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
- Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley** (Port Arthur ND) Minister  
of Revenue/Ministre du Revenu
- Warner, Hon/L'hon David** (Scarborough-Ellesmere ND)  
Speaker; Co-Chair, special committee on the  
parliamentary precinct/Président, coprésident du Comité  
extraordinaire de l'enceinte parlementaire
- Waters, Daniel (Muskoka-Georgian Bay/Muskoka-Baie-  
Georgienne ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of  
Tourism and Recreation; Vice-Chair, standing committee  
on resources development/Adjoint parlementaire du  
ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs, vice-président du  
Comité permanent du développement des ressources
- Wessinger, Paul (Simcoe Centre/-Centre ND) parliamentary  
assistant to Minister of Health/Adjoint parlementaire de la  
ministre de la Santé
- White, Drummond (Durham Centre/-Centre ND) Chair,  
standing committee on regulations and private bills/  
Président du Comité permanent des règlements et projets  
de loi privés
- Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud** (Algoma ND) Minister of Natural  
Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/Ministre  
des Ressources naturelles, ministre délégué aux Affaires  
autochtones
- Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred** (Frontenac-Addington ND) Minister  
of Government Services/Ministre des Services  
gouvernementaux
- Wilson, Gary (Kingston and The Islands/Kingston et Les Îles ND)  
parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture and  
Communications/Adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de  
la Culture et des Communications
- Wilson, Jim (Simcoe West/-Ouest PC)
- Winner, David (London South/-Sud ND) parliamentary  
assistant to Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to  
minister responsible for native affairs/Adjoint  
parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire  
du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
- Wiseman, Jim (Durham West/Durham-Ouest ND)  
parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional  
Services/Adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services  
correctionnels
- Witmer, Elizabeth (Waterloo North/-Nord PC)
- Wood, Len (Cochrane North/-Nord ND) parliamentary  
assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/Adjoint  
parlementaire du ministre des Ressources naturelles
- Ziembra, Hon/L'hon Elaine** (High Park-Swansea ND)  
Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human  
rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race  
relations/Ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux  
Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes  
handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux  
Relations interraciales



**COMMITTEES OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY  
COMITÉS DE L'ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE**

**STANDING COMMITTEES/COMITÉS PERMANENTS**

**Administration of justice/Administration de la justice**

Chair/Président: Mike Cooper

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Mark Morrow

Members/Membres: Gary Carr, Jenny Carter, Robert Chiarelli, Derek Fletcher, Charles Harnick, Irene Mathyssen, Gordon Mills, Jean Poirier, Gregory S. Sorbara, David Winninger

Clerk/Greffière: Lisa Freedman

**Estimates/Budgets des dépenses**

Chair/Président: Cameron Jackson

Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Margaret Marland

Members/Membres: Gary Carr, Hans Daigeler, Ron Hansen, Paul R. Johnson, Wayne Lessard, Lyn McLeod, Frank Miclash, Lawrence O'Connor, Anthony Perruzza, Gary Wilson

Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

**Finance and economic affairs/**

**Finances et affaires économiques**

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Clerk/Greffier: Todd Decker

**General government/Affaires gouvernementales**

Chair/Président: Michael A. Brown

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Vacant

Members/Membres: Donald Abel, Gilles Bisson, Dennis Drainville, Margaret H. Harrington, George Mammoliti, Rosario Marchese, Carman McClelland, Bill Murdoch, Yvonne O'Neill, Dianne Poole, David Turnbull

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**Government agencies/Organismes gouvernementaux**

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Allan K. McLean

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Clerk/Greffier: Douglas Arnott

**Legislative Assembly/Assemblée législative**

Chair/Président: Noel Duignan

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Vacant

Members/Membres: Mike Cooper, Mike Farnan, Robert Frankford, Margaret Marland, Irene Mathyssen, Carman McClelland, Gilles E. Morin, Hugh P. O'Neil, Stephen Owens, Noble Villeneuve

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**Ombudsman/Ombudsman**

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Christel Haeck

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Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

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Chair/Président: Robert V. Callahan

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Vacant

Members/Membres: Sean G. Conway, Joseph Cordiano, W. Donald Cousens, Christel Haeck, Pat Hayes, Paul R. Johnson, Ellen MacKinnon, Lawrence O'Connor, Steven Offer, David Tilson, Drummond White

Clerk/Greffière: Tannis Manikel

**Regulations and private bills/**

**Règlements et projets de loi privés**

Chair/Président: Drummond White

Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Ellen MacKinnon

Members/Membres: Donald Abel, Charles Beer, Dennis Drainville, Mike Farnan, Leo Jordan, Tony Ruprecht, John Sola, Kimble Sutherland, Jim Wilson

Clerk/Greffier: Todd Decker

**Resources development/Développement des ressources**

Chair/Président: Peter Kormos

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Daniel Waters

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Clerk/Greffier: Harold Brown

**Social development/Affaires sociales**

Chair/Présidente: Elinor Caplan

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: John Sola

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Clerk/Greffière: Lynn Mellor

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**Ontario in Confederation/**

**Rôle de l'Ontario au sein de la Confédération**

Chair/Président: Dennis Drainville

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Members/Membres: Jenny Carter, Alvin Curling, Ernie Eves, Charles Harnick, Margaret H. Harrington, Gary Malkowski, Irene Mathyssen, Steven Offer, Yvonne O'Neill, David Winninger

Clerk/Greffier: Harold Brown

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**Parliamentary precinct/Enceinte parlementaire**

Co-Chair/Coprésident: David Warner

Co-Chair/Coprésident: Noel Duignan

Members/Membres: Dianne Cunningham, Remo Mancini, Kimble Sutherland

Clerk/Greffier: Smirle Forsyth



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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

First Session, 35th Parliament

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Première session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Thursday 5 December 1991

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le jeudi 5 décembre 1991

Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers





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Under the new system, the sequence of numbering started in January 1991 will end with the final House and committee sittings of the present First Session. A new sequence will begin on the opening day of the Second Session, and each succeeding session, which will be issue 1 and begin with page 1. Committee reports likewise will be numbered from the first sitting of each committee in a parliamentary session.

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Thursday 5 December 1991

The House met at 1000.

Prayers.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY

### PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS

#### EARTH DAY ACT, 1991

#### LOI DE 1991 SUR LA JOURNÉE DE LA TERRE

Mr Christopherson moved second reading of Bill 155, An Act proclaiming Earth Day / Projet de loi 155, Loi proclamant la journée de la Terre.

**Mr Christopherson:** It is a pleasure to rise today on the first bill I have had the honour of creating and introducing here in this House. My bill is not intended to revolutionize anything, but rather it is meant to be an added wind in the sail of the environmental movement. Earth Day is becoming and has become an internationally recognized day of awareness of the need for all of us in our society to continue to focus and work towards, quite frankly, a survivable planet.

I would like to begin my remarks by going back to the beginning of Earth Day. To do that we must go back to the term in office of Senator Gaylord Nelson in the United States, who was a former governor of Wisconsin. One of the more proud events and accomplishments he felt he had enacted during his term as the governor of Wisconsin was to implement a one-cent tax on a package of cigarettes which generated over \$50 million in 10 years, and in those days that was a fair bit of money. That money was used to acquire wetlands and park lands. In today's thinking we might route that money elsewhere, but certainly that was pioneering and revolutionary action for any politician of that day.

It is also significant that in 1963 Senator Nelson approached President John F. Kennedy and suggested to him there were not enough politicians speaking out on the issue of the environment and conservation, which really was the key word in that era. He persuaded John F. Kennedy to go on a resources and conservation tour, and indeed President Kennedy went on that tour and made some speeches following that tour, but they were not covered that widely. Later that year, President John F. Kennedy was felled by the bullet that brought his life to an end. Who knows what would have happened to the environmental movement and to the issue of Earth Day as we now know it, had someone like President John F. Kennedy lived long enough and grabbed hold of that issue as he did so many other important issues.

However, in the summer of 1969 Senator Nelson was aware of the effect of the antiwar teach-ins and the attention they were focusing on the war. He said, "Why don't we do the same thing with the environment and have an environmental teach-in?" He announced that on April 22, 1970, there would be an event in honour of the Earth. In the United States, to the credit of those people, 20 million

Americans participated in that first Earth Day event. Some argue that was the day the environmental movement was galvanized, certainly in North America and perhaps around the world.

One of the key organizers said on that day, "If the environment is a fad, it is going to be our last fad." Far from being a fad, 20 years later there was a recognition of what had happened in 1970: "Why not seize the opportunity to pull as many people together again and focus on the issue of the environment?" In 1989 a group of people got together and planned and expected that perhaps 30 countries might participate in such a 20th anniversary event. It needs to be said that during this time many communities continued to have annual Earth Day events, but certainly they did not carry the same kind of attention that the first one did in 1970.

In 1990, when there was the 20th anniversary, as many people in this House will remember, there was a major focus worldwide. In fact, 140 countries participated and 200 million people played some kind of active role or supported the issue of Earth Day 1990. For us in Canada, 1990 was a pivotal year. During that year the decision was taken by Earth Day International to move its international headquarters from San Francisco to Canada, and the 1991 Earth Day event was held with the world headquarters being in Victoria, British Columbia.

I had an opportunity last evening to speak with Sandra Beattie, who is the executive director of Earth Day Ontario, and I would also like to note that Mr Maury Mason, who is the president of Earth Day Canada, is here with us today in the members' gallery. I welcome you, Mr Mason, and thank you for your efforts, sir.

1010

I spoke to Ms Beattie last evening and she advised me that just yesterday Earth Day Ontario approved its final mission statement. It reads, if I have the quote correct, "Earth Day seeks to foster environmental awareness and responsibility, using the celebration of Earth Day as a focus."

The Kitchener-Waterloo Record says:

"Earth Day will have succeeded when every day is guided by the principles that are the focus of today's effort at raising consciousness about our planet and its fragile environment. When everyone is constantly sensitive about natural resources, when waste is minimized and neutralized and when environmental consciousness is the norm, there will no longer be a need to designate Earth Day."

From the London Free Press: "Earth Day Revisited: Surveys consistently rank environmental issues among top concerns, but do those surveyed really mean what they say? Earth Day today is an appropriate time for reappraisal."

Both these editorials and others point to the fact that Earth Day is not meant, as I understand it, to be the be-all and end-all solution in and of itself. What it is meant to do is to provide a focus. If we ever have any doubt as to



whether or not it is working, we should go to our school system, go to the classrooms and talk to the young children. Their support and understanding of the environmental movement is as strong and as secure and as sacred as that of the freedoms and human rights we were all taught in school. Every year when Earth Day comes around, there is a focus in the classroom as the children and others learn to appreciate that this is something we must continually, each of us, work at in our own way.

My bill is only meant to assist Earth Day in that role of providing an awareness and a focus. I have talked to some people and I think there are some minor wording changes to Bill 155 that would be appropriate. Certainly a recognition of Earth Day Ontario in the bill would be the correct thing to do in light of the presence in the Legislature in other words. However, if it were enacted, it would provide in law that each and every year April 22 would be proclaimed and designated as Earth Day in Ontario.

I think that would be our one small piece of leadership in the kind of terrific, dedicated work that literally thousands of people are doing across the province. I hope the opposition members present today will be able to support this, and hopefully we will see this bill become law.

**Mr McLean:** I would like to rise today and speak on this bill, An Act proclaiming Earth Day. What the member wants in this bill is as follows:

"The 22nd of April in each year is proclaimed to be Earth Day for the purpose of encouraging participation in community, provincial, national and international activities that are organized or approved by Earth Day Canada or Earth Day International or that share a common purpose with the activities organized by the Earth Day movement."

Really what this bill does is to make people more aware and have some type of focus in regard to observing Earth Day. Many years ago the natives of this land and the immigrants who came from other countries worked and tilled the soil, cut down trees and picked stones and really made agriculture what it is today. It is an indication to me of where we started being more aware of what Earth Day is all about.

As years went on, we looked at how we should be preserving our wetlands. We looked at our park lands. One of the greatest movements in this province was the formation of conservation authorities. Conservation authorities were a partnership with the municipalities and the government whereby wetlands and lands that were not wanted would be maintained to make sure our water was kept to a level that would be acceptable for the public and kept clean for drinking purposes.

Conservation authorities have done a lot of good work over the years. I was involved when a lot of people were not aware of the area called the Minesing Swamp, where we purchased large tracts of land in that area to keep it for nature, for the birds, for the habitat. That has gone on across this province in many different areas. So today, when we are discussing Bill 155 proclaiming Earth Day, I think we have to go back and look at all these things that have taken place to make people aware of the great country we live in.

It goes back many years ago to the introduction of a bill to look at the environmental assessments that would take place in the province with regard to people wanting to expand and to build on our wetlands, so to speak. With that legislation, the Ministry of the Environment put in place something that would not let our wetlands be wasted. So I was pleased to see that Earth Day International has moved to Canada and has its head office here, and that yesterday the mission statement was completed. That mission statement, I am sure, will put a further feather in the cap of those people and businesses that are on board now to recognize Earth Day.

There is an industry in this province that is very dear to my heart, and that is our agricultural industry. We must not forget that all the food produced in this province comes from the top six inches of the soil. That is the earth that we are talking about here to maintain and to make sure it is kept in a suitable manner in order that we will all have good produce and clean food. When we look at the many different aspects of the environment, we look at our Holland Marsh, one of the greatest food-producing areas in this province. There are many other areas like that. On the dairy farm I own, we produce hundreds of tonnes of feed a year off the top six inches of that soil, thereby producing the milk that comes to Toronto and goes all over Ontario for people to drink.

Those top six inches of the earth are so important to this province. I know the member for Hamilton Centre is aware of that. He is aware of the great privilege the farmers have of trying to feed the people of this province. I say to his Minister of Agriculture and Food that we must not forget that this is so important.

I just wanted to take a few minutes to put a few things on the record from my perspective of what I feel Earth Day is really all about. Really, it is to make sure that our environment is protected, that our agricultural industry is protected, that our conservation authorities will continue to thrive and expand, to make sure that our wetlands are preserved. Some people think that wetlands are so large. If you just get in an aeroplane and fly from here to North Bay and you look at the wetlands in this province, it is tremendous. I look at the good agricultural industries in the areas around them which have the good land preserved for habitat, to maintain and to expand on.

Yes, Earth Day, I think, is important to make the awareness and the focus that this member is trying to put on the importance of the top six inches of the soil that feeds us.

1020

**Mrs Mathysen:** I am delighted to be able to participate in the debate in support of the member for Hamilton Centre's proposal to make Earth Day an annual event by law. As the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of the Environment, I believe this proposal compels all of us to recognize the importance of coming to terms with the fragility of our planet, the environmental crisis we face and our obligation to change the way in which we regard our world. That obligation, which we all share, is to take



responsibility for practices that jeopardize our future and the future of our children.

Unfortunately, past generations built a society based on rapid production, mass consumption and mass waste disposal. We took a lot from nature; we returned very little, except as waste. We did not think much about that waste. We buried it in our land, dumped it in our rivers or spewed it into our air. We thought there was no limit to the amount of garbage we could toss into Mother Nature's lap. Few thinking people cling to this fading illusion any more. The reality is all too grim.

The decaying garbage in our landfill sites not only pollutes our ground water but it releases gases into the atmosphere which in turn artificially warm the planet and upset the balance of nature. We know this phenomenon as global warming or the greenhouse effect.

Likewise, the toxic emissions we pump out of our smokestacks not only contribute to global warming, they also attack our lungs and threaten our soil and water with acid rain. Acid rain, as I am sure members know, occurs when smokestacks belch out nitrogen and sulphur gases. The gases mix with water vapour and create an acidic rain that damages plant and animal life and even eats away at buildings.

Meanwhile, the chemical and biological contaminants we dump in our waterways damage our fisheries and other aquatic life and leave many of our beaches unfit for swimming.

Industrial pollution has contributed greatly to the deterioration of the quality of water in the Great Lakes basin. We have turned this great natural resource, the largest fresh water body in the world, into a cauldron of contaminants. There are at least 1,000 known chemicals in the Great Lakes system, 250 of which are considered serious health hazards.

Only a few weeks ago, yet another scientific report warned us that this witches' brew poses a serious health risk to both humans and wildlife. We have already seen far too many warning signs—fish that swim upside down, water fowl whose bills cross like twisted scissors. Did you know, Mr Speaker, there are turtles in our Great Lakes system that are so full of chemicals they can be legally classified as toxic waste? Each summer, more than 100 beaches along our system have to be posted "No swimming" due to contamination. The seriousness of this situation is underscored by the fact that 60% of the Canadian population and 20% of the American population live around the Great Lakes basin. That is more than 35 million people who are exposed to these dangers.

It is imperative that we address this situation collectively. I believe recognizing Earth Day every year will help us to keep environmental concerns before the public. This public attention in turn ensures that governments respond to these environmental concerns.

One of the ways our government can respond to this situation is through regulation. The prevention program with the most direct impact on Great Lakes water quality is MISA, our municipal-industrial strategy for abatement. MISA is a water quality program that began in 1986. It focuses on the industries that discharge waste into our

lakes and rivers as well as our sewers. Our NDP government has revised MISA. Instead of controlling pollution, the new focus of MISA is pollution prevention. We want to turn off the toxic waste tap at the source.

We want to focus industry's energy on getting things right at the beginning instead of trying to fix them at the end. We cannot afford the cost of cleanup and we cannot afford the environmental damage. That means we want industries to recycle or recirculate their waste products rather than dump them into the river. We also want them to find less environmentally harmful methods of producing their products. Most significant perhaps, we are now developing a list of the worst persistent toxic chemicals and we are going to ban their discharge into our waterways. This is zero discharge. These are tough measures, but we have no choice.

Another Ministry of the Environment program that directly affects water quality is our waste reduction program. I am sad to say that Canadians generate the highest per capita amount of waste in the world. Ontario alone generates 11.5 million metric tonnes of municipal solid waste annually. Most of this finds its way into landfill sites where, as I have already mentioned, it continues to degrade the environment.

Again, we feel prevention is the best way to deal with our waste disposal crisis, through the 3Rs program: reduce, reuse and recycle. The first and most important R, reduce, encourages people not to buy disposable and over-packaged goods. It also challenges industry to examine its packaging practices and to generate fewer throwaway products. The second R, reuse, calls on people to reuse an item again in its original form for the same or different purpose. Examples include cloth diapers, refillable bottles and rechargeable batteries. The third R, recycle, involves separating valuable materials such as paper, glass or metal from our waste system, reprocessing them and introducing them back into the market. Ontario's blue box program is the most recognizable symbol of recycling.

The Ministry of the Environment has made the first of these Rs, reduce, the priority. If you do not produce garbage in the first place, you do not have to get rid of it. Consequently, the Ontario government has set some tangible targets for reduction. We intend to divert at least 25% of all household and industrial-commercial waste from disposal to productive uses by 1992 and 50% by the year 2000.

To accomplish this will require nothing less than a revolution in thinking. We have to move from a consumer society to a conserver society, from a throwaway society to a thoughtful society. This will involve the co-operative efforts of the public, industry and government. It will require the constant reminder that we live in a finite world and that we only have one.

I would like to reiterate my support for the proposal by the honourable member for Hamilton Centre. I believe the recognition of Earth Day as an annual event is important to make sure the message that we must consider the Earth each and every day is clearly heard. May I extend my congratulations to my honourable colleague the member for Hamilton Centre and thank members for their indulgence.



**Mr McClelland:** At the outset, I want to congratulate the member for Hamilton Centre for introducing Bill 155, designating a specific day as Earth Day. I think it is important to note that the first Earth Day was on April 22, 1970. I am sure that has been brought to the attention of this House by my colleagues who have spoken. A lot of things have happened since that time that I think draw attention to the significance of environment not only locally but indeed internationally. As has so often been said, only when we begin to act locally and take specific steps to do what we can as individual citizens, as communities, as a province, as a nation and then as a community of nations in our world will we be able to have the kind of impact that is absolutely necessary to leave a legacy for those who will come after us that we can be proud of.

Pollution knows no boundaries. We can pass the toughest clean air laws and regulations in Ontario that we could possibly imagine and we could do our utmost to enforce those laws, and if a neighbouring jurisdiction—our friends to the south particularly—chooses not to follow in a like manner, then it is of not little consequence that we would take a very positive initiative, but certainly any initiative taken in this province or in this nation would be offset by a lack of similar initiative, by way of example, by our friends to the south in the United States. That is something that is understood when we look at the issue of acid rain and the international impact acid precipitation has in its genesis and also the effect it has that pollutants discharge into the atmosphere, mainland or almost anywhere. The air and the water of our world do not respect international boundaries in that sense.

I think we have seen that world leaders, since the first Earth Day of 1970, have taken it upon themselves to hold international summit conferences dealing with environmental questions. Certainly the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl galvanized the world's attention to what could happen with a major environmental disaster and drew the attention of people from every nation to the significance of what could take place—what in fact had taken place there—and the responsibility each and every one of us has to respond.

1030

Not long ago the Prince William Sound disaster in Alaska, where millions of gallons of oil spread on the open seas and did untold damage to the environment and the area around Prince William Sound, was evidence of the very serious consequences that can result from irresponsible action by men and women around the world.

I suggest that concern about the environment has now moved out of the media spotlight somewhat. Economic crisis seems to dominate the news of late. It certainly does in the jurisdiction of our province. That is understandable, but it does not mean people are not vitally concerned about the environment. In fact, environmental issues remain at the core of the concern of the majority of citizens in Ontario. Virtually every poll commissioned by industry, the private sector and governments has indicated that environment remains very high on the list of people's priorities of concerns.

I find it interesting and might I say somewhat ironic that our friend the member for Hamilton Centre would

bring forth a bill designating April 22 as Earth Day and at the same time the government he is part of, which campaigned so very vigorously on environmental issues and promised, by way of example, an environmental bill of rights as the cornerstone of its environmental agenda, subsequently produces as its first piece of legislation, legislation that basically flies in the face of every principle the party of which he is a member stood for. I am sure he must find it difficult and somewhat—dare I use the word—embarrassing that he would be in a position where he would stand here and talk about Earth Day when this very afternoon in this place, his government would seek to shut down the right of people across this province to participate in environmental decisions that would affect them in a very fundamental way.

To me that is the height of irony, that here we would be debating the designation of a day as Earth Day on the very day the government of Ontario is saying: "Look, I'm sorry about what we said. It doesn't count for anything any more. The undertakings we gave, the commitments we made, are now of no effect and we're not prepared to live up to the promises we made."

As Humpty Dumpty said, "Words mean whatever I choose them to mean." Indeed, I think that is the message the government of the day is sending to the people of Ontario. Words about environmental commitment, integrity—what does Earth Day mean to the people of Ontario when this Legislature would consider a private member's initiative to have a day proclaimed as Earth Day, and then the very day that proclamation was made say to the people of Ontario, "We're sorry, but we really don't believe in the general concepts that would underline an Earth Day"?

As we consider the symbolism of what has been talked about here—that is what Earth Day is: It is symbolic—it is fine to have a token day, if you will, but environmental issues are not prescribed or confined to a designated day in Ontario or around the world. It is a mindset, a lifestyle, a willingness for us to consider, in the whole scheme of our economic developments, the environmental sustainability of the kind of development we will proceed with in this province. It is a way of thinking. Earth Day is symbolic of that. I have no difficulty with that. In fact, I support it and applaud the member for bringing this forward, but I ask him to consider where the symbolism of Earth Day stands when you put it up against the environmental agenda of the government of the day.

I hasten to add that there has been only one piece of environmental legislation brought forward by this government. What is that piece of legislation? It is legislation that seeks to shut down the participation of people in this province. What an irony that a member of the government would introduce a piece of legislation that would designate a day as a symbol of environmental concerns for the people of this province on the very same day the government says: "I'm sorry; we don't want the participation of men and women, of interest groups, of municipal governments on the very first piece of legislation we have brought forward that impacts the environment." I hope that as we consider the designation of Earth Day pursuant to Bill 155,



as introduced by the member for Hamilton Centre, that would not be lost on members opposite.

I very well know the pressure many of them are going to be under. I very well know the realities of what takes place here on Thursday mornings and indeed in the afternoons throughout the week. Members are occupied with other things. They have a sense: "Oh, we've heard this before. It's an opposition member who's trying to get his digs in at the government."

Members will do other things. They will be working diligently at signing Christmas cards or reading the morning paper or looking at what other material is necessary for the conduct of their business throughout the day. I appreciate that because certainly I have done that and doubtless will do that again. The comments I make may not really be heard by all members. I notice the member for Lincoln is listening intently and for that I thank him. He is a man of integrity, a man who has demonstrated his integrity and stood in his place and voted on a matter of principle.

We have here a matter of principle with respect to Bill 155. That is the fundamental issue here. Concepts are fine, but until they are put into practice, until people are willing not just to pay lipservice but to respond with concrete action to ideals, promises given and principles enunciated, they are, after all, meaningless. All the rhetoric in the world and all the designations of special days mean nothing if there is not action, and positive action, that flows from that.

While I support the general principle, I do so with great concern that in and of itself the principle is not sufficient. It accomplishes nothing. What is necessary is action that is consistent with the principle that underlies Bill 155.

When we vote on this matter, I ask members to seriously consider in good conscience, if they are voting for this, where it fits within the scheme of other things before this House and to let their conscience be the test of their integrity and consistency as we move towards designating a day as Earth Day, recognizing the serious responsibility each one of us has as a legislator and as a person who lives in this province, in this country and in this world to leave a better place for the young people who will follow us. The legacy we want to leave is a healthy environment and something we can be proud of.

1040

**Mr Cousens:** I am pleased to support the motion before the House today and I congratulate the member for Hamilton Centre for bringing it forward. I have seen the value of Earth Day over recent years and I think it has done a great job. Environmental groups have helped educate the rest of the world on the importance of planting trees and making this Earth and the neighbouring surroundings a more friendly place for each one of us.

Taking care of our land, taking care of our backyards, taking care of our parks, everything that happens around that day gives an emphasis, a very proper emphasis, to the value of this planet Earth. In fact, I have the Earth Day flag flying in my office beside the Ontario flag as a constant reminder that we have a far bigger responsibility than just the province of Ontario when we are dealing with these

great subjects that have to do with the future protection of society and this great planet Earth we live on. So I commend the member.

Now, those are the good words. The member for Hamilton Centre is to be congratulated for bringing forth the motion and for, I think, the very genuine desire he has for the betterment of all through this kind of motion.

Having said that, I wonder where he is at with his own Minister of the Environment, seeing what she is doing with regard to the protection of planet earth. First of all, on our order paper today we are looking at significant changes to the plans for this Legislature in debating Bill 143, an act that affects the landfills for the greater Toronto area. We are going to have closure placed on this House to complete the debate on Bill 143 so that it is all put aside before Christmas.

We are dealing with property rights, land rights. The Municipal Act, the conservation act, the municipalities' acts and all those acts that are inherent in existing legislation will be shoved aside. All those rights that deal with property rights people have as individuals or municipalities are going to be put to one side as this New Democratic government in Ontario brings in legislation that gives it unprecedented powers over the rights of landlords and municipalities in dealing with the landfill crisis we have in Ontario.

I have to say that out of one side of our mouth we are saying that we want to protect the Earth, that we want to protect the future, and out of the other side, someone else within the government, the Minister of the Environment—we have already had the parliamentary assistant speak on this bill—does not talk about the tremendous powers this government is taking and the abuse of power that can have for future generations—absolutely wrong. What this government should have been doing is looking at ways in which we could streamline the environmental assessment process, and in that way we could speed up the whole business of having landfill sites approved.

Instead, we have seen this draconian legislation brought forward, absolutely the worst piece of legislation I have ever seen. It is the first piece of legislation the Minister of the Environment has brought into the House since she became minister on October 1, 1990, and what she is doing with this bill is taking away property rights and land rights for people.

I know we have a crisis with landfill sites. We do have a crisis and we have to find a way of dealing with it, but what this government is doing to try to find a place to get rid of our garbage just does not make a lot of sense. This government is saying: "You've got to find a place to get rid of your garbage within the greater Toronto area. You can't look outside that. You can't transport it anywhere else." What they are doing is closing off options rather than opening them up.

In this legislation the government brings in very important packaging legislation, which we all have to look at together, but why not do it with consultation with industry and everyone who is involved? That consultation will be closed off by December 19 when this government forces through its legislation. There will not be dialogue. There



will not be discussion, except what we are able to cram in in the few days of open sessions we are going to have.

On the one hand, I support this member's bill in saying, "Let's do something about Earth Day." On the other hand, I condemn their Minister of the Environment for not having any sense at all of working together to make planet Earth a safe and good place to live. There is something dreadfully wrong going on there. Maybe when his motion passes this morning, the honourable member can go to the minister and try to talk some sense into her brain on other matters that are coming out from the Ministry of the Environment.

What about the Clean Air Act? What is happening with the air? Planet Earth is important and I support the member on this, but we have to do something about the acid rain emissions. I have had a private member's resolution in this House since December 20 of last year, asking the government to do something about the Countdown Acid Rain program. The fact of the matter is that 1994 is when the existing guidelines expire. We have seen the United States buy into the acid rain program through the Environmental Protection Act and what they are doing down there, but our government has not taken leadership on that.

In fact, when I call the Minister of the Environment the minister of garbage, I am right, because that is all she is looking at, garbage. She is not looking at the other issues that pertain to the world and the protection of it. She is not looking at acid rain. She is not looking at the other issues. She is not looking at clean air. I am saying that has to be an issue. We cannot look at one without looking at the other. They are all integrated and tied together.

What is happening with our water resources? This government has not begun to do anything about clean water for the province. One of the few things David Peterson's crew did was to establish a corporation that was going to be responsible for making water in Ontario clean for the long term. People are worried about their water. More and more people are now going out and buying bottled water, and what is this government doing about it? Zip-all, nothing. The water we have in Ontario is one of the most valuable resources we have.

They are integrated, all together, the air, the water, the earth. Somehow or other this government is only looking at one thing and that is landfill problems, garbage sites, and it is not beginning to look at the great, broad spectrum of the problems that surround us. The people of Ontario have been so let down by the New Democrats, because they have not been able to develop any kind of comprehensive program on anything except garbage, and even that is flawed. They have not looked at clean air, they have not looked at water.

What are we dealing with? We are dealing with a Legislature that is off the rails. The New Democrats continue to shove through legislation, as we will see with Bill 143, that disregards the rights and privileges of the people of Ontario that have been built over our whole history till now. What we have to see then is somehow—and I know it exists, because the member for Hamilton Centre and ourselves agree on this resolution—why can we not agree

on some of the other priorities this province should be working on together?

Why can we not in private members' hour, or by closing down the rest of the Legislature, sit down and honestly work through ways in which we can deal with water, deal with the tire problem? Nothing is happening. They have collected \$200 million from the tire tax, yet they continue to pile them up or bury them or we have guards watching them. It is part of the whole issue. We can talk about the 3Rs, and I believe in the 3Rs. I believe every member in this House has a sense of commitment about the 3Rs, but what are we doing about it beyond just talking? We are bringing in legislation, but can we not deal with the greater and ongoing issues that deal with the environment? We have a responsibility to do that.

When I think of the way this government is now dealing with other issues that have to do with the environment, it is off the rails. This government is in trouble with the really critical issues. They say the right words, as the member for Hamilton Centre says so well and so eloquently within this private member's resolution, but the actions that follow through the ministry and through the other ministers do not convey the same sense of commitment to the fundamental principles he is displaying. Maybe he can have some impact on those people who are in the government.

1050

**Mr G. Wilson:** I am certainly happy to join in this debate that the member for Hamilton Centre has begun with his very important bill regarding the proclaiming of Earth Day in Ontario. I am especially pleased because, as the member pointed out, the co-ordinator for Earth Day Ontario resides in Kingston. I can attest to the very good job she is doing in bringing the community's attention to the need for greater awareness of what we are doing to our environment.

As the bill points out, Earth Day is for the purpose of encouraging participation in community, provincial, national and international activities. It shows that regardless of where you live, you are aware of what the importance of the environment is and that it is only by working in your own locality that you can do something about the environment but always in the context of greater areas.

As some members of the opposition have pointed out, it is one thing to proclaim a day, but it is certainly a different thing to bring about the necessary action. We know that Mother's Day did not achieve the protection of women in their homes, and this week we are highlighting the assault on wives. The fact is that proclaiming something does not lead to the goals that are set out. I am pleased the member has also included in his bill the necessity of working with a movement to achieve the goals, because it will take the participation of everyone in the community to achieve the life-sustaining globe that we are all after.

I am puzzled by the member for Markham's observations. He says he has in his office the Earth Day flag. I wonder where he thinks the degradation of the environment has come from. It is only since our government took over a year ago that the severity of the problem has



emerged. As the member for Hamilton Centre pointed out, Earth Day itself was first devised 21 years ago in 1970. That followed on a very significant event: 29 years ago the publication of *Silent Spring* by Rachel Carson drew awareness to the problems our environment faces. Certainly the problems are now well recognized.

The importance of this bill, I think, is just to keep in mind the necessity of doing something about it. But then the question arises, what should we do about it? I think, as the member for Markham pointed out, there is some disagreement here. Certainly their government had a lot of opportunity to protect our air and water and to come up with sane arrangements so that our resources would be used to beneficial purposes, but they appear to have failed. The following government was not that much more successful.

This is not to point fingers; it is just to say that the problem is deeply rooted. As long as we have finger-pointing and jumping up and down about the activities that we try to reach, rather than, say, a more impartial and objective look at the conditions and asking questions: Why are the rain forests disappearing in the Amazon? Why is our air so polluted? Why are the Great Lakes at risk? Indeed, why is the human species itself under threat from the lack of oxygen, and not only, I might point out, the human species but all the species that have evolved on this planet and certainly are very important to our standard of living. So again the question is why, and even when we reach that, what to do about it.

Thinking back to the celebration of Earth Day in Kingston last year, it was an important gathering. I was startled, in touring the park where the main exhibition was, to find cheek by jowl with the usual bootstrap operations a display set up by Loblaws, where we had several green products listed. It was almost like coming upon, I guess, a snazzy operation out on the street corner next to the kids' operation with lemonade. Even though it looked a bit out of place, I must say it was useful to have that person there because you could discuss exactly what a corporation was doing. At least it begins a discussion.

But I think we do have to go beyond there to say what it is that is causing the degradation of our planet and seeing things like recycling, for instance, as in effect a hospital operation. If packaging were properly set up, there would be no need for recycling. I think it is that kind of approach. We cannot reach that tomorrow, but we have to at least look at it to say what we can do to make sure that packaging, for instance, is done in a sensible way.

Again I want to applaud the member for Hamilton Centre for raising this issue. I think he well understands that simply proclaiming the day does not mean we will reach a sustainable planet, but it is a beginning and will lead to discussions like this.

**Mrs Caplan:** I am pleased to rise in support of the resolution to proclaim Earth Day. I believe the people of this province are in need of this kind of opportunity to express their commitment to the environment. I think that is the reason that Earth Day has been such a success in the past. It is a time when we see real educational opportunities, not only in our schools but right through our homes

and our streets and in offices where everyone comes together to heighten public awareness about the need for everyone to make every day an Earth Day.

The concern I have has been expressed by others; that is, it is particularly interesting to see this member come forward with this resolution at a time when the record of his government is being exposed for the very first time. I think the reason he brought this resolution forward was because of his own personal frustration. I know of his commitment to the environment—he shares that commitment with me and many others on this side of the House—but I have seen during the time this new government has been in power not one piece of environmental legislation. The only piece of legislation before us is Bill 143 and that is not a piece of environmental legislation, it is carried by the minister responsible for the greater Toronto area.

I know the member for Hamilton Centre, as he brings forth this resolution, is very aware of the letter of August 14, 1990, when his party was very clear on what its environmental platform would be. Yet when you take a look at the rhetoric of the past and the action of the present it is very sad, very upsetting.

Back in August 1990, as the member knows full well because he campaigned on this, he said there would be zero discharge for all toxic chemicals. They have done nothing. Lakefilling is still occurring. Millions of cubic yards are being dumped into the lake in this greater Toronto area. They called for an absolute ban on organochlorine dumping in the pulp and paper industry. They have done nothing on that.

We know when they go down through the list, yes, they brought in a ban on municipal garbage incineration. I think all of us want to make sure anything that is unsafe for the environment is stopped and better ways are found. But they have also said, particularly under Bill 143, that they are not prepared to consider any new technologies in the area of energy from waste, which may be better and safer for the environment than landfill.

As we talk about Earth Day, each and every single one of us wants to make sure our commitment to the environment is tested every single day. On this day and in this Legislature I say to the member that the government's record on refillables—it says here, "The NDP would require all refillables"—

**The Deputy Speaker:** Thank you.

**Mrs Caplan:** They have done nothing. It is about time we saw some action.

**Ms Carter:** I am sorry I do not have longer to speak on this very important issue. I think it is the biggest issue that faces us because all the things we do to help people socially, to improve our economy and so on, if we do not look to our environment, are going to be useless in the long run.

I support Earth Day. It is already in operation in my home community and there are a lot of very enlightened and dedicated people who take part. It is an educational issue, and I am glad so many teachers in schools are working on this with the children.



We are guilty in this country. We have a small population but per capita we produce vast amounts of pollution with our cars, our power stations, our generally extravagant standard of life. The good news is that we could pollute less without suffering, particularly if we do it in the right way.

I want to put in a word here for the Ministry of Energy as opposed to the Ministry of the Environment. It was said, I believe, by Jim MacNeill, who was the secretary of the Brundtland commission, that a Minister of the Environment gets to clean up the mess, which is what the Minister of the Environment is in fact having to do, but a Minister of Energy can prevent it from happening in the first place.

As we get to our industries, our homes, our commercial people and show them how they can get the heat, light, power and everything else they need and use less energy, we are helping to save the world and to improve our own immediate economic situation. There is hope if we can attack it in this kind of way.

**Mr Christopherson:** I thank all members who contributed to the debate today for their contributions. I want to give particular thanks, of course, to my own colleagues on this side of the House, the member for Middlesex, the member for Peterborough and the member for Kingston and The Islands.

Not to detract from others, but I want to give special acknowledgement to the member for Simcoe East who had the opportunity, as an opposition member, to rip and slash if he wished to. But he took what I consider to be the high road and talked about this issue in the manner in which it was offered and, quite frankly, in the way the international licensing corporation, which sent me a fax this morning, requested we do. I quote from their letter: "May we offer you our sincerest best wishes that your presentation of this bill proves successful and that all members of the Legislative Assembly support your bill in a non-partisan spirit of endorsement for this outstanding environmental initiative."

The other members who had criticisms did so because they felt it was their obligation. I take them, as do my colleagues, as constructive criticisms, but I offer that special acknowledgement to the one opposition member who felt that was not quite appropriate in this place today.

I also want to acknowledge that it was fortunate for me today in that there was a group of students here from the Cathedral Girls' High School and I slipped out for a moment to have a photograph taken with them. I asked them if they were aware of Earth Day and they said they were. I asked if they supported it and they said they did. One of the students put her hand up and said, "I want to ask a question about why there are real trees being used here in the assembly." The answer is that they come from a tree farm and it provides employment. The example was given that it is the same as vegetable farming, etc. But the point is that the students are going to be putting the pressure on all of us, regardless of who the government is, and in that way Earth Day will be a global event every day.

**The Deputy Speaker:** The time for the first ballot item has expired.

1100

## SPADINA SUBWAY

Mr Sorbara moved resolution 34:

That in the opinion of this House, recognizing that the development of our transportation infrastructure must be an urgent priority, and that initial plans for the looping of the Yonge and Spadina subway lines have already been developed, and that York University comprises a community of over 50,000 people who commute daily to the university campus, the vast majority in automobiles due to the lack of adequate public transportation, and that Metropolitan Toronto's transportation needs can only be properly addressed in conjunction with those of the surrounding regional municipalities—York region in particular—the government of Ontario should act immediately to extend the Spadina subway line to York University and along Steeles Avenue to join with the Yonge subway line, thereby significantly reducing the congestion on our roads and highways and laying the basis for an integrated transportation system for the greater Toronto area.

**Mr Sorbara:** I begin just by noting that this is my first opportunity to bring a resolution forward in this private members' time that we have every Thursday morning in our Parliament. My experience during almost six years as a member of this assembly is that this time allocation is an opportunity for members to bring forward projects, issues, items, approaches to reform and new laws and bills that are of particular importance to them, their constituents and the province as a whole. That certainly is the case with me this morning as I simply ask the members of this House, through this resolution, to direct their minds to the incredible need that exists within the greater Toronto area, and certainly Metropolitan Toronto, for us to get on with the business of revitalizing our infrastructure, particularly the infrastructure of transportation.

My own view of this is that if we are not capable of urgently getting on with the building of subways and other means of transporting people, including the extension of the GO system and subway construction that goes beyond this extension of the University line to York University, then we are going to run into very significant difficulties in maintaining the quality of life and high standards in both our businesses and our community life that people in the greater Toronto area have come to expect.

How did this notion of expanding and extending the University-Spadina line up to York University begin? Frankly, it goes back well beyond the time when I first brought this matter to the attention of the former member for Scarborough East, Mr Ed Fulton, who was for a long time, as members will recall, the Minister of Transportation for this province.

**Mr Curling:** An outstanding member.

**Mr Sorbara:** He was an outstanding member, as my colleague the member for Scarborough North says. All the members from Scarborough are outstanding.

**Mr Owens:** Thank you.

**Mr Sorbara:** I hear another Scarborough member acknowledging the pre-eminence of Scarborough members. I



should just point out that in advocating the York University subway in this resolution, I do not for a minute try to suggest to the members of this House, or to the members who represent Scarborough, or to my friend the member for Oriole, that this line should somehow take precedence over another subway system that we desperately need in Metropolitan Toronto.

**Mr Owens:** The Sheppard line.

**Mr Sorbara:** That is the Sheppard line, I say to my friend the member for Scarborough Centre.

In my view, we must get on with the business of extending rapid transit and building subways in Metropolitan Toronto. I know the member for Oriole is in agreement with that. Why do we have to do this? The answer is quite simple. The success, the viability and the vitality of an urban area such as the GTA is dependent on a host of things, but among the most important is effective transportation.

Anyone who came into the heart of Metropolitan Toronto, into downtown Toronto or to Queen's Park this morning or any other morning of the week will know our roads are now clogged beyond acceptable levels, and when we have a little bit of snowfall, traffic moves at an absolute snail's pace. The only alternative is to use the very best technologies we can develop and secure and to continue that kind of building we have done historically in this province quite well. I think back to the first leg of the subway we had in Toronto, the Yonge line from Union station up to Eglinton Avenue. It was a small start, but for a while we took this stuff very seriously. We built the Bloor line; that has been a great success. We extended the Yonge line; that was a great success. We built the University line and extended it up to Spadina; that has been somewhat less successful.

The reason I am putting this resolution forward is that if we complete the line that was built along University Avenue and its Spadina extension up to York University, we can make the line that already exists a line that operates at capacity. The members should think as well about how the metropolitan area and the GTA are developing and understand that York University is a community of 50,000 people that needs to be served by rapid transit and a subway link if it is going to reach its real potential.

I used to live relatively close to York University. I attended York University. The great shame of it, as I say in my resolution, is that currently transportation to that area is dominated by the automobile. This is unacceptable in any context, but it is clearly unacceptable for a university where most students struggle just to pay tuitions and maintain living costs, let alone try to bear the cost of owning and operating an automobile.

There is another benefit that is going to accrue when we extend this line to York University. We are going to join up our two universities in the Toronto area by rapid transit; that is to say, the University of Toronto right next door to us—our landlord in fact, because the University of Toronto actually owns the land these Parliament buildings are situated on—which is served by a subway, will be joined to York University. This kind of synergy between the two institutions, enhanced by rapid transit, will indeed

in the future allow students to involve themselves in joint programs between the two universities, and it will actually in a real way build upon the kind of energies we need to develop between those two institutions.

More than that, members will recall the previous government adopted a plan to link the two subway lines with a loop. This loop will in fact allow the two lines to run as one. The real issue for this loop is where the western extension and the northern extension are going to run to. There are a number of models before, I guess, the Ministry of Transportation, the Toronto Transit Commission and Metropolitan Toronto. One calls for the western extension of the loop to end at Dufferin Street and the northern extension of the loop to end at Finch Avenue.

1110

It appears we are going to build the loop. That seems clear by all accounts. The government has agreed to finance that kind of loop—at least the previous government had agreed to that. The TTC is in agreement with that and Metropolitan Toronto is as well. If we build that, we must ensure that this loop goes to where the people are and where the community is expanding to. I say to members, in the context of this resolution, that this loop must go to Steeles Avenue and it must extend to York University. Anything short of that would not only be a terrible disservice to the people in the northwest of the greater Toronto area, who are crying out for alternative methods of transportation, but it will for ever foreclose the opportunity to serve the university with appropriate transportation means.

Finally, I just want to point out that it was in the news this morning that a coalition of labour groups, employers, civic officials, representatives from Metropolitan Toronto and others have called upon the Ontario government to get on with the construction of subways. I see my friend the member for Oriole has the article right here. The headline reads, "Grier Seeks Quick Action on Spadina Projects." That is very important. I am glad she is doing that. One of the things getting on with this construction right away will do is to put people who are not now working back to work. That is absolutely crucial.

There are thousands and thousands of construction workers who should be working on these very projects. If we could provide the financial assistance and if we could approve the projects, we could start that construction even this winter and it would make a great deal of difference to thousands and thousands of people in the greater Toronto area, in particular, construction workers. The project is called the Metro Jobstart Coalition.

In closing, I want to say that I support their view absolutely and 100%. I simply plead with my friends here to support this resolution and give York University the kind of subway service it deserves.

**Mr Turnbull:** I want to congratulate my colleague for bringing this motion forward today. I know he is working very hard on behalf of his constituents. Unfortunately, I cannot support him today for the following reasons.

While it is quite clear that we need to extend the Spadina subway line, it is inappropriate that we cut off the process at this moment of building the extension which



has been planned over a period of years. The planning and the environmental assessment for the initial extension of the Spadina subway, which is Wilson to Sheppard, has been completed. Indeed, two years of study went into this. The study sat on the desk of the Minister of the Environment until September, and only then did she put out the various papers of her review and advertise the project.

The process allows, as members know, for the 30-day period when anybody can object to anything within an environmental assessment. There was only one objection, and that was filed by a Mr Ian Lithgow of the Loop Group. He is employed by York University. York University has a great interest in getting the subway out there. Indeed, it may be that ultimately that is where the subway should go. But there is ongoing study as to where it should go under several different routes being studied, and the answers are not in yet. I hate to say it, but this is probably the first and only time I will agree with NDP councillor Howard Moscoe. He is suggesting this is a crass grab by York University to increase the value of its lands, because it has desires to sell off large chunks of the university for development. Obviously, if there is a subway line going out to it, the land will be significantly more valuable.

At the moment we are looking at a proposal to extend the subway up to Sheppard, which is a distance of some 1.5 kilometres. If you go out to York University—as I say, one day it may be appropriate to do that, but we have to wait for the studies—you are doubling the distance.

Clearly, at the moment we have a problem with respect to the subway lines. The Yonge line is overburdened with volume and the Spadina section is underutilized. The ideal scenario would be to get headway times between trains of some 30 seconds in rush hours. At the moment they have considerably less than that. The trains running up and down the Spadina line are half empty. We have to find a way of tapping into a large reservoir of people who will ride the subway. By going up to Sheppard, we would immediately do this. We know the largest block of potential riders we can tap into is at Sheppard.

The imperative is to make sure we do not delay the process. Unfortunately, this one objection from the Ministry of the Environment is leading to a potential delay. One of the things that is constantly a problem for the taxpayers of this province, and in fact throughout Canada, is this whole question of governance. It is absolutely essential that we have proper environmental protection. The process in itself is good. The problem is that it is too long.

We have to start having very finite times allocated for the environmental process so that within a short period of time after objections, you resolve them one way or the other, and basically you either fish or cut bait. What happens at the moment with environmental assessment is that the whole question can be dragged out over many years. We only have to look at things like the building of large Ontario Hydro lines across the province. Some of these lines have taken as much as 14 years to be approved. This costs the taxpayer a lot more money because of inflation in the meantime. The peculiar thing is that when we look at most of these assessments, the lines end up being built

where they were proposed in the first place, but we have added to the taxpayers' burden.

This is the thing I would especially say to my colleague the member for York Centre who brought forward this motion: We need to get the whole process moving now, get the subway built to Sheppard, get all the studies in and then have a look. Maybe we can extend it out to York University, but there are about three alternative routes and they should be given a proper chance to be debated. In the meantime, we are holding up construction, which could start as early as January and generate at least 700 jobs. I suggest the construction industry desperately needs those jobs at the moment.

In an article in the *Globe and Mail* about Howard Moscoe's comments, he is suggesting: "We're ready to put shovel in the ground in January, it will provide 700 jobs, and York has the unmitigated audacity, hiding behind the phony Loop Group, to file an objection." I have to point out once again that the person who filed the objection is an employee of York University and in fact is employed specifically to lobby, as he has lobbied me, on the question of extending the subway.

1120

Once again I reiterate that I am not necessarily against extending it out there, because the northwest corner of Metro is probably one of the most underserved areas of Metro in terms of transit and we need to be able to give an appropriate type of transit facility there, but what we do with this is give the NDP government the excuse to get out of building now. There are no environmental considerations involved here, and in fact Mr Moscoe says as much. My friends across the floor do not have to have any worries about that; such an NDP source as Howard Moscoe said there are no environmental problems.

We must look at the whole question of rapid transit, not just to northwest Toronto but out to all these greater Toronto areas, and ideally we will look at a system that will have multiple modes of rapid transit. Preferably we will rely heavily on subways and electrically operated trains, which are more environmentally acceptable. But we also have to look at the question of how we are going to fund them. If the TTC were to fund the construction out along Steeles with the normal arrangement with the province, it would be providing a service for people who live in Vaughan and Markham and they should contribute towards the cost of it. I am sure my good friend the member for Markham would agree that would be appropriate.

But we must not allow an objection to halt the construction of the proposed extension to Sheppard at the moment. We must move forward with all the plans to examine the alternative routes, and if in fact the university is chosen as the preferred route, let us make that extension. But at the moment, with the distance we are moving, there would be virtually no difference between the route we would be choosing now and an alternative route that would go out to the university, so it just gives the NDP government ammunition to stall and not spend money at a time when we need stimulation of the economy. The best time to build rapid transit is when you have a recession, because you



can do it at much cheaper prices than when the construction industry is booming.

With that, I will say I congratulate my colleague once again for bringing forward this motion. I regret that I cannot support this motion at this time, but I do think we should look very seriously at the alternative of getting the subway eventually out to the university, along with the other potential routes, and move expeditiously with those once that plan is brought forward.

**Mr Dadamo:** I am pleased to rise this morning and speak on ballot item 50 being put forward by the member for York Centre. Along the way I would like to give the position of MTO, because I am parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Transportation, but I know my colleague the member for Downsview is very close to this issue and has had meetings with the Loop Group and I would like him to take the bulk of the time, so I will be brief.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to respond on behalf of the government to the private member's resolution brought forward by the member for York Centre. This government is a strong proponent of public transit and is dedicated to improving transit, not only in the Toronto area but right across the province.

As members will know, just over one year ago we confirmed our commitment to continue with plans to complete the Yonge-Spadina subway loop as well as other projects under the Let's Move program of transit expansion. We have not wavered on that commitment. The Ministry of Transportation is now working actively with Metro Toronto, and of course the TTC, in pursuing these transit initiatives.

Connecting the Yonge and Spadina lines into a single-looped system in the Finch-Steeles area is one of the major initiatives in the Let's Move program. The first step towards implementation of the Yonge-Spadina loop is the preparation of an environmental assessment study. It is hoped this study will be completed by next spring.

The environmental assessment is intended to ensure that the proposed rapid transit initiative is properly planned and that potential impacts on the social and natural environments are considered. We believe in and fully support the comprehensive evaluation and consultation provided by the EA process. As part of the environmental assessment process, six public information meetings have been held: three in February 1991 and three in June of this year, and another three public meetings are planned for next spring prior to the submission of the environmental assessment report.

The EA is being carried out by the Toronto Transit Commission under the direction of an advisory committee that will include staff from the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Transportation, Metropolitan Toronto, the city of North York, the city of Vaughan, and of course the region of York. Various route options are being evaluated including the one recommended by the member for York Centre, the alignment along Keele and Steeles. The transportation needs of both Metro Toronto and south York region are being considered as well as service to York University. Planners are also investigating opportunities to integrate the TTC and GO Transit as well as other transit services operating in the York region.

To date there has been no decision concerning a specific corridor alignment, nor can there be prior to further public review and completion of the environmental assessment. Members will know that a coalition of ratepayers, community groups, municipal government, institutions and private developers known as the Loop Group have asked for a deferral of the current environmental assessment. This request is currently under consideration by the Ministry of the Environment.

We are all anxious for work to begin as soon as possible, not only because subway service will be improved but because jobs will be created. The loop will provide major benefits including increased capacity and improved transit service on the Yonge-University-Spadina subway line. There is also no question of the need to complete the missing link in our subway system. Daily TTC ridership has reached 1.6 million and the system will be able to carry even more riders in the future if the service improvements are made.

In closing, and to the member opposite, this government is committed to increasing public transit and the Yonge-Spadina loop is just one example of the commitment of this government.

**Mr Cordiano:** I am delighted to be able to speak this morning on the resolution proposed by my colleague. I see various other colleagues who are probably in favour of this resolution, because they too have concerns that are similar to those I will express in my comments with respect to a number of issues regarding the extension of rapid transit to northwest Metro.

The loop, as it is proposed, will see an extension of subway access up along Dufferin Street to Steeles Avenue and then loop on to Yonge Street. Everyone knows that here, and I think that was a long time in coming and is overdue. The concern at the present time is for delay, which will be costly and probably not good for a number of reasons, for economic as well as transportation considerations, and the kind of environmental impact that has with respect to congestion and smog that we see increasing daily in northwest Metro.

In the last election I spoke a number of times and put forward the view that one of the major concerns for Metro Toronto and the surrounding region was rapid transit. In fact, I believe it is one of the most important issues we are facing with respect to the growth of Metropolitan Toronto and the other surrounding urban areas. Without the kinds of links we are going to see occur with rapid transit, we are simply not going to get the rational growth that is required, the kind of growth that makes sense.

What we see today in northwest Metro and surrounding areas in the greater Toronto area is enormous congestion of traffic. Chaos actually reigns. If members take a drive along Steeles Avenue at the three rush hours, one starts in the morning and goes for roughly three or four hours; there is another that starts at midday and there is another at the end of the day. Quite frankly, it is getting to the point where you have an entire rush hour period during the whole day. There does not seem to be any delineation between when one starts and one ends. That simply cannot add up to economic expansion when it takes enormous



amounts of time to get from point A to point B in the north-west part of Metro, let alone come to downtown Toronto. There are simply no routes that allow for easy access to the centre of the city by an automobile.

To link up to the Wilson-Spadina line at the present time is a feat in itself. There is no doubt that the loop is necessary. The question is, what should the loop accomplish and in which direction should it go to meet the greatest need? The decision having been made, we would not want to delay unnecessarily. I think, however, that the first phase of the construction could take place—

1130

**Mrs Caplan:** Immediately.

**Mr Cordiano:** Immediately is correct. I thank my colleague the member for Oriole.

It should start and that first phase should go up to Sheppard. In the meantime, I cannot see why consideration cannot be given to extending the loop northwest from that point. I simply cannot see why that cannot take place. Perhaps the tactics that are being employed at the present time are not the ones we need.

What is required, I believe, is a little leadership on the part of the government to simply say, "We need another extension that extends northwest from Sheppard and Dufferin in the direction of Steeles and Keele, ending there." I think it is ludicrous to think we should exclude a circulation of 50,000 people who will most likely use the rapid transit facilities on an everyday basis. To ignore that is ludicrous. It is bad policy; it is bad planning in the extreme.

The kind of expansion we are talking about would also facilitate the possibility some day of more rapid links to the airport and to the whole quadrant that we are seeing expand at an ever-increasing rate northwest of Metro, which I think is probably the fastest-growing area in the greater Toronto area.

I cannot see why we cannot look at a possible alternative as a compromise. I repeat: The government should start the subway expansion immediately, go up to Sheppard and, in the meantime, some resolution could be found for this difficulty. This other alternative could be accomplished in the short term without too much delay. Environmental assessment is probably not the answer. It is simply a delaying tactic. I do not agree with that in the sense that it is there as an alternative, but I think also the intended purpose is to get delay so that this other alternative could be brought to the fore.

I do not want to delay the extension of the subway. The subway runs right through the heart of my riding. We know the enormous problems the people in the riding of Lawrence face as a result of the congestion, the ever-increasing amounts of traffic that flows north-south. We do not want to see a delay of that rapid transit expansion. The problems I have noted earlier with respect to the congestion—enormous amounts of carbon dioxide and monoxide being released into the air—are a pollution nightmare with respect to what is happening up there in the northwest quadrant of the city. We simply do not want to see that going on for ever.

Mind you, the recession has alleviated that problem somewhat in the last little while, but it is a short-term thing. In the long term we cannot have that kind of growth in the northwest section of Metro without some rapid transit expansion. We have to get on with the program of building, and the sooner we do it the better.

**Mr Cousens:** I would like to go on record as commending the honourable member for York Centre for giving us the opportunity to discuss this very important subject. I would also like to say, to his credit, that there has seldom been anyone who has worked as hard or as conscientiously for transportation issues and other issues within his own community. As the member for the neighbouring riding I would like to have more reason to be angry with him.

I think it is worth while saying that the member for York Centre has always had the greatest interest in serving the needs of York region. That is something I have enjoyed very, very much, as we live in the same area and have the same concerns for the region. We were able to be very effective in fighting for those things that help the people who live north of Steeles Avenue.

Having said a few things that are nice, I now want to go to three more points where I do agree with the resolution put forward by the member. The first one is that in his resolution he says, "the transportation infrastructure must be an urgent priority." I do not think there is any doubt about that. As head of the Tory task force on transportation issues in the greater Toronto area, we saw this as an urgent priority.

To the credit of the former Liberal government, it did put \$5 billion into the expenditure of building the infrastructure for transportation in the greater Toronto area, and to the credit of the New Democrats, they have continued that commitment. To me, we are doing something positive to help create a transportation network that is going to do an awful lot to help our areas. That must continue to be a priority. Transportation serves everybody and it is essential.

The second thing I agree with is that Metro Toronto transportation needs cannot be properly addressed without looking at the neighbouring municipalities. We have got to have far more integration of the planning that goes on between the regional municipality of York and the greater Toronto area. It has to do with the planning of TTC services north of Steeles, integration of fare structures, rationalization of the local transportation networks and linking them more effectively with GO Transit and the other systems, having more transportation within the region and Metro Toronto linked so you can time the pickup of one bus to the next bus and people are not just caught at the boundaries of the different municipalities. This must continue to be a high priority.

The next thing I agree with is that through a better infrastructure of rapid transit services we will be able to get cars off the road and we can encourage people to use public transit more. That is the third of the three views the honourable member for York Centre has presented that I agree with.

Having said all that, I am not able to support the motion because I believe it does preclude some of the other options that should be considered for getting that subway north. I



do not want to lock myself into one specific option at this time. Once we build it to Sheppard and once we see the different possibilities through the process that has been described by the government, then it may well be an option to build it to York University. I think it is going to be an expensive option and may well not succeed. If it does, after it has gone through the whole process of consideration, I will be in a position to support it. At the early stage we are at right now I cannot agree that it is the very best option, which this motion would be inclined to want me to say.

There are a number of possibilities. I have the map as I look at them. It certainly is a greater distance to head over to Keele and then up by the university. I look forward to seeing the subway head north. If it takes a more direct way to get to Steeles, then I am not going to be totally unhappy, as long as it comes over to the corner of Yonge and Steeles. I would also be pleased to see some way in which we begin to look at subway expansion further north to Highway 7, and in that way there can be a linkup by people elsewhere.

We are going to have to look at the expansion of subway services. Rapid transit services have to be increased in this province. The more we do to link those areas outside Metropolitan Toronto into the Metro infrastructure the better. I know that is part of the intent of the motion put forward by the member for York Centre. I believe his intentions are honourable. Unfortunately, he is inclined to lock out other options through this motion, which may not be his intent, but is at least the way I interpret it now. I have every desire to go anywhere, and rapid transit is the way to go.

1140

**Mr Perruzza:** It is very much a pleasure to be able to participate in this discussion this morning. I would like to thank the member for York Centre for bringing forward this resolution and bringing before this House a subject that is very important both for my area and for a number of other northwest Metropolitan Toronto communities which are in dire need of some infrastructure that will be able to facilitate their moving in and out of Metro more expeditiously. This is an issue that is relatively long-standing in the community, and I will speak a little bit to the merit of the proposal.

I know the member for York Centre has alluded to some of the more salient points in this regard. He talked about the ever-growing population at York University, the 50,000 or so students who access that campus on a daily basis. Those people come from all parts of Metro and from all parts outside Metro as well. Most of them commute by car to York University. If you saw an aerial photograph of York University, you would quickly see it is a rather large parking lot as it stands today. We have to deflect some of this traffic. We have to get some of these cars off our streets, and obviously the subway is the way to go to be able to move people in and out of this area rather quickly.

There are also a number of other factors. York region, Vaughan in particular, is growing at an alarming rate. It is my understanding they do not have an official plan, so

how they are guiding their developments I am sure the member for York Centre would be better able to speak to. It is growing at an alarming rate and a lot of the residents in the greater Toronto area—primarily the west end, Woodbridge, Vaughan, York and northwestern Etobicoke—need access to the centre of the city, and there are not the transportation links that would facilitate that kind of access. That is another reason why this makes eminent sense.

As a North York councillor when the Liberals made their first announcement in this regard, I was really pleased to see the Spadina-York University-Yonge loop was at the top of the list in terms of expansion of the transportation infrastructure. However, my experience with this issue, as with other issues, has always been that the politicians, the people who make the decisions to get these kinds of things on track, quite often cannot agree. This is one of those issues where the politicians have not been able to agree. There has been a tussle.

Obviously the moneys are very limited in terms of what you are going to do with respect to expanding transportation infrastructure, and when you start piecemealing the money, quite often you find you come to dead ends, as the Spadina subway did at some point when it reached just north of Wilson and then died. It did not continue on the route it was intended to go as the Spadina Expressway.

The list goes on and on. Quite frankly, from a municipal standpoint, I am really shocked at some of the stances that have been taken by our municipal politicians on this particular issue. I know in his inaugural address yesterday the mayor of North York, Mayor Lastman, once again reiterated his particular push for the Sheppard subway line. This is not to say there is not a need to build a Sheppard subway line, but when you weigh the need for the Sheppard subway line against the need for the Spadina-York University-Yonge loop, you quickly see that one is a current, existing people need.

You see the populations in the west end of North York along Jane Street, along Finch Avenue and in Vaughan. Most of the roads in this area—Jane, Wilson, Keele Street, Steeles, Finch and Weston—are gridlocked. Gridlock is that magical transportation term which says that once you are at gridlock, the system begins to break down, people cannot get around any more. Their trips and their turn-around trips and the time they spend in their cars on the road is exaggerated, and when that begins to happen, we do not have a productive workforce and an economy that booms.

With the Sheppard subway proposal, this is not to say there is not a current, existing need, but it is a created need. The mayor of North York wants to realize a dream of a North York downtown. I am not going to speak to some of the planning implications of that particular kind of dream or creating that kind of an access at Yonge and Sheppard, but one is a current existing need, the need for people to get from the place where they live to the place where they work expeditiously; the other one is simply a need to deflect commercial development from the centre of the city, a need to create an access, to create a downtown to be able to justify the kind of growth they are proposing and planning for North York's downtown.



Consistently in my history with this, as a municipal politician I generated petitions to the former Liberal Minister of Transportation, impressing on him the need to proceed with the Spadina-York University-Yonge loop, to my fights, quite frankly, on North York council with the mayor of North York, trying to impress on him and my colleagues at that time the need for this to be a priority. From that perspective I have attended meetings the Metro task force conducted to study this particular issue. I have called meetings within my own community and surrounding communities to talk about transportation needs in the west end, a west end which my Conservative colleague the member for York Mills said was underserved, and I agree with him. The northwest end of Metro, in terms of transportation needs, has been underserved.

It was underserved during the Conservative reign during the 1970s when the Jane and Finch corridor saw unprecedented growth in terms of housing developments. It was to some degree underserved by the former Liberal government. For five years they simply howled in the wind and did not proceed with a comprehensive plan to address some of these needs that obviously were lacking. Just in their final hour, in fact several months before they called their premature election which saw them bounced, for many obvious reasons, out of power, they made this grandiose announcement that they were going to commit \$5 billion to a rapid transit network, which I thought was going to go a long way towards addressing some of the needs of this particular community.

As I mentioned earlier, I was really glad and surprised to see the Liberals make that kind of announcement, but just on the eve of their campaign call. They did not fool anybody. They obviously did not fool the west end communities, because they saw Downsview fall, they saw Yorkview fall, and two New Democrats were elected in these areas, and so on.

I am glad to see that the government is continuing in its commitment to proceed with this very much needed, very much sought after subway expansion to be able to serve a community that exists, a population that exists, not one that has to be created, not one that has to be conceptualized. The way I have read it all along, this is an issue of east end versus west end.

I was appalled when I was on North York council and many of my west end colleagues—I will name a few who fought and supported the mayor in his push for a Sheppard subway line. We had Councillor Li Preti, Councillor Sgro and Councillor Sergio who supported Mayor Lastman in his push for the Sheppard subway line.

Quite frankly, this has to stop. We have to get together; this has to go now.

1150

**Mr Curling:** What an opportunity this has given me, to speak in support of this resolution, this private member's bill. I, like the member for Markham, would like to pay high tribute to my colleague from York Centre, a very hardworking, dedicated politician and individual who has brought forward something that needed to be brought forward and to be addressed in the proper way.

This bill addresses itself to a very important matter. When we say "transportation," I see the word "opportunity." It is an opportunity for people to get to work, an opportunity for people to move around easily without the congestion that plagues this city now.

There is a saying that comes from Midas Muffler. It says, "Pay Me Now or Pay Me Later." As I hear from my colleagues across there, they are saying, "We want all or nothing"—I am saying from some of the members of the government side. "Why do that portion now when we should be waiting to do it all?"

I am from Scarborough North which is, as members know, one of the fastest-growing communities, and quite a few of my colleagues on the government side are from Scarborough. I know they will support this. I am confident they will support this, because there are unselfish people in Scarborough, east of Yonge. Of course there are unselfish people west of Yonge too, but I just want to say why we are unselfish people.

We in Scarborough, and in North York too, have been advocating for a subway along the Sheppard line. We need that because half a million people just in Scarborough live east of Yonge Street. We need, very much so, that transportation from west to east. There is no way I would stand not in support of this resolution. The subway advocated by my colleague to go north up to York University is a very important part of it. The fact is, we should start doing that movement north.

Also, of course, anticipating this government, which is quite sensitive—sometimes people in this government use the words "ordinary people." The ordinary people who get back and forth using the transportation system that is available to them in the city, many of those ordinary people we speak about who may take the surface routes, in the sense of cars or so, spend two to three hours and sometimes four hours just moving back and forth to work or for shopping or what have you when they use the public transit system. This system moving north would assist tremendously in following the growth of the city, so I have no qualms at all in supporting this resolution.

Of course we advocate less pollution. I listen to the government side. Of course there is the environmental assessment. I am a bit confused at times. At one stage they would like to move briskly on certain issues, giving power to the minister to bypass the environmental assessment. We are not saying to bypass the environmental assessment. We are taking into consideration all those steps necessary to be taken so that we do not have more pollution. As a matter of fact, I hear some of the members here say we have to go through these steps.

I am saying, "What an opportunity." The chairman of Metro, Alan Tonks, has supported this and said, "Let's get on with it." I am very sure the mayor, Mel Lastman, in North York would also say: "Let's get on with it. Let's move very fast and get along with the Sheppard subway line too." So we have an opportunity to have the co-operation of all levels of government.

I am confident that our mayor in Scarborough, Joyce Trimmer, will also support this. The unselfishness of Scarborough, seeing that it will not go immediately to the north



but quickly go across the Sheppard line—we see a link there. The rapid growth in Scarborough, and I emphasize this to our colleagues here, is moving at such a pace that we have to do something or else it will be more difficult to expand the transit system, especially a subway line.

When we were trying to build a highway in Scarborough moving north and south, we realized that the more delay on this issue, the more costly it would be. There are approvals for housing and approvals for other things that will make it more expensive for us to be uprooting people. The member mentioned the Spadina subway line earlier. I can recall the delay for that expansion and the costs involved because people had already built along the line. The cost factor of buying out those individuals expanded the cost to move the subway line up to where the end of it is now, at Lawrence on the Spadina line.

I feel very strongly in support of this because it is a progressive thought; it is looking ahead. Too often we feel we should be so parochial in our thinking that we will say, "We can't do it now unless we have it all." I think this is the first step in having a subway line not only move north, but on the Sheppard line, so I stand very strongly in support.

I just want a few seconds to emphasize the family time we spend at home. When we calculate the time and find out that we are spending up to four or five hours on the road getting to and from because of the traffic jams, we could be moving faster and spending more time with our families. I want to commend the honourable member for York Centre for bringing forward this bill.

**Mr Sorbara:** Just to sum up, I am glad members have agreed to participate in this debate. I hope there is going to be significant support for this resolution when it comes time to vote on it.

There are just two points this resolution makes. New subway lines in the metropolitan area are an urgent priority for two reasons. First, as acknowledged in today's newspapers, this construction will in effect be a strong boost to an economy that is failing very badly right now. That is important to do in any event, but second, it is only through the construction of new subway lines and expansion of the rapid transit system that we will free the streets of Metropolitan Toronto and the greater Toronto area again for people and the movement of goods.

The second point, and it is the crucial point in this resolution, is that any extension of the subway northwest in Metropolitan Toronto that bypasses York University is unacceptable and shortsighted and would be a terrible mistake. We are going to build that extension. That subway is going to move to the northwest. I plead with members of this House simply to give the political direction that the planners, the bureaucrats and the other officials need to say, "In doing your planning, you must integrate York University as the northwest terminus of this subway system."

My friend the member for Markham said there are other alternatives. There are no other alternatives. Every other alternative is shortsighted. Every other alternative would constrain the loop and have it bypass the university. If we get to the university, the university could be the hub for a transportation system that would serve the entire northwest. The people of Ontario deserve it, the people of York region and Metro deserve it and the students and faculty of York University deserve it. I am asking for the support of the House.

**The Deputy Speaker:** The time provided for private members' public business has expired.

#### EARTH DAY ACT, 1991

##### LOI DE 1991 SUR LA JOURNÉE DE LA TERRE

**The Deputy Speaker:** Mr Christopherson has moved second reading of Bill 155, An Act proclaiming Earth Day.

Motion agreed to.

Bill ordered for committee of the whole House.

#### SPADINA SUBWAY

**The Deputy Speaker:** Mr Sorbara has moved private member's resolution 34. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

**Some hon members:** No.

**The Deputy Speaker:** All those in favour of the motion will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion the ayes have it.

Motion agreed to.

The House recessed at 1203.



## AFTERNOON SITTING

The House resumed at 1330.

## MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

## LIFE SCIENCES TECHNOLOGY PARK

**Mr Daigeler:** Last December and again recently, on October 7, I urged the government finally to approve the Ottawa life sciences technology park. Unfortunately, there has been no action as yet by the NDP.

I know we have had a new Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology since then. I also know he has recently visited the Ottawa area, and I am truly thankful for this and I recommend his example to the other ministers. During his visit, he was told that one of the Ottawa-Carleton region's top economic priorities is the development of the life sciences technology park.

Last Thursday, David Crane wrote in the Toronto Star that there is a clear and present threat that Canada will be left behind other nations which have already focused their national efforts to gain new competitive advantages through the use of biotechnology.

Ottawa business people, economic development officers and researchers are trying to bring new jobs to our area through the development of biotechnology. They are anxiously awaiting a supportive sign from the provincial government. How often do I have to raise this matter in the House? Will the minister please act and act now?

## TVONTARIO

**Mr B. Murdoch:** Members will recall that in October I raised the issue of TVOntario and its apparent unwillingness to be an upstanding member of the community. It is relying on the Assessment Act to avoid paying tax in Grey, not only on the land it owns but on the land it rents out and for which it receives revenue.

I wanted the Minister of Culture and Communications to realize that the host municipality does not appreciate providing services to TVO while receiving nothing in return. I hoped she would ask TVO to use the enabling clause of the Municipal Tax Assistance Act and at least pay for the portion of land which is rented out.

The minister obviously did not take this very seriously, because nothing was done. The township of Sullivan then felt it had to deal with the situation the only way it could. Council passed a motion which said that since TVO has made no contribution to the township to maintain and snowplow roads, the township will provide no maintenance for it this winter.

I am very distressed by this situation. TVO makes an enormously valuable cultural contribution to the province, yet it loses all its respect and credibility when the people see that it is not willing to be a good neighbour and fulfil its community responsibilities.

## CANADIAN AUTO WORKERS LOCAL 1973

**Mr Lessard:** Last week Canadian Auto Workers Local 1973, serving Windsor's General Motors workers, proudly announced it will now be providing onsite child

care for members participating in local union meetings, unit meetings and educational.

Onsite child care is a natural progression for Local 1973. The union hall is fully accessible, and the local meets the needs of hearing-impaired workers by providing sign language interpreters. This local is also known for consistently sending a positive message to minority, disabled and female members that harassment of any kind will not be tolerated. They had previously offered child care for union educationals and community-oriented events.

Marg Rousseau, an employment equity rep, and Terry Romanchuk, education chair, brought the concept of onsite child care to the attention of the local union executive board. Shirley O'Neill, a recent early childhood education graduate, has been hired to provide child care services, which began on November 26.

This initiative continues a tradition of accessibility of services to this 4,800-member local union. I understand it is the first of its kind in the Windsor area and sets an example for others to follow throughout the province.

I want to commend CAW Local 1973 as it continues to meet its goal of providing innovative service to its membership by actively removing barriers to further member participation in local union activities.

## WATER QUALITY

**Mrs McLeod:** I listened with great interest yesterday as the federal government announced its pulp and paper regulations to protect water quality in Canada. As I listened, I waited to hear how Ontario's Minister of the Environment would respond. I was sure this government would at long last tell us what its plans are for the municipal-industrial strategy for abatement. There was nothing from Ontario.

At a time when industries across this province are looking for consistency, at a time when industries across this province are looking for predictability, at a time when industries across this province are looking for responsible government, this government has done nothing.

Instead, our forest products industry will have to wait. They participated in consultations with government and were prepared for a harmonization of regulations at the federal and provincial levels. It makes good business sense and it is what environment ministers from across this country agreed to do.

This government will force our businesses to adjust not once but twice, because Ontario's Minister of the Environment is too busy looking at a world as she would like it to be, not as it really is.

The forest products industry and its thousands of employees need to know what the Ontario regulations will be and when they will be introduced. There has been no movement on MISA for a year. I call on the government to tell us what it plans to do and when to restore some predictability to business in Ontario.



## LABOUR LEGISLATION

**Mrs Marland:** The NDP government's proposed changes to the Labour Relations Act will do nothing to create jobs in Ontario, nothing to make us more competitive or attract investment and nothing to renew or strengthen our economy. So what will the changes do? They will pay back the NDP's friends in the labour movement, the union bosses whose support this socialist government desperately needs if it is to stay in office.

According to David Gordon, executive director of the Mississauga Board of Trade: "Should these proposed changes become law, we would see serious erosion in the present balance between employer, employee and union rights.... Legislation of this kind, which is so blatantly union-biased, sends all the wrong messages to those persons who look to Ontario as the place to do business in Canada."

Mississauga's city council has asked the government not to proceed with this legislation until broad consultation has occurred. Unfortunately, it is obvious that the NDP has already made up its mind to pass these proposals into law next year. The so-called consultation process is a sham.

Last spring a committee of labour law experts studied the proposed changes. While the labour members of the committee endorsed the government's wish list, the business members concluded that the present legislation works very well and there is no need for change. Indeed the government has never released any documentation to justify its radical proposals.

Clearly then, there is a Bob who sets this province's agenda, but it is not Bob Rae; it is Bob White.

## LABOUR DISPUTE

**Mr Farnan:** I received today a letter from a small group of 30 striking employees at the Cambridge Reporter, and they are requesting swift action on their application for first-contract arbitration applied for on November 29, 1991.

They walk the picket line daily and have received overwhelming community support from area unions and subscribers who have cancelled their papers for the duration of the strike. Cambridge city council cancelled discretionary advertising in the Reporter until the dispute is resolved.

However, they face a very powerful adversary in Thomson Publishing Co. They are witnessing the full might of the Thomson empire brought to bear on their small union. Expensive security equipment, dozens of security guards and imported strikebreakers are Thomson's proven method of union-busting. Thomson Publishing Co has a successful record of crushing attempts to unionize in small communities. Witness Welland, witness Timmins, etc.

All this small group wants is an opportunity to achieve a decent first contract. They asked for a wage grid, standard at daily newspapers across Canada, but Thomson will not address this basic issue across the bargaining table. The Thomson wage proposal, delivered five hours before the strike deadline, allows Thomson to maintain arbitrary control over substandard wages.

The reality is that the will to crush this strike is there on Thomson's part. Arbitration is the swiftest way to end this bitter strike, and I urge government intervention to help resolve this matter.

1340

## ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

**Mrs Caplan:** While the Minister of the Environment is busy attempting to dismantle the Environmental Assessment Act and runs roughshod over civil liberties and due process with Bill 143, she is neglecting the environmental problems about which she had so much to say in opposition.

We have heard absolutely nothing on a clean air program for Ontario; lakefilling, so vehemently opposed by the minister in the recent past, continues unabated; there are no remedial action plans in toxic hot spots on the Great Lakes; the municipal-industrial strategy for abatement regulations are stalled within her ministry; sewage treatment plant upgrading is postponed; district Ministry of the Environment offices are understaffed and facing further staffing cuts; trucks belch black smoke from their exhaust pipes; landfill sites leak; overpackaging continues; the percentage of soft drinks sold in refillable containers has fallen to 7%, an all-time low; the minister fails to show up at meetings of the Ontario Round Table on Environment and Economy; rampant clear-cutting takes place in our forests, and no progress is made on promised further reductions in acid rain emissions.

What does the minister do to address these urgent and important issues? She introduces and promotes Bill 143, a draconian, dictatorial law that flies in the face of everything the minister stood for in the past. That was then, this is now, and it is unbecoming of this minister and this government.

## JEWISH COMMUNITY IN SYRIA

**Mr Harnick:** This past Sunday evening the Jewish community began the Hanukkah festival, a celebration commemorating the saving of the Jewish temple from the hands of Syrian oppression. As a member of the Jewish community living in Ontario, I and my family celebrate this and all Jewish holidays without any restrictions on our lives. However, this is not the case with respect to Jews in Syria.

In Syria, 4,500 Jews are concentrated in the ghettos of Damascus, Aleppo and Kamishli; a special branch of the secret police is assigned to monitor the Jewish community; no Jewish emigration is permitted; Jews have no voting rights; identity cards of all Jews are marked in blue with the word "Mousawi," meaning Jew, on them. Discrimination, arbitrary arrest, imprisonment and torture all occur with regularity to Jews in Syria.

It is incumbent upon us as free people to indicate our displeasure when the human rights of Syrian Jews are endangered. They must be free to leave for friendly countries and to be reunited with their families abroad. Until that time, our efforts must continue and our voices must cry out.

In order to prevent the ultimate destruction of the remnants of Syrian Jewry, I urge the government of Ontario to



call upon the government of Syria to lift all repressive regulations and permit its Jewish citizens to emigrate freely in accordance with the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights to which Syria is a signatory.

For a great many Jews, this is not such a happy Hanukkah.

#### LOYALIST PARKWAY

**Mr Johnson:** Today I want to tell members of the Legislature about a great little highway in my riding called the Loyalist Parkway. It is known as Highway 33 and it runs literally from Trenton to Kingston.

This is a wonderful little highway that brings tourists and commerce through the counties of Prince Edward, Lennox and Addington. My riding being Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings, I can say this highway is wholly within my riding and I am very proud of it. It is the original highway that used to carry the United Empire Loyalists back and forth as they travelled about this particular part of the province.

I also want to tell members about the Loyalist Parkway group of advisers, but first I would like to mention some of the communities this highway runs through. This highway starts at Carrying Place and runs through Consecon, Hillier, Rosehall, Bloomfield, Picton, Wellington, Adolphustown, Bath, Millhaven and ends in Amherstview. A couple of other small communities are Conway and Sandhurst.

The Loyalist Parkway group of advisers, chaired by John Ellis, is a very important group that has worked very hard to maintain the heritage of this highway and they are very grateful for some of the funding they have received from the Ministry of Transportation. In time, they would like to become a commission. I know that may not be easy to do today, but they are working very hard to see that this becomes a reality.

#### STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

##### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

**Hon Mr Charlton:** I am pleased to advise members that later today I will introduce for first reading the Insurance Statute Law Amendment Act, 1991, an act that will enable this government to guarantee Ontario motorists nothing less than the best auto insurance protection in the country.

The reforms outlined in The Road Ahead, our policy document, address five key goals: affordable insurance premium prices, reasonable and fair accident compensation for everyone, a fairer driver classification system, greater insurance availability and better customer service and safer roads.

The legislation we are introducing will return to many more innocent accident victims the right to recover compensation for their pain and suffering. The reforms provide Ontarians with greater access to the courts, including victims who suffer serious psychological as well as physical injury. The former government's plan did many grave injustices to Ontario motorists, while delivering windfall profits to the insurance industry. But in no area was that legislation more callous than in its disregard for the psy-

chological suffering that can result from a motor vehicle accident.

There is also much more in this legislation and in the package of reforms. Let me share with members a few of the highlights. For income earners, the maximum weekly benefit moves to \$1,000 a week from the current \$600 a week, a much more realistic reflection of the income needs of many families today. The new ceiling, coupled with the new income replacement formula, covers more than 90% of full-time earners. Under the previous government's plan, 75% of full-time earners were covered.

We have recognized and are providing for people in special circumstances. Children and students, for example, will receive lump sum payments for each school year missed, as well as compensation for loss of earning capacity in the case of long-term injury. Our reforms provide vastly improved compensation to primary care givers and provide special recognition of their lost earning capacity when they are temporarily out of the workforce.

At the same time, we have removed the lifetime cap on the amount of money available for long-term care for accident victims. We also have removed the limit on the money available for supplementary medical and rehabilitation costs. This government does not intend to inhibit an injured person's chances for recovery or rehabilitation while allowing insurance companies to enjoy record profit levels.

It is an unfortunate fact that loss of life is the all too common result of traffic accidents. No amount of money can ease the pain of families and loved ones, but compensation can help to ease the economic impact of those accidents, and we intend to increase that help. The current death benefit to a spouse is \$25,000. We will increase the minimum death benefit to double that amount, to \$50,000, with a geared-to-income maximum benefit of \$200,000. Under our new plan, the funeral benefit doubles, from \$3,000 to \$6,000.

These features provide fair benefits. We have ensured also that those benefits will not be eroded by inflation. Our income replacement benefits and weekly ceiling are fully indexed to the consumer price index. Also fully indexed are the monthly care cap, death, funeral, dependant care and new student lump sum benefits.

Under the previous government's plan, access to the court was limited by a very restrictive threshold. Only about 6% of those injured in accidents were able to clear that threshold, and those who did often faced long, expensive and frustrating processes. Sometimes they received nothing for all their hardship. This is not what most people want from an auto insurance system.

The fact is, a good accident benefit schedule better compensates most injured parties' economic loss. The court system, on the other hand, better addresses specific and harder-to-define pain and suffering issues.

We have developed improved automatic accident benefits for economic loss for all those injured, and, for all injured persons not totally at fault, greater opportunity to recover compensation for pain and suffering, subject to a \$15,000 deductible. Our accident compensation plan is



expected to triple the number of injured persons who can access the court system.

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Through regulatory and other changes, we will get good drivers out of the Facility Association and ensure they can purchase insurance at market rates; phase in a uniform, non-discriminatory, industry-wide classification plan, and create and maintain a more dynamic marketplace that encourages competitive and stable insurance premiums.

An improved insurance system that better meets the needs of motorists and accident victims in Ontario is essential, and our reforms will provide Ontario with a fair, affordable and accessible auto insurance system. At the same time, we recognize that the best possible protection for all Ontarians takes the form of prevention rather than compensation. My colleague the Minister of Transportation will outline the measures his ministry is proposing.

Our reforms will lay the foundation for greater linkage of insurance with other auto-related systems, including road safety education and traffic law enforcement. This government's commitment to substantially improved automobile insurance for Ontario motorists is well known. We reluctantly put aside our plan for public auto insurance, but we did not put aside our responsibility to ensure Ontario drivers are better served by the auto insurance system.

When this bill is passed, Ontario will have the most generous and equitable accident benefits in Canada, while keeping premiums affordable. Persons injured in accidents will have wider opportunity to seek compensation through the courts for losses associated with pain and suffering, loss of enjoyment of life and loss of expectation of life. Ontario's six million drivers will have simpler, more convenient and more straightforward service.

Today I have announced many reforms. They constitute significant improvements for Ontario motorists, but they are not our final word on the subject. We will continue to monitor the system and to make appropriate changes and feasible refinements.

Collateral benefits are a good example. Under legislation put in place by the previous government, such sources as private disability plans, public health care and workers' compensation carry costs previously borne by insurers. We looked very carefully at this issue. To reinstate the insurers as first payors would mean an immediate and significant increase in premiums. This is, however, among the issues we are determined to address in the future as we continue to adapt Ontario auto insurance to evolving needs and changing circumstances.

The reform package I have outlined follows an auto insurance review that has lasted a year. Throughout this period, we have encouraged widespread participation. The resulting dialogue involved hundreds of individuals and interest groups. We welcomed presentations from consumers' associations, advocates for victims' rights, lawyers' groups, the insurance industry and others. Strong arguments supported a range of often conflicting positions. We believe these reforms will achieve fairness and the best possible balancing of these diverse objectives.

ROAD SAFETY ORGANIZATION  
ORGANISME DE PROMOTION  
DE LA SÉCURITÉ ROUTIÈRE

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** Safety is the top priority of the Ministry of Transportation, yet we know there is much more we can do to make our roads even safer for everyone in Ontario.

Every year more than 1,200 people are killed on Ontario's roads. Another 120,000 people are injured. Every four and a half minutes someone is injured. Most unfortunately, every seven hours someone is killed.

It is estimated that motor vehicle collisions cost the people of this province more than \$4 billion every year in health care costs alone. The personal costs and trauma are beyond calculation. The terrible reality of all this is that 85% of all vehicle crashes are caused by human error. This suggests that most could be prevented if people drove better.

À l'occasion de la Semaine nationale de la sécurité routière, nous croyons qu'il est approprié d'annoncer les mesures que nous entendons prendre pour accroître la sécurité sur nos routes en Ontario.

I am pleased to tell the House today that the government will develop Ontario's first Road Safety Organization. The new organization will handle all services and programs related to road usage in Ontario. Its priority will be to improve road safety by enhancing driver behaviour and awareness and developing policies that will tangibly reduce traffic collisions and fatalities in our province.

The organization will work closely with private industry and community groups, sharing advice and information. It will also identify opportunities for partnerships to develop and fund new and enhanced safety programs. The result will be safer roads for all the people of Ontario. Let me outline some of its potential benefits.

Ontario has more than 6.3 million drivers, almost 30% more than it did 10 years ago. As our population grows, we can rightfully assume the number of drivers will of course continue to grow. A road safety organization will ensure that drivers have the proper skills and attitude. It will allow us to monitor and improve the performance of all drivers.

We expect the work of this organization will significantly reduce traffic fatalities and injuries. Fewer and less severe crashes will result in lower insurance claims and rates. This will complement the initiative introduced today by my colleague the Minister of Financial Institutions in auto insurance reform.

The Road Safety Organization will also improve customer service, making transactions such as licence renewal or vehicle registration easier for Ontario drivers. I would like to point out that we will be consulting with the ministry's private licence issuers and involving them in discussions as the organization develops.

The new organization will not duplicate existing services. It will take all existing road safety programs and customer service currently provided by our ministry. We will work with ministry staff to ensure they are closely involved in the development of the organization.



The government will continue to receive the revenue generated by driver and vehicle licensing. A major responsibility of this new organization will be to initiate and secure business partnerships. We will be combining the forces and resources of our government, industry and community groups to improve road safety. As a result, the new organization will have no increased impact on the Treasury.

After ministry staff have had an opportunity to review all the options for a Road Safety Organization, I will return to the House in the spring with an implementation plan for the new organization, which we expect will be fully operational in less than two years. While this is the first Road Safety Organization in Ontario, there are similar groups in other provinces. The province of Quebec has reduced both collision and insurance premiums in the 10 years, since it launched its road safety agency, la Société de l'assurance.

Tout en amorçant la mise en place d'un organisme de promotion de la sécurité routière, le gouvernement de l'Ontario continuera de solliciter la collaboration et l'appui de tous ses partenaires chargés de la sécurité, c'est-à-dire la communauté, l'industrie et les diverses instances gouvernementales. Nous sommes tous responsables de la sécurité routière.

This government recognizes the need to improve safety on Ontario highways. We believe our efforts to develop a road safety organization will reduce the tragedies and costs of collision and give all Ontarians greater peace of mind on the roads.

#### SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** This government has had to make some very difficult decisions. As we grappled with the matter of annual increases to the rates for Ontario's social assistance programs, we first looked back over the accomplishments of our first year.

As of January 1, 1991, we increased both the basic and shelter allowances beyond the rate of inflation, enabling social assistance recipients to begin to catch up with the past. We rejuvenated the process of social assistance reform in Ontario, and through our Back on Track report and the implementation of many of its recommendations we improved the ability of the social assistance program to respond. Turning to the future, however, we are seeking to maintain this momentum and we have had to keep in mind three very different but very compelling needs.

First, there are the vulnerable people in Ontario who must turn to welfare for support. A record number of Ontarians are now dependent on one form of social assistance or another. Second, there are the needs of our municipal partners and their ability to fund their mandatory portion of the social assistance program. The recession continues to build case loads and thus increase program expenditures at the local level. Finally, there is the need of our government to manage Ontario's economy responsibly and not add to the deficit.

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After much thought and discussion, we have balanced these needs as best we can and arrived at the following increases. We will raise the basic allowance for individuals receiving assistance in 1992 by 2% and raise the maxi-

mum shelter increase by 6%. This 6% shelter allowance increase will be implemented in two stages, with the first 3% increase in January 1992 and the second 3% increase in July 1992. The increase in basic allowance will help families and individuals pay for their food—

[Interruption]

**The Speaker:** Order. Remove the demonstrators, please.

The members will note that the clock has been reset five minutes, to the approximate time when the demonstration occurred. The minister is welcome to continue with her remarks.

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** The increase in basic allowance will help families and individuals pay for their food and personal needs. The 6% increase in the maximum shelter allowance reflects Ontario's rent review guideline and will help people meet the high cost of keeping a roof over their heads.

We cannot avoid hard reality. The recession is not over, not over for those on welfare and not over for all of us who, through our taxes to the province and the municipalities, fund social assistance programs.

The statistics are both revealing and frightening. The case load of Ontario's family benefit allowance is made up primarily of people who need long-term income support because of disabilities, because they are single parents or because they are age 60 and over. That case load now numbers 264,000. When dependants, most of them children, are added, that case load represents 561,000 people.

General welfare assistance goes to people in immediate financial need because of unemployment, ill health or emergency situations. The current GWA case load is 271,000. When we add dependants, this translates into a total of 477,000 people. In all, more than one million people in Ontario are now relying on social assistance, a growth of 39% over the last 12 months.

The municipalities, our partners in providing welfare, are also facing extremely difficult financial times, given the increased case loads. When we increase overall welfare rates, we must be mindful of the impact on the municipal share of costs, a share which can be raised only through regressive property taxes.

Everyone in this chamber agrees that it is shameful and an outrage that about 10% of Ontario's population has been forced to turn to the welfare system for support. We know people are hurting. The social assistance safety net must be kept as strong as possible. The increases announced today, while lower than any of us would have preferred, will, when added to last year's rates, still provide benefits which keep well ahead of the two-year rate of inflation.

The safety net is only one aspect of social assistance. The other goal is to support people while assisting them to get off welfare and into a position of greater independence and self-sufficiency.

This government must actively address poverty and social justice issues, not merely by making the social assistance program more effective but by taking a variety of initiatives with respect to training, employment creation and community supports to families. The launch last week



of the Ontario Adjustment and Training Board is one example of such programs.

Although we know the rate increases I have outlined today are modest, the government must maintain some flexibility in order to move forward with reform of the welfare system and to ensure increased opportunities for recipients.

## RESPONSES

### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

**Mr Chiarelli:** Yesterday the Minister of Financial Institutions said, "Anybody who makes a promise and then finds there are in fact better ways to deal with the problem or deliver a better product than he promised is a fool if he sticks to his promise." He is a fool for having made the promise in the first place and I guess the people of Ontario are fools for having believed the promise.

For those people who wanted the full right to sue, as promised by the NDP, this announcement is worse than a crumb. It is a cynical ruse to provide fodder for the new NDP propaganda committee set up last week at the taxpayers' expense. Today's announcement is a political ploy to take the Premier off the hook for having accepted the Liberal automobile insurance plan.

I want to compliment the Premier for reining in the ideologues in his cabinet, caucus and party who would have destroyed an effective system of auto insurance, destroyed thousands of jobs and cost the taxpayers over \$1 billion. The government has realized that the experience under the Ontario motorist protection plan has been mainly positive. Premium rates have stabilized and are moving down.

Premier Peterson promised a plan to reduce rates. Today, the minister acknowledged that over half the companies are applying to reduce rates, and yet the Premier called former Premier Peterson a liar for making that promise. Who is the one breaking the promise today? Who is the one who promised a public system whose promises are in tatters on the floor of this Legislature?

The OMPP is in fact working. Utilization of alternative dispute resolution is much lower than expected. There are high levels of consumer satisfaction with the program. There is no question that the present system can be improved. Together with all the stakeholders there should be a reasoned, educated and fair review of all aspects of the OMPP.

The minister has been haranguing anyone who would listen that insurance company profits are excessive. No one has ever heard the minister say what an appropriate profit is. Is any profit acceptable? If so, how much? The people of Ontario want to know what the minister's anti-business agenda really is.

We are concerned with several things. Removing the right to sue for economic loss above the threshold takes away much more than would be given by enlarging the right to sue for pain and suffering below the threshold. We are concerned that the government's promise to move to a universal classification system will penalize seniors. They are calling my office now. They are very concerned. We

are also concerned that the government's intentions are still to move to a full public system, such as the British Columbia system, which has just announced a 24% increase.

We agree with the improvements to the OMPP. We are very concerned about a number of them, but the NDP promise for a public system is in tatters on the floor of the Legislature today.

### ROAD SAFETY ORGANIZATION

**Mr Mancini:** My response is to the statement made by the Minister of Transportation. The minister's statement was 95% platitudes. The minister, after a number of months in office, has made the bold promise that he has now come out in favour of safer roads. The only real substance in this announcement is the hint that licence issuers will be affected. Licence issuers have been worried about their jobs, but there has been no word about whether their future is secure under the NDP auto insurance plan. We wait to hear from the minister about the 1,500 licence issuers.

### SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

**Mrs McLeod:** The announcement by the Minister of Community and Social Services comes as no surprise, since one of our colleagues essentially indicated that it was going to be the announcement, although it was not confirmed. It has already raised the concerns we had, anticipating that the announcement for an increase in social assistance would be limited to 2%. I do not think I need to remind the minister how far short this falls of the NDP commitment to deal with the problem of families and children trapped in poverty. It is the first time in recent years that the increase for social assistance falls short of inflation.

In these few seconds, all I can do is point out the fact that this is a result of irresponsible budgeting last spring, when we raised the concern that there was no budget for increases in social assistance as of January this year. The government has failed to carry out the kind of planning that would allow it to address real priorities.

### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

**Mr Tilson:** I wish to respond to the minister's strategy for automobile insurance reform. The minister promised to give the injured motorists of this province a day in court. He promised to get rid of the Liberals' no-fault plan. He promised the right to sue for economic loss. He promised to get rid of the Liberals' threshold tests.

A year ago, the member for Leeds-Grenville put forward a private member's bill regarding the restoration of the right to sue. The now minister said at that time, "I am going to support this piece of legislation because it deals with the most offensive part of Bill 68, the threshold." The minister has just given us a threshold test: the indexed \$15,000 deductible. We will still be paying outlandish premiums and have a \$15,000 deductible.

Yesterday, the minister said in this House that if someone finds a better way, that person is a fool if he sticks to his promises. No one believes this government. No one believes this minister. The Agenda for People has become an agenda for fools.



With the minister's plan, fewer people will have less access to the courts. He will have a threshold test that even the member for Bruce would not have implemented. He will have created a meat chart that says everyone injured is the same. He will have turned our legal system on helping injured motorists into a Workers' Compensation Board. No one can sue for lost income, past, present or future. He has discriminated against children, women and the workers of this province. After a year of dithering within his caucus, after spending \$5 million on consultants, the best he can come up with is The Road Ahead, a road of broken glass and broken promises.

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#### ROAD SAFETY ORGANIZATION

**Mr Turnbull:** I want to address my comments to the Minister of Transportation. In the document he released today, buried away on page 28, is the statement that the Ministry of Transportation will develop a new road safety agency responsible for issuing drivers' licences and vehicle registrations.

As the minister well knows, I have asked him twice in this House, on October 21 and again on November 25, whether there were any plans to move the licence issuing away from these offices. I would like to quote the minister's words. He is giving assurances there will be no changes, "It is business as usual." He says, "The system is operating well and we have no intentions of changing it."

Will the minister unequivocally guarantee today—I am going to be asking for the guarantee in question period—that none of the 1,500 jobs will be lost, non-unionized jobs, I may say. Of course, these are low-paid, predominantly female employees. He has said there will be no change and today he hides away this statement. We want guarantees that there will be no job losses. What about the people who have invested in leases and equipment in these offices? Will the minister guarantee that today?

#### SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

**Mr Jackson:** The first official words of the Premier of Ontario on November 20, 1990, in the throne speech were: "We will provide support for those who find themselves out of work and unable to provide for themselves and their families. We pledge to continue the reform of Ontario's social assistance system and address the shame of child poverty in the midst of affluence." The Premier also went on to say he was going to have to say no to certain loud voices in Ontario in order to say yes to those who previously have not been heard. How hollow those words are today when we have \$100 million to engage in an offensive to force out the private sector in day care while there are 12,000 families living below, at or near the poverty level, with their children, waiting for subsidized spaces in day care. But he is going to engage in an expensive buyout of the private sector.

The Premier had the Provincial Auditor last week saying that his deputy ministers are bellying up to the bar, having free taxpayer lunches and yet he has 2% for the poor. He has 11% raises going to senior civil servants from his government and yet he has 2% for the poor. It is so bad

that Stephen Lewis would choke on the "Let them eat cake" attitude of this new government—for the poor, 2%. The tragedy is that instead of restraining the wages of senior civil servants and runaway government spending, this government today has informed the province it will restrain assistance to the needy and the poor in Ontario.

#### VISITOR

**Mr Curling:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: From time to time you have recognized distinguished people in the gallery, and I just want to point out to you today that Ellen Shuman of the Cincinnati TV News is with us in the members' gallery.

**The Speaker:** The member does not have a point of order, but we certainly welcome the invitation anyway.

**Mr Bradley:** On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: Is it within the rules of the Legislature to allow a government member who disagrees with government policy to respond to a minister's statement?

**The Speaker:** I am sure matters of disagreement find their way to the floor of the House in one form or another. The Minister of Community and Social Services.

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** And responsible for women's issues, Mr Speaker. In that capacity, I would like to tell you that we have all-party consent to make a statement regarding December 6.

Agreed to.

#### DAY OF REMEMBRANCE AND ACTION ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** I am very pleased this afternoon to be able to announce to this House the official proclamation of December 6, 1991 as the first provincial Day of Remembrance and Action on Violence Against Women. I would like to read into the record the words of the proclamation:

"Whereas on December 6, 1989, 14 women died as a result of a massacre at the University of Montreal; and

"Whereas it is important to denounce all forms of violence against women; and

"Whereas the people of Ontario wish to reflect on the event in the hope of preventing further violence against women; and

"Whereas the Lieutenant Governor in Council considers this matter to be of public concern:

"Now, therefore, a proclamation be issued throughout Ontario naming the 6th of December in each and every year as a Day of Remembrance and Action on Violence Against Women."

In making this announcement, first I want to give some honour to a colleague of ours in the House of Commons, Don Black, who has worked through the last year to encourage the federal government and all provincial governments to take this action. I am very pleased that my federal colleagues have done so and know my fellow ministers responsible for women's issues are making commitments on behalf of their governments to do the same thing, if not this year, then in the coming years.

The reason, of course, is that all of us were shocked into awareness of the great toll that violence against women takes by the horrendous actions that took place on



December 6, 1989. The wholesale slaughter of women by a man obsessed by his lack of ability to do what he wanted to do, and his expressed view that women who were able to accomplish what he was not able to accomplish deserved to be punished for that, gave us all a consciousness of the very real sense we have in our society still of the dominance many men continue to believe they ought to have over women.

While we have grappled with the feelings that this occasion gave us, I think we have gone through very much the kind of path of mourning that Elisabeth Kübler-Ross talks about, because of course the first reaction was denial. There was from some of us denial that this could have happened at all on a campus in Canada, but second, by many men in the country, a denial that this had anything to do with their attitudes, that this could have anything to do with a societal attitude about the relative roles of men and women.

We went through denial and we went through anger, sometimes at one another, about this issue. We went through depression, and now I think we have realized that the importance of remembering this event is to begin to take action.

I have been struck by the number of newspapers and radio shows that have been reporting December 6 as simply a day of remembrance. If it were only a day of remembrance, it would be only a day of symbolism, a symbolism like the red roses which all the women in the chamber were offered today as a way of showing their respect. But December 6 is a day of remembrance and action, and it is important for us to emphasize that, because while few of us here can act without remembering, too many of us remember without acting. To remember without acting is to underestimate the potential each of us has to confront, challenge and change the reality of women in our society.

Men who are sincere in wearing white ribbons tomorrow will do so not merely to symbolize their disgust with violence against women but to stimulate discussion and to take responsibility as well. As one of the newest anti-wife-assault ads on TV shows, individual men are making a difference by telling each other that abusing women is wrong.

This year too corporations, unions and schools are educating employees and children about sexual harassment and the dangers of sexism. This House has legislated over the past number of years and will continue to legislate such equality-seeking measures as employment equity, pay equity, family support and supervised access. In short, individuals can act as well as remember; organizations can react instead of deny; Legislatures can enact instead of ignore. That is what this day is all about: empowerment.

1420

From the uncelebrated, often lonely battle of countless women to escape abusive homes, workplaces, campuses and streets, to the political struggle of one female MP to have December 6 nationally observed, to the underpaid, underrecognized efforts of shelter workers, rape crisis and sexual assault counsellors, affordable housing advocates, women's groups and their supporters, this day is about doing, informing and involving.

Until women are supported for disclosing their stories and until all segments of society from community groups, to parents, to teachers, to doctors, to athletes, to CEOs, to police officers, to judges and to journalists take part in breaking the silence, neither the magnitude nor the pain of violence against women will ever be appreciated or changed. To update a well-known slogan, we still mourn. More are working for change, but many more are needed to achieve change. What better reason for a day of action and remembrance.

**Ms Poole:** The Liberal caucus would give support to the minister's sensitive statements today and the commemoration of December 6. The minister referred to the red rose as a symbol, and she is right. It might be a red rose, it might be a white ribbon, it might be a black armband or it might be a button. They are just symbols. Some people might think they are fairly insignificant items, but just as individual drops of water can wear down stone, so these individual items and symbols can become a very powerful statement, which is that our society will not tolerate violence against women.

I know we have our detractors. In fact, just this week in the Toronto Sun there were several columns to this effect. I will quote from Lorrie Goldstein's column: "I will not be wearing a white ribbon because, never having beaten or sexually assaulted a woman or child, I have nothing to personally apologize for or to feel guilty about."

Mr Goldstein and columnists like him have missed the point and in their ignorance have done incredible damage. They have ignored the facts. The facts are that every year one out of eight women is assaulted by her spouse or partner; that one out of every four women will be sexually assaulted in her lifetime; that last year 234 women in Canada were murdered, and one third of these were killed by their spouses.

It is not that men are intrinsically evil; they are not. It is not that they are intrinsically disposed to violence; they are not. I have been married, happily I might say, for 20 years to one of the strongest, most opinionated, most forceful men there can be on this earth, and although I am sure there were temptations, never once has he resorted to violence or even thought of resorting to violence. Women and men must work together to break the silence and to break the cycle. The cycle has been going on for centuries; it is nothing new. What is different is today we are talking about it.

On Monday night for a rare occasion I was home watching the replay of question period with my son. He was listening to some men from our caucus making very strong statements about violence towards women. He turned to me and said, "Mom, can you get me a white ribbon so I can wear one?" That is what it is all about. It is changing the attitudes. It is just a ribbon but it is changing the attitudes.

Two years ago 14 bright, ambitious young women in Montreal, women with promising futures, were gunned down. Their deaths must not be in vain. On November 11, we very fittingly recognize the men who died valiantly in war. On December 6, we commemorate the women who are dying in a different type of war, and I say to the Lorrie



Goldsteins and the Christie Blatchfords of this world: "Have no doubt about it. It is a war." I find it a bitter irony that with all the talk about safety in our communities women in Canada today are safer on our streets than we are in our homes.

Today I offer a challenge to the people of this province. To the women: We do not need to be victims; we can break the silence, and we must break the silence. To the men: You are our partners; you and only you can break the cycle. To the media: I challenge you to make a difference and to help publicize the war; I challenge you, every time you publicize the current homicide statistics, to tell people how many of those deaths, how many of those homicides were caused by violence against women. Together we can make a difference.

**Mrs Marland:** Since December 6, 1989 there has been a new and tragic expression in Canada's national vocabulary: the Montreal massacre. On that date, Marc Lépine singled out 14 terrified young women at Montreal's l'École Polytechnique and slaughtered them, screaming that they were "a bunch of feminists." It was a vicious and senseless crime against women, in particular women like his 14 ambitious victims who sought to share the status and power from which women in our society have traditionally been excluded. They were 14 intelligent women who had the fortitude to seek careers in engineering, a profession in which there are few women and sexism is a serious problem, 14 women who would have been the role models for younger generations, 14 women who were the pride of their families.

Our first thoughts today are for those young women's families and friends who are reliving the horror, anguish and outrage of their slaying. We grieve with them. We share their anger. But we know our pain pales in comparison to theirs. Our sympathy also goes out to the community at the University of Montreal which was profoundly shaken by this massacre.

The loved ones of these 14 women have struggled to recover from their loss. For many of them, recovery has become a crusade to ensure that the life of someone else's daughter, sister, wife or friend does not end so prematurely and violently. All of us, women and men, must join that crusade. For the Montreal massacre was the extreme embodiment of sexism, a continuum which ranges from systemic discrimination and harassment to sexual assault and homicide.

Recently there have been so many reports of crimes against women that we are in danger of growing numb to that horror. Just this week there have been more than half a dozen vicious crimes in the greater Toronto area, including the rape of a Humber College student in broad daylight. I was sickened to learn that just days after this brutal crime, posters at Humber College advertising the remembrance ceremonies for the Montreal massacre have now been defaced with hateful slogans such as, "Nice shot, Marc."

It is extremely discouraging that these crimes have occurred during the white ribbon campaign leading to tomorrow's national Day of Remembrance and Action on Violence Against Women. However, it shows we have a

long way to go before symbols and words become actions and solutions.

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We cannot dismiss these violent crimes as aberrant, random acts that we are powerless to prevent. They are extreme cases, but crime against women is pervasive and insidious. Considering that one out of every four women will be sexually assaulted during her lifetime, probably every person in this House knows a woman who has been or will be a victim of sexual assault. It is horrifying that 85% of these assaults are committed by a person the woman knows. What a searing indictment of our society.

Each of us as legislators has a responsibility to involve our constituents in our community effort to reduce crimes against women. We have a responsibility and an opportunity. For instance, I recently held a series of cable television shows on the subject and sponsored a private member's resolution dealing with the related topic of pornography. I have also held community events, with the proceeds going to our local shelter for battered women. In the new year I will host a series of public forums on violence against women and children.

Going beyond our local responsibilities, we must do more as a provincial government to stop violence against women. The campaign against wife assault is a good start, but we need to devote more resources to education, law enforcement, assistance for abused women and treatment of men who batter. We also need legal reforms so that the judiciary takes crimes against women more seriously and gives stiffer penalties to the offenders. Reviewing the priorities of our limited resources, what could be more important than making Ontario a safe place to live?

As well, behavioural change requires changes of attitudes and values. This means that on a personal level we must take steps which could range from telling somebody we are offended by a sexist joke to reporting a case of wife assault.

One cannot underestimate the importance of public relations efforts like the white ribbon campaign which has been organized by men who realize that without their involvement, there can be no end to the senseless crimes against women. Their efforts will help educate the 65% of Canadian men who, in a poll after the Montreal massacre, thought that Marc Lépine's 14 murders were not connected to violence against women in general.

We must also raise our children to see women and men as equals. While this sounds easy, it entails fighting damaging stereotypes in every aspect of our children's lives: their education, toys, games, television and extracurricular activities.

The success of this day of remembrance and action will be difficult to measure. However, if more and more men and women are talking about violence against women and showing in their actions that it has to stop, there will be change.

We all look forward to a day when we do not see page after page of our newspapers devoted to reports of crimes against women, when women do not have to worry about how to get safely from bus stops or parking lots to their homes after dark, when women's shelters do not have to



turn away victims of assault for lack of space, when we no longer need a plethora of educational tools concerning wife assault.

It is encouraging that in the two years since that gruesome day in Montreal, public opinion about the massacre is slowly changing from, "It was nothing more than a madman's psychotic attack" to "It was an extreme example of a larger, less visible war against women." Without mobilizing the public to action, we cannot hope to stop the assaults and killings.

This is a day of remembrance and action. In memory of those 14 young women and all the other women who have suffered at the hands of men, let us each pledge to work for change.

**The Speaker:** I invite all members and our visitors in the galleries to stand and join with me in a moment of silent remembrance.

The House observed one minute's silence.

## ORAL QUESTIONS

### ONTARIO ECONOMY

**Mrs McLeod:** I have a question for the Premier. I am sure the Premier is well aware that if we are going to have economic renewal in this province, it is going to be necessary both to encourage our existing businesses and industries to stay as well as to attract new businesses and industries. I wonder if the Premier or anyone in his government is aware of the reality that this means we have to have some aggressive marketing techniques to persuade business and industry that they have reason and that it makes sense to do business in this province.

It was on November 6, just a month ago, that the Treasurer indicated Toronto had been short-listed as a possible location for Piper Aircraft, with up to 5,000 jobs. We have learned now that Piper Aircraft has come and gone, and has expressed shock and disappointment at the indifference with which it was received by, of all places, the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology.

This morning, the Premier was handed the keys of 300 firms that have closed because of the policies of the NDP government. This seems to be the kind of siege mentality this government has towards business. When potential investors look at Ontario, they see a runaway deficit, proposals for new labour legislation and a whole host of legislative, economic and tax policies that run counter to the interests of both workers and their employers; whereas if they look south, for example, they are going to see sales tax exemptions, tax credits for new jobs and research and development and state-sponsored financing for land, buildings and equipment.

What programs and policies has the Premier's government put in place to persuade existing businesses to stay and to attract new businesses to come to this province?

**Hon Mr Rae:** In her preamble, the member for Fort William mentioned the issue of Piper Aircraft. Let me advise the her that I spoke to Mr Eaton at about 1 o'clock this afternoon. Mr Eaton spent some six or seven hours with officials in the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology yesterday putting forward a proposal that required

considerable public investment. He put forward a proposal which the government has now received and which we are considering.

I am sure the honourable member would be among the first in the House to say that on the first day the government of Ontario receives a substantial request for public support from a company that has been in serious financial difficulty in the United States, it is only fair and reasonable that we have a few hours to consider that particular proposition, which involves a very substantial commitment from this government.

In my discussions with Mr Eaton, of which I have now had two, I have made it very clear to him that this is a good place to do business and that this is a good time for investment. He has indicated a great deal of willingness to work with this government with respect to that question.

In addition, since the member mentioned in her preamble the gift of the keys this morning, the person who gave me the keys made it very clear that he felt it was a situation this government had inherited with respect to a very serious recession. That is precisely what the questioner said to me in asking the question.

1440

**Mrs McLeod:** I am glad there are one or two new situations which have now caught the attention of the Premier, and hopefully of his government, but I would like to tell the Premier about a place that has not yet heard about the good things his government is prepared to do to ensure there is some confidence for staying and doing business in this province. It is the town of Paris. Perhaps I should remind the Premier that it is in the apparently forgotten riding of Brant-Haldimand.

Over the past few months, unknown to the town's workforce, many of the community's largest employers have been heavily courted by a host of American states, cities and counties. They have had personal letters from state governors. They have received a host of appealing material that extols the virtues of their jurisdictions. I would be happy to share it with the Premier. They have even sent senior people to Paris to meet business owners face to face.

The mayor of Paris obtained some of that material. He conveyed it to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology and asked for a letter that might refute the claims, so that he could somehow accomplish what other area mayors have not been able to do; that is, convince these businesses not to head south.

I have obtained a copy of the letter that was sent on behalf of the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology to the mayor over the signature of the regional director. I want to share one brief line because I think it indicates the kind of frustration that communities feel with the lack of response from this government. "Such cross-border activities are understandable but can lead to inefficient as well as inequitable movements when governments use discriminatory and market-distorting practices to attract firms and investments from other jurisdictions. There is little that this ministry can do directly to stop these practices."



Is this the message of confidence the Premier wants to send to people in Paris and other communities across this province? Is that the kind of vote of confidence his government has to offer?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I am sure the honourable member would understand that it is not exactly new for American businesses, or indeed for American governors or officials, to come to many different jurisdictions across Canada and talk about what is going on in their particular jurisdiction.

I believe Ontario needs to do a better job of marketing what we have. I have asked the vice-president of Semi-Tech, Mr Michael List, to head a task force within the Premier's Council to report to us in January with respect to a more aggressive marketing strategy for Ontario. I think that message needs to be delivered throughout the government. I think this government does need to market what we have: our strengths and advantages as a place to do business more effectively. We are a very competitive environment in which to do business in the world today and that is something of which we as Ontarians can be very proud.

**Mrs McLeod:** I do not think the Premier fully realizes the sense of despair that exists among the communities in this province, among companies trying to do business here, among workers in Ontario.

The Premier may be aware that Statistics Canada has said that Ontario's help wanted index has now hit its lowest point in the past seven years, a drop of 15% from the time this government took office. Clearly, companies are looking for fewer workers than they did in past years. The unemployment figures will be released tomorrow and we have no reason to believe they will not be just as bad. But the only response this government seems to be making to the economic crisis that exists in this province is literally to go from one specific crisis to another, remaining blind to the bids of the United States to take our businesses south.

Again, when will this government stop scaring off new businesses and chasing away the old ones? Why is the government's only plan to keep companies in Ontario just to shrug its shoulders and say, "There is nothing more we can do"?

**Hon Mr Rae:** There is a lot more we can do. There is a lot more we can all do. That is exactly what we are doing in terms of the activities of the government. But one of the things we have to recognize is that there are going to be more aggressive marketing tactics from other places. My view is that we have to meet those tactics head on with the facts about Ontario, with the facts about our taxes, with the facts about our costs and with the facts about the advantage of doing business in Ontario. That is what we have to do. I am sure all members would join with us in the need to start telling the truth and the facts about the business conditions, and the business conditions for prosperity, in Ontario.

#### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

**Mrs McLeod:** I would like to address another issue about winners and losers in Ontario and direct a question to the Minister of Financial Institutions. Today's announce-

ment about changes to the auto insurance plan are a clear attempt to save face after having retreated from a previous promise his government made.

I think those who were counting on the NDP to keep its pledge to restore the right to sue are going to be very surprised and disappointed with the announcement that was made today, because they are going to find this plan actually eliminates the right of seriously and permanently disabled people who are no longer able to earn a livelihood to be able to sue for lost income.

If I can try to put this in some human terms, under the scheme the minister has announced today, a concert pianist who loses an arm, a truck driver who is blinded, a construction worker who is paralysed, will no longer be able to sue for lost income and lost livelihood. Instead, they are going to be limited to claiming only for the pain they have suffered. This government is going to prevent them from suing for what is really important, which is their inability to earn a living. They are going to tell them that compensation for pain is sufficient.

Clearly the minister has decided that the catastrophically injured will be losers under this plan. What does he have to say to those people who can no longer support themselves or their families and who will now never—

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order. I invent—invite—invent, yes; I would like to invent calm. I invite the member for Fort William to place her question, please.

**Mrs McLeod:** Mr Speaker, I do not mind the interruption, because I share the sense of outrage. I would again ask the minister, what does he have to say to those people who can no longer support themselves or their families and who will never be able to recover the financial losses they have suffered?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** The answer to the question is quite simple. The package we have proposed today is a package that will not only deliver the right to sue for pain and suffering to each of the individuals the member has described, but will also deliver benefits for economic loss without the need to sue. In addition, one of the problems with the right to sue is that it only delivers benefits to those who have someone to sue. Our package delivers benefits to everyone, whether there is someone to sue or not.

**Mrs McLeod:** The minister is failing to acknowledge the real loss in this plan, which is that the previous plan allowed the seriously and permanently disabled the right to sue, so that they could regain the income they had lost because of their inability to continue in their profession or in their field. That is what has been lost with the amendments this minister has proposed today.

When the government backed away from its commitment to public auto insurance, the minister at that time pledged that Ontario consumers would still receive premium reductions of about \$40 to \$60 per driver, and in fact in recent months some companies have voluntarily announced that there would be premium reductions. Now the minister has unveiled his package of rather dubious reforms to the plan and he talks about affordable premiums.



I ask the minister, what does "affordable" mean? Will he assure us that his government's proposals will either reduce premiums for consumers or at the very least ensure that premiums will not be increased?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** In response to the member's question about prices, currently about 50% of the industry has applied for premium reductions. We expect that process to continue and we also expect that this package of benefit increases will be implemented without further premium increases.

1450

**Mrs McLeod:** It really is a little hard to know exactly what the government is promising today, but it leaves us with a very real concern that this plan is going to either lead to increased premiums for consumers or that it is going to lead to an impossible situation for insurance companies to be able to deliver the increased benefits without increased premiums, that it will lead to insurance companies leaving this province.

There is only one conclusion for us to draw from what has been presented today, and that is that this government is inexorably taking the next step towards publicly owned auto insurance in Ontario. I ask the minister to simply tell us today, so he can end our uncertainty, when is he planning to tell us his plan for publicly insured auto insurance in Ontario? When is he going to carry it out?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** This government's intentions around auto insurance reform are very clearly set out in an extensive paper that was released today, *The Road Ahead*. It deals with all the things we intend to accomplish and we intend to accomplish those things in the private sector.

**Mr Tilson:** My question is for the Minister of Financial Institutions. I would like to ask him a few questions on the booklet he has published today. Yesterday the minister informed us that the new insurance scheme would save the Ontario driver \$45 a year in premiums. For that \$45 a year, all the driver is getting is a reduced right to sue. It is quite clear from this booklet that this is what the driver will be getting. If the minister's child were permanently injured in a motor vehicle accident, would it be worth \$45 to him to ensure she is able to seek compensation for the money she will never earn and for the job she will never hold?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** Very briefly, the member will learn the plan as we go through the process, because he obviously has not correctly read the information he has. The package we proposed today will deliver an income for life to that child who has been permanently injured.

**Mr Tilson:** The minister is right. I literally got this thing seconds before, but I will say that I have perused it and what I have said is correct. Let me give another example: If an apprentice in a union were seriously injured in a highway traffic accident and thereby prevented from graduating from the position of apprentice to the level of journeyman, could he be forced to live at a salary of an apprentice for the rest of his life? Would it be worth \$45 to him or her to be able to seek compensation for the income he will never be allowed to earn, or would he be

stuck at that level he had currently, the level of an apprentice?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** The package of benefits we have delivered in this plan is a fully indexed package, including pension benefits.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order, the member for Willowdale.

**Hon Mr Charlton:** The package will deliver a lifetime, indexed benefit to this individual.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order. Would the member take his seat, please.

Interjections.

**Mr Turnbull:** You should rename the Agenda for People as Lies for the People.

**The Speaker:** Order. The member for York Mills should not use unparliamentary language.

**Mr Turnbull:** Mr Speaker, I referred to the Agenda for People, which was put out through the election.

**The Speaker:** Order. The member for York Mills will take his seat.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** I asked the member for York Mills to please not use unparliamentary language and I ask him to withdraw the remark he made.

**Mr Turnbull:** I will certainly withdraw it and suggest it must be terminological inexactitude.

**The Speaker:** I appreciate the withdrawal.

**Mr Tilson:** The minister asked me to refer to this booklet in answer to my second question. I look forward to him pointing to the page where I can find the answer because I say it is not there. He has not solved that problem. I will give the minister another example, and if possible, he can refer me to the page on that one.

If a mother were to take five years off, take time off from her job as a teacher, for example, to raise her children and during that time she was permanently injured and became disabled as a result of that motor vehicle accident, she would be forced to spend the rest of her life earning no more than \$185 a week which will not be indexed.

**An hon member:** That's not true.

**Mr Tilson:** Well, that is what it says in the minister's booklet. Would it be worth \$45 a year to her to be able to seek compensation for the \$40,000 a year she would have earned when she returned to her job?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** As I said in response to the member's last question, as we go through the process of understanding all that is in the package, he will come to terms with how this package applies in individual cases. In the case the member raised, the teacher will get an indexed lifetime benefit based on her income as a teacher. In designing this package, this government has chosen to deliver benefits to all those who are seriously injured in auto accidents, rather than revert to a system that delivered benefits to some and none to others.



## ONTARIO ECONOMY

**Mr Harris:** My question is to the Premier. Many Ontarians, and certainly, I think, most members of this House were rather appalled at the Premier's casual attitude towards the proposal to move Piper Aircraft to Ontario. We are talking about 5,000 jobs. Cyrus Eaton said he was shocked by the indifference of officials at the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology. The message the Premier is sending out clearly to this firm, and I suggest to investors in business, is that this government is too busy to talk about creating 5,000 new jobs for this province.

The Premier said he talked to Mr Eaton today at 1 o'clock. We have known for over a month that Mr Eaton wanted to locate in Canada. Can the Premier tell me why over this whole period of a month he personally has not called Mr Eaton, as other premiers and other governments have done, asked to meet with him, flown down to see him, made himself available and laid out the welcome mat? Why is it that every other government and every other Premier in this country are so far ahead of the Premier in making companies like Piper Aircraft feel welcome to their provinces?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Let's get some facts on the table, because I think it would be useful in terms of the question.

First, the day there was a headline in the newspaper with respect to the possibility of Piper Aircraft coming to Toronto, I picked up the phone and spoke personally to Mr Eaton for about 20 minutes. That was about a month ago. The member asked, why did I not make a phone call? I made a phone call right away. I spoke to him right away. I spoke to the officials in the ministry right away. I said, "I want there to be contact between Mr Eaton and the ministry as soon as possible." That contact has taken place over the last 30 days.

I might add that if the member will make any inquiries, he will know that the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology and the Ontario International Corp have had extensive dealings with Mr Eaton in the past, so he is not someone new in dealing with the government of Ontario and with certain experiences with respect to investment possibilities, in this case in Leningrad, which investments, I might say, were not able to materialize for whatever reason.

1500

**Mr Harris:** So you wrote him off based on that experience?

**Hon Mr Rae:** No, that is not the case. Mr Eaton was met at the airport yesterday by officials of the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology. He met for over six hours with the assistant deputy minister and with other officials, including our senior trade officer from Chicago. Mr Corcoran, who has been with Scotia McLeod for many years, has joined the government in the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology, with specific responsibilities in this area, and Mr Corcoran had an extensive meeting with Mr Eaton.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Mr Eaton put forward a proposal and a written business plan which is being considered by this government. I can tell the honourable

member it involves extensive public guarantees and requires extensive—

**The Speaker:** Would the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —financial involvement by the government of Ontario. You cannot just snap your fingers and write out a cheque for somebody who comes in and says, "I've got an idea." You have to sit down, study it and look at it.

**Mr Harris:** If the Premier has done all this, can he explain why Mr Eaton feels that every other province has been co-operative, wants to meet with him, would like to discuss it? They are all studying the financial implication as well, as the Premier is. Why is it then that Mr Eaton feels Ontario does not want him?

**Hon Mr Rae:** The honourable member is the first one on his feet any time there is any public money involved with respect to a private investment. He is the first one on his feet to say that is not what Ontario should be doing. Yesterday was the first time Mr Eaton and his group and Piper Aircraft, the people who are the shareholders of Piper, presented us with a business plan. He would be the first one on his feet if I were to have authorized an official to say, "Whatever he asks for, give it to him." That is not the way to conduct business. It is not the way to conduct negotiations.

I would tell the honourable member that we are looking at the proposal and we will consider it, as we will consider many others. But since it involves extensive guarantees by the public purse, this government obviously has to look at it very carefully, that is all.

**Mr Harris:** Mr Eaton did not suggest to the media he was disappointed that the government did not offer him gobs of money. He said he did not feel welcome, that the Premier, his government, his officials did not make him feel welcome. They were too busy opening the vault with all their labour discussions with de Havilland to save 3,000 jobs. They spent all that time, they invested all that effort there, but they were too busy to treat him seriously, to meet with him when he wanted to meet, to just make him feel welcome, that is all.

I will tell the Premier what is going on out there. Whenever there is any hint of an opportunity for jobs in the United States, that company's phone lines are inundated from 50 governors of every state calling and saying, "We'd like to meet with you; we'd like to talk with you," not offering gobs of cash, although they do that in the normal course of events, as the Premier does, but making the company feel welcome. Nine other premiers do the same thing.

I am going to ask the Premier the same question I asked him in the first supplementary—nothing to do with money. Why is it that Mr Eaton and other companies are now telling us the same thing, that they are not made to feel their private sector money and jobs are welcome in this province?

**Hon Mr Rae:** There was a six-hour meeting, a luncheon, a meeting with the assistant deputy minister and a serious business discussion. I would say to the member



that it is not 5,000 jobs. I have spoken to Mr Eaton personally twice. I spoke to him again today. I made it very clear to him that the province was interested in looking at his proposal. He knows that. At the end of the conversation, I asked Mr Eaton, "Is it fair to say, as result of this conversation, that you are still interested in doing business in Ontario?" He said: "Definitely, Premier. On the basis of our conversations, I can give you that assurance."

#### VEHICLE LICENSING OFFICES

**Mr Mancini:** My question is of the Minister of Transportation, who today tried to hide a major policy shift in the announcement made by the Minister of Financial Institutions. Previously in this House, the minister has been asked what he intends to do with the more than 250 licence-issuing offices across the province and the 1,500 employees who work in those offices. He was asked whether those jobs were protected.

The minister said in the Legislature on October 21: "The system is working quite fine. If it ain't broke, don't fix it." Further, the minister said: "By way of conclusion, this is what those fine soldiers are doing, and it is not terribly lucrative. They are doing it because they believe in providing an essential service." That is what the Minister of Transportation had to say at that time. We want to know what the minister is saying today.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** I certainly admire the member's passion—and he is right—when it comes to those 1,500 women or men who have been, are still and will keep on providing the service that they do. Because people are so busy, they do not spend time on these meticulous items the way they should; and why not? It is not their endeavour. For the benefit of the member and other members in the House, at present licence issuers are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Transportation.

**Mrs Caplan:** What a revelation. When did you figure that out?

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** It is not profound, that is right. I want to keep it simple. The member should bear with me.

In the future, we will put forward an organization that will deal at arm's length. The jurisdiction will change, but the issuers will still be providing the service they are today. That will not change.

**Mr Mancini:** The member for Renfrew North wrote to the minister about this matter in October. I want to remind the minister he is still waiting for an answer. We have reviewed meticulously the document that was presented today. This is what his document says on page 27: "They involve linking concepts and activities which up to now have been seen as separate, for example linking insurance with driver and vehicle regulation." On page 30, the minister's document says, "Opportunities to improve the linkage between insurance and motor vehicle registration will be examined."

It is very clear what they want to do. They want to give the responsibilities and duties of the licence issuers over to insurance companies. That is what they want to do. We need a guarantee from the minister that those private oper-

ators will be protected, whether they are under his ministry or an agency of his government.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** With respect, I simply wish that the member opposite would stop the fear-mongering. It is mere speculation. I tell him that it is business as usual for the 1,500 people who are working there. There is no denying this. Nothing will change this year, nothing will change next year, nothing will change the year after, etc. What more guarantee does he want? We will be meeting with those fine people at 4 o'clock this afternoon.

The workload may increase. The workload may be somewhat different. This is what it is all about; this is a coalition. I guarantee we are not going to lose the good efforts of these people. They will be placed to work, I can assure members of this.

1510

**Mr Turnbull:** My question is to the Minister of Transportation, and he will not be surprised that my question is in the same vein as the last one. Indeed, it was my questions in the House that triggered the responses from the minister. He says, "With due respect, the member should stop selling fear."

If he understood his briefing when he took over the ministry, The minister will know that the only significant amount of money that is made in these offices, and it is a very modest amount of money, is made from the renewals of licences. Perusing the document he has put out today, it is very clear that once the agency is established, these services will be transferred.

I ask the minister, before he responds, to look at page 28 of this document he put out today. What exactly is he saying? Is the minister guaranteeing the jobs of the 1,500 low-paid, predominantly female, non-unionized workers who work in this industry, and is he guaranteeing the offices where there are leases taken out? That is my question.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** Simply put, it is the responsibility of the ministry that will be transferred to the agency, not the work that the issuers are doing; no more, no less. C'est simple, n'est-ce pas ?

**Mr Turnbull:** I want to make crystal clear that the minister is saying that not a single job will be taken away as a result of this, that all the jobs stay in the present offices, because he has issued a letter requesting that they attend in his office today for the briefing affecting their jobs. I want the minister to clarify what he means by "affecting their jobs."

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** Although the question is valid, it is quite difficult to penetrate when you talk about simple facts. I guess if the member does not wish to believe, he believes what he wishes. We have no control over that.

We will be meeting at 4 o'clock to discuss the kind of coalition we are putting forward where motorists of Ontario will be better served. This is a good new situation, and in all honesty, I was expecting here today, after our statement in this House, that this would be one of those rare moments where partisanship would be put aside and the safety of motorists and the future of Ontario motorists would be causes for celebration by all of us. I am so saddened the opposition members have chosen not to do so.



## WORKERS' COMPENSATION BOARD

## GOVERNMENT POLICY

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** I would like to respond to a question asked yesterday by the member for York Mills, who asked why the Workers' Compensation Board had signed a letter of intent to lease space in downtown Toronto instead of potentially less costly facilities on the outskirts of Toronto. As well, in his supplementary the member asked why the WCB was leasing 32% more space while projecting the amount of staff will be 18% less.

I want to say the WCB is relocating because the current location is inadequate to meet the present and future needs of the Workers' Compensation Board due to inadequate floor plan, inadequate elevator capacity and limited accessibility to wheelchairs.

Under section 67(1) of the Workers' Compensation Act, the board's main offices must be located in the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. The WCB selected the Simcoe Place site from among 35 potential sites as the most accessible and appropriate to meet the needs of staff and stakeholders. A review of staff and stakeholder transportation patterns clearly indicated that a downtown location was preferable. No existing site can meet the organizational and technical space requirements.

The WCB has been able to secure a long-term lease on 525,000 square feet that will be below market rents over the life of the lease in a building that is being redesigned to meet the specific organizational and technical requirements of the WCB. Its rent formula is based on the cost of construction of the office tower and parking garage with parking revenues offsetting the rent.

**The Speaker:** Would the minister conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** It is a financially prudent approach. I can tell the member also that there will not be a 18% reduction. The vocational rehabs are now full-time and we will be going with it. The current location had exactly 100 square feet per worker, against an average of 200 square feet in the city of Toronto. The new location will have 150 square feet for the use of the workers at the WCB.

**Mr Turnbull:** The minister has failed to give out the amount of money involved in this lease. It is quite clear that there is approximately \$10 million worth of savings to be had by going to the suburbs and running a shuttle bus. If the minister cannot change the regulations of the Workers' Compensation Board in order to accommodate that, he is in really serious trouble. When his government is sucking air on its budget, he should be saving the taxpayers money. Why he is increasing up to approximately 150 square feet per employee, when commercial companies typically have around 100 square feet per employee, is absolutely beyond belief. I want to know specifically how much he is going to pay, including the add-ons, and how it compares with suburban premises?

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** I am a little surprised the member would want to use a shuttle bus to ferry the workers around the city of Toronto, and I do not think it is a very reasonable position he has taken.

**Mr Phillips:** My question is to the Premier. It follows up on a comment he made earlier today in the House, looking for the opposition's help in dealing with the economic woes. I will just say to the Premier that we are having difficulty working with his government because, frankly, his backroom political operatives on that Consultation Central Co-ordinating Committee are trying to manipulate our committee work.

I will just give the Premier some examples. The chairman of that committee was yanked off it and fired from the committee because he happened to disagree with him. There was a memo that was given to the opposition, an innocuous, non-confidential memo, and the Ontario Provincial Police was called in and an investigation launched for one reason: to intimidate the civil service and to intimidate the opposition.

When our legislative committee attempted to have hearings last summer dealing with the budget, the Premier's office phoned various groups that depend on government funding and suggested they appear and speak in favour of the budget. Now we have the leaked CCCC document, which indicates that it is the intention of this group, led by John Piper and others in the Premier's office, to use the legislative committee for the party's own particular support.

My question to the Premier is this: Will the Premier commit that he will march down the hall, tell John Piper and the other political operatives on the CCCC to keep their hands off our legislative committee that is attempting to deal with the fiscal mess and give a hand, and leave the committee to do its work without political interference? Will he undertake that today?

**Hon Mr Rae:** It is not in my makeup to march down halls, but I would say to the honourable member that I think in fairness, if he looks ahead at what we are trying to do and what we will be doing in the next three or four months, he will find we are going to set out as clearly as we possibly can for the committee, for the House and for the public the very difficult choices we face, with as much information as possible given the old rules about budget secrecy.

My own view is that we need to share as much information as possible with the public. We need to share as much information as possible with the committee. That is the direction this government wants to take. I expect the member to be critical, but I want the criticism to be based on the information we are getting from Treasury people and from others with respect to the next budget year and the year after that.

1520

**Mr Phillips:** The problem, to be completely frank, is that we hear one thing and we see something different. I will go back to the OPP, where the Premier says he wants to let the public know.

I am struck by the fact that in Ottawa—the Premier may have seen this article—the federal civil service put an ad in the paper, opened a toll-free line, and said: "Come on, civil servants, tell us what's happening. We want to



know about anything that's in the public domain." They were quite anxious to have information out to the public. Here in Ontario, when a civil servant happened, I think inadvertently, to let an innocuous, non-confidential memo get into the hands of the opposition, the OPP was called in.

My question to the Premier is this: Is he prepared to give the Ontario civil servants the same right Brian Mulroney has given the federal civil servants, or will he continue to call in the OPP if those sorts of memos are in the hands of the opposition or the public?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I am not aware of the Prime Minister authorizing the release of cabinet documents. If that is what he has done, if that is what the member is suggesting the Prime Minister has done, that is news to me and it is news I am interested in hearing.

I say to the honourable member, for whom I can say I have considerable regard, and I want to say it to him very directly, the economic and fiscal situation facing the government today, facing the public, facing the people of the province, is very tough. We are going to share as much information as we possibly can and we want to encourage as much information to be shared as is humanly possible.

#### BUS TRANSPORTATION

**Mr McLean:** My question is for the Minister of Transportation. Yesterday he stood in this House and announced very clearly the UTDC sale and was so pleased about it.

I have a question for the minister today. It has to do with the Ontario Northland Transportation Commission. This commission recently purchased routes between North Bay and Toronto, as well as between Sudbury and Toronto, from Gray Coach Lines Inc, a company owned by Stage Coach (Holdings) Ltd of Perth, Scotland. I would like to know how the minister can justify spending \$7 million of taxpayers' money to compete with a private corporation like Penetang-Midland Coach Lines, which has been serving the people of Simcoe county since 1867.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** With the highest of respect, in terms of jurisdiction Ontario Northland lies with my distinguished colleague, the Minister for Northern Development and Mines. I will convey the member's good wishes and question to her when she returns from northern Ontario.

**Mr McLean:** My understanding is that the Minister of Transportation is responsible for the transport board. It is the transport board that made the decision, which he is maybe not aware of. That is in his ministry. I am asking him why he would want to spend \$7 million to subsidize a company which in the long run will probably not make a profit. He is going to put the private operator out of business on the lines that he runs from Orillia, Barrie and Toronto, and he has run them for years. It is his jurisdiction. He should not try to put it on to another ministry. It is the transport board that made the decision and he is responsible for it. Does he not know what is going on in his ministry?

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** Of course we know what is going on in our ministry. Let me make this clear: The question talked about the money emanating from one ministry,

which was not the Ministry of Transportation. The member is right in his supplementary when he says that the transport board is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Transportation. It is exactly that; it is MTO. We have an arm's-length relationship with the board. They are there to make decisions. We are not there to interfere.

#### RENT REGULATION

**Mr Malkowski:** My question is for the Minister of Housing. Many tenants of apartment buildings in my riding of York East have expressed their outrage to me about recent rent increases that have been granted to landlords, even in cases where there have been no repairs or renovations. Time and time again, the tenants have told me of the rent review hearings issuing 11% and 13% rent increases even after the tenants have appealed the original order and have waited months and even years for a decision. Why is this happening and what can we do to help my constituents and all other tenants in Ontario?

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** I thank the member for York East for the question. I can certainly understand the dismay and anger of the tenants in the riding he represents. The problem is that for several thousand cases we are still dealing with appeals and processes taking place under the current legislation, which was brought in by the former government. As the member is aware, new legislation is on the way. We have the bill for the new Rent Control Act in committee now. We are hoping to have the work wrapped up on that by Christmas, with the co-operation of the opposition, so that we could have it in place and effective by this April.

However, we still have to deal with those appeals that came through the cumbersome and very drawn-out, lengthy appeal process under the present legislation. We are going to be dealing with them for months to come, much to the dismay of tenants like those in York East.

**Mr Malkowski:** My constituents want to know what this government is going to do to provide real protection for tenants. What is it going to do to prevent these increases from happening again in the future?

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** Essentially what I can ask him to convey to the tenants in York East is that our new legislation will provide for a guideline increase and no greater than a 3% eligible capital cost increase on application for eligible expenses, only eligible expenses, by the landlord.

In the meantime, until that legislation comes into effect we have provided protection for tenants from the period November 29, 1990, with the introduction of Bill 4, an amendment to the current legislation. It is confusing for tenants, but we have provided interim protection for tenants. When the new bill comes in, gone will be those long-drawn-out appeal processes.

#### HOSPITAL SERVICES

**Mr McClelland:** I have a question for the Minister of Health. I have drawn to the minister's attention numerous times in this House through statements and questions the importance and immediate need for a second health care facility in Brampton. I am referring, of course, to the Chinguacousy Health Services Centre, which is indeed a



model for community-based health care. Could the minister please update the people of Brampton, my community, as to what her ministry's progress is on this very important project?

**Hon Ms Lankin:** I appreciate the question from the member. We have spoken on a number of occasions with respect to this project, and I understand his keen interest in it and the interest of the people who live in his area of the province.

The proposal, as the member knows, was discussed with the former Deputy Minister of Health earlier this year, at which point I think it was made clear to the community group working on this that there were some problems in the direction the proposal had been headed. It was a proposal for an ambulatory care clinic, and short of having beds it was almost like a second hospital as opposed to a second health care facility. There were some discussions, I believe, within the community about whether or not there should be some redirection of that proposal, moving it more into the line of a community-based health care clinic setting, and those discussions, I think, have continued to take place.

The ministry has had ongoing communications and there is a proposal that is being worked on that will be coming forward for me to review soon. I will be in a position to give the member an update, I would hope, within the next couple of weeks.

**Mr McClelland:** I will be looking forward to that update because I simply want to say to the minister that the project is indeed needed. Brampton's population is growing fast, as the minister well knows. A new development of 70,000 people is on line. The Chinguacousy board has, I remind the minister, over 46 acres of land. They already own that. The region of Peel has committed over \$20 million and has it set aside for this project.

I believe, and I think that the documents indicate, that primary care is planned for the first phase, with an emphasis on wellness, prevention and rehabilitation, the very things the minister and her ministry say they want. The Chinguacousy Health Services Centre, I believe, in terms of the guidelines of the Ministry of Health, could and should be used as a model for the direction of community-based health care.

They have had their master plan at the Ministry of Health for over a year. The board advises me that it was promised a response by February 1991, this year. They are awaiting that response. They would dispute, quite frankly, rigorously some of the arguments that have been raised: that the board is not representative of the community. That certainly is not the case. The board has the co-operation of the existing health care facility. The hospital, Peel Memorial Hospital, and the district health council are in support.

**The Speaker:** And the member's supplementary?

**Mr McClelland:** Can the minister tell the people of Brampton today that the project is still alive and that there is hope to see this back on track very soon? Clearly it is offtrack. Roadblocks have been put up by the ministry. We want to know what needs to be done. The master plan is

there. The response was promised in February. Where is that response?

**Hon Ms Lankin:** I think I indicated to the member that I will be able to give him a fuller response in very short order. He makes the point that the region of Peel is a very high-growth area in the province, and that is true. I hope he would want us to be appropriate in our direction of the planning to ensure we are matching services to that area of population growth and not just the sort of projection he is talking about.

Particularly at a time when we are looking at shrinking services in the institutional sector and a need for those resources to be used effectively within the community, investment in future capital plant is something that has to be assessed with great care. That is what we are attempting to do, and I will hopefully have an answer for the member very soon.

1530

#### SALE OF BEER AT MAPLE LEAF GARDENS

**Mr Runciman:** I have a question for the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. It relates to a suggestion I made, back in September before the beginning of the National Hockey League season, that this government allow the sale of beer in Maple Leaf Gardens. I have talked to the minister on a number of occasions. She indicated in the media following my proposal that she was supportive of it, but nothing has happened.

Apparently she has expanded this beyond Maple Leaf Gardens, and in looking at a host of areas with respect to this issue, she has muddied the waters. It is a relatively simple decision. I have sent over to her three simple, easy regulations which she could take to cabinet next week. Why is the minister delaying this decision?

**Hon Ms Churley:** It is not true at all that nothing has been done on this issue. I thank the member for sending over his amendments. I have stated before—and pardon the pun here—I believe in a level playing field, and that is what I am working on here.

I am not just looking at Maple Leaf Gardens. Within the next two weeks, the Liquor Licence Board of Ontario will be conducting consultations with stadium and arena owners, public interest groups and the law enforcement community to find out what their views are. Right now, there are only six stadiums within Ontario, I believe, that are allowed to sell alcohol, and that is just in the area of baseball, football and soccer. We are looking at a level playing field here, so it is taking a little longer than just licensing one more stadium within Toronto.

**Mr Runciman:** That is a bunch of hogwash. Let's face it, we only have one NHL team in Ontario. The minister is talking about a level playing field. There is a suspicion out there that this government could not organize a two-car funeral, and I think it is well founded.

We are talking about a very simple exercise here. The minister could take those regulations in next week. When we put booze into the SkyDome, it happened relatively quickly. When we put it into Labatt Park in London, it happened relatively quickly. The minister can do this. It is



the only team in the National Hockey League that does not have the opportunity to sell beer.

I am continually baffled by the minister expanding this into other areas. I am saying let's get on with it. They only have half a season left. The minister supports it. She should take it to her cabinet colleagues—I am sure her caucus will agree—get it through the House and let's have it for the remainder of the NHL season.

**Hon Ms Churley:** The member must be a hockey fan. I am a baseball fan myself. I understand the issue, because I must admit I do get to go to baseball games and drink beer. Again I bring it back to the fact that I am talking about a more level playing field here. I am not willing to go ahead and say, "Let's put it in one more stadium." It is not fair to all the others within Ontario that are requesting the same thing. I will tell the member that the consultation period is happening now and we will be moving on this very soon.

#### WETLANDS

**Mr White:** My question is for the Minister of the Environment. Many Whitby residents are concerned about the protection of the Lynde Shores marsh, which is a valuable and cherished class 1 wetland to the west in my riding on the border of Lake Ontario. Adjacent privately owned lands are being slated for residential development along with the lands to the east which are in provincial hands. Can the minister assure the people of Whitby that this valuable class 1 wetland will be protected?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** First, let me say I fully understand the concerns of the member and of the residents of his riding and I share them. As the member will recall, it was in 1988 that the then Minister of the Environment gave a conditional exemption from the Environmental Assessment Act for this project. That exemption was subject to stringent terms and conditions.

Our ministry earlier this year concluded a review of the Lynde Shores environmental management master plan which had been required by my predecessor as a condition to that exemption, and we believe that plan satisfactorily deals with the protection and the buffering of the wetland which is adjacent to the site.

However, we have recommended to the Ministry of Government Services, and I am glad to be able to tell the member the minister has agreed to my request, that a public committee involving citizens of the area be established to finalize details of an environmental mitigation and monitoring that will ensure protection of this very sensitive wetland area.

**Mr White:** May I ask as well if the ministry has identified any specific concerns with the Lynde Shores proposal?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** Under the environmental management master plan, the environmental concerns that were identified were primarily wildlife habitat protection and water quality. We have endeavoured, as part of the conditions we have requested be imposed on the development, both buffering by open space and by not putting the residential development directly adjacent to either the buffer or the wetland and by very stringent storm water manage-

ment conditions that we are imposing to make sure wetland is protected and water quality from the runoff from the development is not impaired to any degree.

#### CEMETERY MAINTENANCE

**Mr Kwinter:** My question is for the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. The other day the minister announced what amounts to a tombstone tax, and that announcement has left industry officials and the general public confused and angry. Dying Ontarians will have to pay an extra \$50 to \$200 for a gravesite, and the tax has been called an unfair burden on seniors who can least afford it.

There is an old adage that nothing is as certain as death and taxes, but I am sure it was not contemplated that they would both happen at the same time. Only the large cemeteries are going to benefit from this; the small cemeteries are not. The minister's response so far, and I think it is rather insensitive of her to say it, is that there is no problem, and if there is a problem, they can do without.

The minister has been quoted as saying consumers will be asked to contribute to this care fund. By asking to contribute, it sounds as if it is voluntary. Is she planning to make it a voluntary contribution by those who would like to contribute or is she in fact going to call it a tax? If it is not voluntary, it is a tax. If it is voluntary, why is she doing it?

**Hon Ms Churley:** I did not announce a tombstone tax yesterday. Let me make that very clear from the beginning. Those are not the facts. The reality is, as I said yesterday, that this is not a new policy and this is not a tax. There has always been a care and maintenance fund for safety reasons.

People will be asked to pay this. There will be exemptions for people who buy the smaller flat stones that create no public danger. The reality here is that we need to extend that fund to make sure that, as has happened in the past, small children are not hurt. Some of those monuments are not installed properly. They topple over and they have literally killed and injured small children. This is the continuation of a program that has already been in place. The government makes no revenue from this fund. It goes back into the community for the care and maintenance of those tombstones.

1540

#### DRUG OFFENCES

**Mr Ruprecht:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Standing order 33(a) has to do with question period, and I am asking you for a ruling.

On October 8 I asked the Solicitor General to ensure that those persons charged with drug offences had their driver's licence suspended. He promised this House a response. Yesterday I got the response in writing. He said he is no longer responsible for the provincial anti-drug secretariat and that consequently we should ask the honourable Minister of Health for a response.

I am giving you notice today, Mr Speaker, that I am unhappy with this response. I would like to take this matter up at the adjournment of the House. Unless you have a different ruling, this is the way I would like to proceed.



**The Speaker:** To the member for Parkdale, I certainly appreciate his intense interest in question period. However, the member will know that dissatisfaction with a response must be given at the time when a question is asked and the necessary document filed with the table before 5 o'clock of that same day.

## PETITIONS

### HIGHWAY SAFETY

**Mr Miclash:** I have a petition to the Minister of Transportation which reads:

"We, the undersigned, being users of Highway 641 on a regular basis, petition you to give serious consideration to improving the condition of this highway as soon as possible. We suggest that the mere putting of patch upon patch is not a satisfactory solution."

That is signed by 308 of my constituents, and I too attach my signature to it.

### OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

**Mr Stockwell:** To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91, made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right,

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

There are well over 1,000 signatures on this list, and I will be happy to affix my own.

### HAMILTON TIGER-CAT FOOTBALL CLUB

**Mr Morrow:** I have a petition here signed by 8,407 people.

**Mr Mahoney:** Is it all on that one page?

**Mr Morrow:** It is a lot of pages.

"We, the undersigned, petition the province of Ontario that you grant us a sports lottery that we need in the city of Hamilton to further that the Tiger-Cats in the city of Hamilton can continue their many, many years of success and prosper."

### POLICE SERVICES

**Mr Mahoney:** I have a petition. It says:

"We, the undersigned citizens of the Bobcaygeon-South Verulam police district, Victoria county, are concerned about the increase of incidents requiring police attention in our community;

"Whereas we feel that the Ontario Provincial Police are not currently able to provide adequate service for these problems;

"Whereas we are concerned both for the safety of the citizens in our community and for the safety of the Ontario Provincial Police officers who patrol this area;

"Whereas we feel strongly that our community would be better served by a greater police presence in the form of additional officers to be added to our Lindsay OPP detachment,

"Therefore, we look forward to the Solicitor General's immediate attention to these concerns."

It is signed by some 700 people from that community, and I affix my signature thereto as well.

### OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

**Mr Arnott:** I have a petition signed by some 400 people. It reads:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91, made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right,

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

### WETLANDS

**Mr White:** I have a petition signed by some several thousand members of the town of Whitby. It is addressed to the Legislature of Ontario.

"Whereas class 1 wetlands are a limited resource in Ontario and are continually threatened by development projects;

"We, the undersigned, are requesting the government and Legislature of Ontario to ensure that any proposed development beside the Lynde Creek marsh, a class 1 wetlands in Whitby, poses no short- or long-term threat to the existing integrity of that marsh."

It is, as I said, signed by several thousand, and I affix my name thereto as well.

**Mr Ruprecht:** I too have a petition, but before I read my petition, I have a continuation on my point of order.

**The Speaker:** Would the member take his seat. If there is a new point of order, it can of course be raised at any time. I remind the member that this portion for presenting petitions does have a time limit and the clock is ticking.

**Mr Ruprecht:** Thank you, Mr Speaker. I will get back to my original point of order and I have something new to tell you. How can I possibly show my dissatisfaction with the response of the minister when he promises, "I will undertake to review the resolution and respond to the member"? I have no alternative, Mr Speaker, but to ask



you to acknowledge this situation and to permit me the adequate response.

**The Speaker:** Once again I will draw the member's attention to the standing orders, which are quite specific with respect to filing dissatisfaction with the response to a question which he had placed during the day. The dissatisfaction must be filed at the time, during that sitting, and not at a later sitting.

#### PROPERTY ASSESSMENT

**Mr Ruprecht:** I have a petition to the honourable Lieutenant Governor and the government of Ontario:

"Whereas the government of Premier Bob Rae will soon give the approval to have us subjected to a new tax scheme; and

"Whereas more than 9,000 small businesses in Metro Toronto would experience tax increases in excess of 100% if market value assessment were implemented;

"We, the undersigned citizens, petition the Legislature of Ontario and Mr Rae not to implement this new tax system because it will drive us into bankruptcy."

I have affixed my signature to this petition.

#### OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

**Mr Carr:** I am pleased to table a petition on behalf of the Monarchist League of Canada, signed by thousands of concerned citizens of Ontario, which reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91, made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right;

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty by the police personnel in Ontario."

I sign my name to that.

**Mr B. Murdoch:** I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91, made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right;

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the tradi-

tional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

I have affixed my signature to this.

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**Mr Tilson:** I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, at her coronation in 1953, took a personal oath to the people of Canada, and Canadians have always reciprocated with oaths of allegiance and service to the person of the sovereign;

"Whereas it is our right and duty to take oaths of allegiance and service in such form;

"Whereas Ontario regulation 144/91 made under the Police Services Act, 1990, denies Ontarians this right,

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, loyal to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council be requested to revoke Ontario regulation 144/91 and restore the traditional oath of service to Her Majesty for police personnel in Ontario."

There are 422 signatures to this petition and I have affixed my name thereto.

#### INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

##### INSURANCE STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1991

##### LOI DE 1991 MODIFIANT LES LOIS CONCERNANT LES ASSURANCES

Mr Charlton moved first reading of Bill 164, An Act to amend the Insurance Act and certain other Acts in respect of Automobile Insurance and other Insurance Matters / Projet de loi 164, Loi modifiant la Loi sur les assurances et certaines autres lois en ce qui concerne l'assurance-automobile et d'autres questions d'assurance.

Motion agreed to.

**Hon Mr Charlton:** This bill is the legislative component of a broad strategy for automobile insurance reform, a strategy that will establish an insurance system for all motorists and accident victims in Ontario.

The reforms incorporated in this new legislation follow a review of auto insurance that has lasted a year and included widespread consultation.

The reforms will address five key goals. They provide the principles for a new compensation system, a new definition of the criteria of the right to sue and permissive amendments to enable regulatory changes necessary to implement further reform of automobile insurance as outlined in The Road Ahead, which has been distributed to all members' offices today.

##### RIDEAU TRAIL ASSOCIATION ACT, 1991

Mr G. Wilson moved first reading of Bill Pr94, An Act to revive Rideau Trail Association.

Motion agreed to.

**Mrs Caplan:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I do not see a quorum.

**The Speaker:** Clerk, is there a quorum?



**Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals:** A quorum is present, Mr Speaker.

MUNICIPAL STATUTE LAW  
AMENDMENT ACT, 1991

LOI DE 1991 MODIFIANT DES LOIS  
CONCERNANT LES MUNICIPALITÉS

Mrs Grier, on behalf of Mr Cooke, moved first reading of Bill 165, An Act to amend certain Acts related to Municipalities / Projet de loi 165, Loi modifiant certaines lois relatives aux municipalités.

Motion agreed to.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** This bill amends a number of statutes related to municipalities. Many of the amendments are minor in nature.

**Mrs Caplan:** Mr Speaker, I hate to quarrel with the Clerk, but I count 18 members and that is not a quorum.

**Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals:** A quorum is present.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY OF OTTAWA-CARLETON  
AMENDMENT ACT, 1991

LOI DE 1991 MODIFIANT LA LOI  
SUR LA MUNICIPALITÉ RÉGIONALE  
D'OTTAWA-CARLETON

Mrs Grier, on behalf of Mr Cooke, moved second reading of Bill 123, An Act to amend the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton Act / Projet de loi 123, Loi portant modification de la Loi sur la municipalité régionale d'Ottawa-Carleton.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I am speaking to this bill on behalf of the Minister of Municipal Affairs, the member for Windsor-Riverside, and I am introducing for second reading the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton Amendment Act, 1991. This legislation is being introduced at the request of the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton and it will enable the regional municipality to pass bylaws establishing terms and conditions for operators of waste disposal facilities and landfill sites.

These amendments will give Ottawa-Carleton the same authority that is currently enjoyed by other regional municipalities, specifically by the regional municipalities of Halton, York, Durham and Waterloo. The amendments permit greater control over existing and future operations of facilities run by area municipalities, private operators and other municipalities.

Since the introduction of this bill last spring, consultation with the region has taken place to determine the wording of the legislation and the Minister of Municipal Affairs proposes to make minor amendments to Bill 123 for the sake of clarity. These motions will be introduced and will enable Ottawa-Carleton to impose conditions on waste disposal sites developed by any municipality when the site is located inside Ottawa-Carleton and also to allow Ottawa-Carleton to impose the same conditions on existing landfill sites as those imposed when new sites are approved.

This legislation will assist the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton in planning for its own waste disposal

needs in the future. I hope there will be support from all sides for this legislation, and I thank you, Mr Speaker, for the opportunity of participating in the debate.

**Mr Chiarelli:** There will be reluctant support for this bill. There is some reluctance to support this bill, because it is really another example of this government's ad hoc approach to environmental issues and in fact it highlights the point that there is no province-wide policy under this minister and this government dealing with solid waste management.

I want to put this bill in some perspective. Last November, the chairman of the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, Mr Haydon, discovered there was a site in Ottawa-Carleton, the Laidlaw site, operating under certificate of the province, which had been, without anyone's knowledge, importing garbage into Ottawa-Carleton from Toronto, Kingston and other points in eastern Ontario. Some of this material was coming from Metropolitan Toronto and it was contaminated waste.

The chairman, with whom I have not always agreed, at that time I think performed a real public service in the manner in which he dealt with this particular issue. He issued a press release. He called upon the provincial government to take some action to give Ottawa-Carleton control over the importation of garbage into Ottawa-Carleton.

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He asked for assistance from the province and there was no action forthcoming. As a matter of fact, the members of this Legislature from the Ottawa-Carleton area had received a number of submissions from representatives in Ottawa-Carleton to get the provincial government to move on this Ottawa-Carleton garbage issue, and the government simply refused to move. It basically said it had no intention of dealing with it because there were greater provincial issues.

As a result of the requests from Ottawa-Carleton, particularly the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, I, as well as some of my colleagues, made some very public representations to the province to come to Ottawa-Carleton's assistance, and in that regard I introduced a bill. The bill was introduced on March 25, 1991.

The reason I introduced the bill was that the NDP government was not responding to Ottawa-Carleton's request for legislative assistance. My bill had to do with an amendment to the Environmental Protection Act. The bill was broad enough to encompass municipalities across the whole of Ontario. It was not designed strictly to deal with Ottawa-Carleton, as is the government's bill at the present time.

I want to indicate some of the sections in the bill I had proposed to deal with the very same issue as Bill 123. I want to point out that my bill was intended to cover municipalities across the province. The proposed section 38b reads:

"(1) The council of a municipality may make a bylaw prohibiting, except upon conditions specified in the bylaw, the deposit of waste from outside the municipality at any waste disposal site in the municipality in respect of which



a certificate of approval or provisional certificate of approval has been issued.

"(2) No person shall deposit waste at a waste disposal site contrary to a bylaw made under subsection (1)."

It goes on to say:

"(4) A bylaw passed under subsection (1) may,

"(a) control the amount of waste from outside the municipality that may be deposited at the waste disposal site;

"(b) provide for a progressive reduction in the amount of waste from outside the municipality that may be deposited at the waste disposal site;

"(c) provide for the periodic review of matters pertaining to the waste disposal site;

"(d) require payment by the owner or operator of the waste disposal site of a fee for depositing waste from outside the municipality at the site; or

"(e) provide for compensation to be paid to the owner or operator of the waste disposal site for the amount of profit that the owner or operator would reasonably have expected to earn but for the bylaw during the five years immediately following its making."

The act also went on to provide some pretty harsh penalties for anyone who breached a bylaw passed under these sections. The government's Bill 123 just deals with Ottawa-Carleton. The bill I introduced to solve the problem for Ottawa-Carleton was also a generic bill to deal with other parts of the province.

The bill I introduced, an amendment to the Environmental Protection Act, would have permitted a city like Kirkland Lake, having taken the proper environmental studies and hearings, to enter into a contract with the municipality, for example, of Metropolitan Toronto, to ship garbage from Toronto to Kirkland Lake. It would have been done contractually. It would have been done on a time basis. It could have been done on a reducing basis. It could have been done to suit the purposes of the time and the circumstances.

At the same time, the bill I introduced would have permitted Ottawa-Carleton, in its particular case, to restrict the importation of garbage or to ban the importation of garbage to the Laidlaw site from Metropolitan Toronto, for example, including contaminated waste.

I introduced my bill and I was quite concerned that the minister was not responding. My bill was introduced on March 25, 1991. On April 16, 1991, or I think a day or two before that, the Minister of the Environment made an announcement in this House, without introducing legislation, indicating that she intended to provide legislation for Ottawa-Carleton. I want to quote a question that I asked in this House on April 16, 1991, in response to the Minister of the Environment's announcement:

"My question is to the Minister of the Environment concerning the question of transportation of garbage. With this issue, this minister has clearly demonstrated that she is the most inconsistent and policy-bereft minister on the government benches.

"Last month I introduced legislation that would provide a province-wide framework for municipalities either to prohibit or control the importation of garbage. When I introduced this bill to help Ottawa-Carleton—"

**Mr Cousens:** What was your bill number?

**The Acting Chair (Mr Farnan):** Order, please.

**Mr Cousens:** Mr Speaker, I am trying to follow this member and I am having difficulty. I do not know what bill number he submitted. I cannot find it or anything associated with it.

**The Acting Chair (Mr Farnan):** Perhaps I could suggest to the member for Ottawa West that it would be helpful perhaps to some of the members in the House if you could give the number of the bill to which you are referring.

**Mr Chiarelli:** If the member will check the record, he will see I have mentioned both bills, which are really related, on a number of occasions. I am referring to Bill 123, which is the subject of the orders of the day, An Act to amend the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton Act, and I am also referring to a bill I had introduced dealing with the same issue, Bill 41, An Act to amend the Environmental Protection Act.

For the member who has just come in, I will indicate to him, through you, Mr Speaker, that I intended to indicate that the bill we are dealing with, Bill 123, is very ad hoc in dealing with the issue of solid waste management and transportation in Ontario. I will also relate Bill 123 to the issue of Bill 143, which is of some interest at the present time.

As I was saying, I believe the minister responded to the request from Ottawa-Carleton and to Bill 41, which I introduced, by making a statement in the House. I asked the question I was in the process of quoting, the question being:

"My question is to the Minister of the Environment concerning the question of transportation of garbage. With this issue, the minister has clearly demonstrated that she is the most inconsistent and policy-bereft minister on the government benches.

"Last month I introduced legislation that would provide a province-wide framework for municipalities either to prohibit or control the importation of garbage. When I introduced this bill to help Ottawa-Carleton and other municipalities across the province, the minister dismissed it outright, stating, 'It is not appropriate for each municipality in Ontario to pass bylaws on how garbage is disposed.' She went further to say that she favours 'legislation that would cover waste disposal for all municipalities, not just for those in a crunch like Ottawa-Carleton.' That is exactly what my bill does.

"The minister has now done a complete flip-flop and about-face and has made a commitment to introduce legislation specific to the region of Ottawa-Carleton allowing this one municipality some measure of control over importation of garbage to settle a lawsuit.

"Will the minister bring forward legislation that will provide full control to all municipalities in Ontario so we can have a province-wide policy on the shipping of waste and not simply emergency, ad hoc reaction?"

Of course the minister stood up and spoke some words, but there was no answer to the question.



The issue raised by the chairman of the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton and the rationale for the introduction of my bill had to do with the importation of solid waste from Metropolitan Toronto into Ottawa-Carleton.

As a result of the great concern, and a very appropriate and proper concern on the part of the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, the RMOC initiated a court action against Laidlaw, the owner-operator of the site in West Carleton on Carp Road. The injunction was in abeyance. It had been adjourned. The application for the injunction and some negotiations took place between RMOC, Laidlaw and the Ministry of the Environment. In that regard, an agreement was reached.

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I want to emphasize that it was only in the context of the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton having its wits about it and the commitment to initiate an application for an injunction that the province even went to the table to discuss it. It was the court case and the injunction which really initiated this minister's introducing this bill for Ottawa-Carleton. She tiptoed through the tulips on this issue and introduced a bill dealing with just Ottawa-Carleton and not province-wide.

I want to point out some of the terms of the agreement that laid the groundwork for Bill 123, which we are debating here today. The agreement includes the following.

Laidlaw agrees that the amount of out-of-region garbage allowed at Carp will be kept to about 26,000 tonnes a year, 10% of its normal annual volume. That is the current level, most of which comes from Ottawa Valley centres such as Smiths Falls, Carleton Place and Pakenham. As long as Laidlaw does not exceed the 10% limit, it can accept garbage from anywhere within a newly defined good neighbour zone. The zone includes all of eastern Ontario from Leeds, Lanark and part of Renfrew counties east, excluding Cornwall.

Laidlaw cannot accept any garbage from elsewhere without the consent of regional council, with one exception. The sole exception is garbage from Kingston. That city's current dump site, also owned by Laidlaw, is full and the Environment ministry has ordered it to close April 30. Laidlaw can accept a total of 165,000 tonnes of Kingston garbage during the next two years.

The region will get \$20 a tonne for all out-of-region garbage. This is a new dumping fee which will work out to \$2 million a year while Kingston garbage is accepted, and \$500,000 a year after.

In the next two years, the region itself will send 100,000 tonnes of sewage sludge from its R. O. Pickard treatment plant to the Laidlaw dump. Between 1994 and 1999, it will send 15,000 tonnes a year of other sewage byproducts. This represents \$8 million in revenue to Laidlaw. The waste would normally go to the region's own Trail Road dump, which will now have more room.

As another part of the settlement, the Ontario government will quickly pass a law giving Ottawa-Carleton permanent control over the type and amounts of out-of-region garbage accepted at dumps within its boundaries.

There is no reason this Minister of the Environment and this government could not have responded more quickly, without the need for Ottawa-Carleton to initiate an application for an injunction and without having to settle on other than ideal terms for the municipality and the 650,000 people of Ottawa-Carleton.

The bill I had introduced would have enabled the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton to do what it wanted. The sections of my act permitted sections to be fair to Laidlaw in terms of lost profits, etc, because it did have a certificate.

The minister, having indicated that the government would move quickly to pass this legislation, waited until June 11, 1991, to introduce a bill. She did not introduce the bill until after I stood up in this House and in a member's statement reminded her that the government had signed an agreement and undertaken to pass this bill. We were nearing the end of the session in June and yet they still had not introduced their bill. Consequently, several days after my statement and my urging and my press release, again focusing on this particular issue, the Minister of Municipal Affairs introduced Bill 123, An Act to amend the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton Act.

I want to refer to the compendium on Bill 123. It is called the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton Amendment Act and it reads as follows:

"The regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton has expressed concern that a private waste disposal facility operator, Laidlaw, has in the past received solid waste from outside the region and may do so again, thereby reducing the capacity available to regional users. These amendments provide the regional council may impose terms and conditions, including the requirement for compensation when granting consent to persons operating a solid waste facility in Ottawa-Carleton.

"The legislation applies to existing waste disposal sites. There are four landfill sites in Ottawa-Carleton not owned by the region. The legislation provides that the terms and conditions imposed on Laidlaw are to be back-dated to April 12, 1991. On that date, the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton and Laidlaw entered into an agreement regarding the disposal of waste from outside the regional area in the Laidlaw site. The other three landfill site operators have not entered into any agreements with Ottawa-Carleton.

"The regional municipalities of Halton, York, Durham and Waterloo already have similar powers. Their powers, however, relate to new sites and do not cover existing sites."

We are talking about Ottawa-Carleton under Bill 123 having a certain type of provision for solid waste management which includes existing sites. We are talking about the regional municipalities of Halton, York, Durham and Waterloo, which have similar provisions. However, their powers only relate to new sites. What about the rest of the province? What about Kirkland Lake? What about your community, Mr Speaker, of Cambridge and environs?

There is no orderly provision of environmental regulation or laws in Ontario. To make matters worse, we have to put these provisions in Bill 123 into the context of Bill



143. This is a new bill which the minister is trying to ram through. With due respect to the government and the Ministry of the Environment, Bill 143 does that to the Ottawa-Carleton bill.

**Mrs Caplan:** Does what?

**Mr Chiarelli:** It rips it up, because Bill 143 can override Bill 123 by a director in the Ministry of the Environment. The RMOC will have absolutely zero in terms of permanent legislation, because Bill 143, which we are presently in the process of dealing with, is going to totally undermine Bill 123, which is being debated for the benefit of Ottawa-Carleton. I want to relate 143 to 123. I think it is very significant. I want to review first a bit of structure to put some of my concerns in context.

On Thursday, October 24, 1991, the Minister of the Environment introduced for first reading the Waste Management Act, 1991. This is a far-reaching piece of legislation dealing with four aspects of waste disposal. This legislation pertains primarily to the regions of the greater Toronto area. However, section 4, which deals with waste reduction regulations, will apply to all municipalities in the province. The four components of this act—there are basically four sections—are as follows:

Part I will establish the current Interim Waste Authority as a crown agency. The legislation will give the agency the power to expropriate land for the purpose of establishing three long-term landfill sites in Durham, Peel and either York or Metro Toronto. Of course, that does not apply to Ottawa-Carleton.

Part II outlines the criteria for the long-term site selection process.

Part III is the controversial section which expands the minister's emergency powers, ordering Peel to expand Britannia landfill and Metropolitan Toronto to expand Keele Valley. These lifts will be done with no environmental assessment and no opportunity for public hearings. That does not directly impact on Ottawa-Carleton either.

However, when we look at part IV, this part outlines the amendments to the Environmental Protection Act which broaden the definition of "waste" to include all materials, and this section provides the legislation required for the minister to implement her waste reduction regulations.

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What does that mean for Ottawa-Carleton and what does it mean for Bill 123, which we are debating here today? Members should note, with regard to the minister's position on the transportation of waste, there is an inconsistency in this bill. Despite subsection 14(2) stating that the shipping of waste will not be a consideration in dealing with waste management in the GTA, the minister has at the same time amended section 29 to give legislative authority to directors to order municipalities to ship waste to or accept waste from other municipalities. That amendment to section 29 deals with all municipalities, not just the greater Toronto area.

What we are doing here is authorizing the provincial government, with a cabinet edict, to overrule Bill 123 on a

director's whim or on the minister's whim. What validity does Bill 123 have under those circumstances?

Under part IV of the act, that is, Bill 143, which deals with the amendments to the Environmental Protection Act, the minister repeals section 29, which gives the minister her emergency powers. It amends section 29 in part as follows:

"If the director considers it advisable in the public interest, he or she may order a municipality...(a) to collect or transport such waste as is specified in the order, including waste from such source outside the boundaries of the municipality as is specified in the order."

We have just given the director in the Ministry of the Environment the power to totally overrule the provisions of Bill 123 and many other pieces of legislation. It is a sham.

On the one hand, the czarina of the environment, through her House leader, is negotiating with our House leader on an urgent basis to get Bill 143 through, which gives her directors this power to order the transportation of waste in and out of municipalities. On the other hand, she is sitting here today across the floor, supporting Bill 123 to give Ottawa-Carleton ostensibly the right to control the importation of solid waste in and out of Ottawa-Carleton. With the signature of a pen at any time, she—in fact, not even she but the director from her ministry—can overrule Bill 123.

It makes no sense. There is no rhyme nor reason to what the minister is doing. She passes Bill 123 and says, "It's to give Ottawa-Carleton legislation similar to some of the regions in the Metro Toronto area." On the other hand, she says, "But in the Metro Toronto area, these powers do not apply to existing, they only apply to new." Yet neither the powers that the Metro municipalities have nor the ostensible power she is trying to give the RMOC affects other parts of the province such as Kirkland Lake.

We are looking at one of the most draconian pieces of legislation. On the same day as the minister's House leader is negotiating Bill 143 through this House, she is asking this Legislature and the people of Ottawa-Carleton to buy Bill 123.

I quote again from Bill 143 as it amends section 29:

"If the director considers it advisable in the public interest, he or she may order a municipality...(a) to collect or transport such waste as is specified in the order, including waste from such source outside the boundaries of the municipality as is specified in the order."

It goes on to say:

"(b) to accept, process or otherwise deal with such waste as is specified in the order, including waste from such source outside the boundaries of the municipality as is specified in the order."

Section 29 is meant to deal with short-term solutions to waste disposal crises, so we are told. However, the minister is giving legislative authority for a director to order a municipality to accept from or ship waste to another municipality in order to deal with that crisis. At the same time, she will not allow the transport of waste to be given any consideration by the waste authority in its search for a long-term solution to the GTA waste crisis.



I ask a very simple question to the Minister of the Environment: Is she prepared to approve an amendment to Bill 123 saying that Bill 143 does not apply to Bill 123? Is she prepared to say, "We're here today giving Ottawa-Carleton authority under Bill 123 to put conditions on the importation of waste"? Yet she is now negotiating to try to ram through without full debate Bill 143, which says that her officials can just sign an order saying that Bill 123 does not apply any more.

We have a crisis in Metropolitan Toronto and we want to send our garbage to Ottawa-Carleton. Bill 143 does just that. This is the most insane conglomeration of legislation and regulations imaginable. It is a proliferation of inconsistencies that defies any rational explanation.

There will be very extensive debate in this House on Bill 143. I do not want to dwell on that particular bill at the present time. I did want to relate it to Bill 123. Obviously I will be supporting Bill 123 for the benefit of Ottawa-Carleton, but I will ask the Minister of the Environment if she will consider an amendment to Bill 143 to exempt Ottawa-Carleton's legislation, because, quite frankly, members know and I know and the 650,000 people in Ottawa-Carleton know that they want a bill for Ottawa-Carleton that has teeth.

They would prefer the same bill to have teeth for the whole of the province, similar to the bill I introduced, but at the very minimum they want a bill which has teeth. On the one hand, the minister is preparing a set of dentures for Ottawa-Carleton and, on the other hand, with Bill 143, she is ready to extract it. It simply does not make sense.

With respect to Bill 143 and the draconian nature of the bill and how it will affect Bill 123, I want to refer to a letter which was sent to the Minister of the Environment, dated December 4, 1991, from the law firm of Cassels, Brock and Blackwell. As members know, this is a very reputable law firm in Canada, let alone in Toronto or Ontario. This particular law firm represents the regional municipality of York.

I want to indicate just a few comments from that letter, because I think they are very pertinent to the present debate. This is addressed to the Minister of the Environment:

"Bill 143 is legislation of a type citizens should only be asked to accept in wartime. Your ministry's and your personal position always has been to require that a proponent putting something forward that will affect the environment, including the socioeconomic aspects of the environment—your government in the case of Bill 143—consult with the affected parties."

There are also other concerns: "The bill is fundamentally unfair and ignores the way we do things in Ontario. The draconic nature of the bill and the government's determination to pass it quickly reminds one of Edmund Burke's statement that 'If I cannot have reform without injustice, then I will have reform.'"

This again is a legal opinion I am quoting from the letter: "The bill allows provincial power to intrude into regional and municipal responsibility over waste management."

What a juxtaposition. At the same time a prominent law firm on behalf of a regional municipality in the greater

Metropolitan Toronto area is saying, "The bill allows provincial power to intrude into regional and municipal responsibility over waste management," this government has the audacity to come in and pass Bill 123, ostensibly to give Ottawa-Carleton authority to control or prohibit the importation of waste into its region, and to say, "Bill 143 is not worth the paper it's written on because any director in our ministry, without notice, can simply sign an order telling Ottawa-Carleton to import waste from the greater Metropolitan Toronto area." It is absolutely astounding.

I cannot believe this government could be so inconsistent, so incompetent and so insensitive to the people of Ottawa-Carleton and the people of the province. I cannot believe they could be so insensitive to the people of Kirkland Lake; honest, hardworking, well-meaning people who are trying to create an economic base for their community in their area, who have reasonable solutions to problems and in fact reasonable solutions to solve waste management problems, including those in the Metropolitan Toronto area. Why would they not be given the same right to control the importation of waste as Ottawa-Carleton has, or at least as Ottawa-Carleton used to have or, I should say, used to think it had.

1630

We used to think Bill 123 would have some teeth, but now we have Bill 143 coming in saying Bill 123 does not make any sense. We have these two bills coming together on the same day in this House and they are totally in conflict with each other. I cannot believe the government could be so incompetent. What does it say to the people of Kirkland Lake who are sitting up there, sucking their fingers, wondering what this government is doing? "What're they doing for us? They're running around passing all these acts, these bills, this legislation, and it doesn't make any sense."

I am coming to my conclusion on this. There is not much more I can say. I think I have made my points. I believe the people of Ottawa-Carleton have yet to realize the significance of Bill 143 for them and their policies for controlling solid waste in the region. I am telling the Minister of the Environment and this government that they are going to have a thorn in their sides on a regular basis. If they think they have had trouble and they have had a harangue or the greater Metropolitan Toronto opposition members have been a pain in the neck to them on Bill 143, they can add Ottawa-Carleton to the list as well, because part IV of Bill 143 is so draconian to Ottawa-Carleton that it defies description.

Once again, in conclusion, I want to say to the new chairman of the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, Peter Clark—who I wish to congratulate, incidentally—and to the chief administrative officer, Ron Clark, who is no relation, that the bill they negotiated with the Ministry of the Environment, the control they thought they had over the importation of waste into Ottawa-Carleton, really does not exist and is a sham.

I will vote for this bill today in the hope that the Minister of the Environment will amend Bill 143 to exempt the provisions of Bill 123, the Ottawa-Carleton bill. I have little hope she will do that, but I will work towards that. I



give a commitment to the people of Ottawa-Carleton that they will have a strong lobby at Queen's Park from the opposition benches to prevent the government from totally undermining their solid waste management bill which is being passed here today and which is, incidentally, being totally undermined by another bill, Bill 143.

**Mr Cousens:** I want to apologize to the member for Ottawa West if I interrupted him in his speech. I could not find his bill. Then when I found it, I did not like what I found. But I apologize for interrupting him during his ramblings.

I do not know where this member is coming from. When you start looking at his bill, he is one who just wants to make sure no garbage comes into his municipality. That is really what it boils down to. He comes along and says this bill would amend the Environmental Protection Act by giving municipalities and territory without municipal organizations the authority to make bylaws prohibiting the depositing of waste from outside the municipality.

That is NIMBY, not in my backyard. All you want to do is make sure it is not in your backyard, and that is the whole purpose of your sweet little Bill 41. There you stand up and pontificate for an hour about the minister and her hypocrisy when you have more of it in your heart and soul and mind and bill than I have ever seen.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order. The member will take his seat. The member will address his remarks to the Chair. He will find they will be less provocative and there will not be interjections.

**Mr Cousens:** The Speaker is right again. You are absolutely right. Once you really hit the nail on the head, it really makes them suffer, but I would appreciate if that honourable minister, in his great integrity that he likes to exude, could come along and say why his bill is not NIMBY. I am convinced what he has said in his little bill here is just trying to make sure he protects his backyard.

The problem we all have with garbage and landfill sites is that everybody is afraid of where it is going to be, and the minister—I think he is right—is further afraid she will not release the lists of the sites that are under consideration for the greater Toronto area. She also has a chicken heart, but I have to say that the concept coming forward from the member for Ottawa West is giving the minister a very bad example.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Further comments or questions? The member for Ottawa West has two minutes in which to reply.

**Mr Chiarelli:** I will take my two minutes to comment on the previous remarks.

I have to say that the member was not aware of my bill. He quickly scurried around and grabbed a copy of it and then interpreted it in a way which was totally incorrect and false. The fact of the matter is that Bill 41, which I introduced, is exactly the type of bill that would also give Kirkland Lake the right to pass a bylaw to import waste into Kirkland Lake and to make agreements to help the economy of Kirkland Lake. In fact, it also provides a municipality with the right to pass a bylaw which will regulate the amount of waste coming in. It will put it on condition—

Interjection.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** The member for Etobicoke West is not in his seat. Please refrain from interjections.

**Mr Chiarelli:** I also do not want the member for Markham's comments to distract members from my main point. My main point was not Bill 41, which I introduced. My main point was that Bill 123, which we are debating here today for the benefit of Ottawa-Carleton, is totally expunged and overruled by the provisions of Bill 143, where a director can pass an order saying effectively that Bill 123 does not apply.

But I do want to say that if he reads Bill 41 carefully, he will see that it provides a province-wide framework. In fact, the people of Kirkland Lake could pass a bylaw under Bill 41, which I introduced, which enables them, under proper conditions, to import garbage from other parts of the province, which is their desire and their wish. Bill 41 would have enabled them to do it. It definitely is not a NIMBY bill.

1640

**Mr Sterling:** I rise today to support this bill. The need for this bill came to light because of the fact that a private disposal company, Laidlaw, started to receive waste from municipalities outside the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton. I believe the region and the residents of the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton felt that if they were going to be hosts to garbage from other areas, there should be some kind of compensation paid by the receiver of that garbage or waste so that when it was necessary to expand the waste disposal sites in the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton to take care of its own waste, as it is responsible for doing, there would be some funds to develop those sites to provide additional capacity to receive the waste of the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton.

The region of Ottawa-Carleton has for a long period of time now received waste from the outlying municipalities, some from the county of Lanark, some from the county of Leeds-Grenville and some from as far away as Kingston, as has been mentioned here. In some ways they have received this waste in helping out the smaller municipalities, I believe with really a fair bit of generosity, because a lot of the smaller municipalities that have been using the region waste disposal sites have not had the financial wherewithal or the expertise to set up their own environmentally safe waste disposal sites.

I think the region has acted as a good regional corporate citizen of eastern Ontario, because it has said to areas outside in eastern Ontario, "We understand your situation and we're going to help you out for a little while," and they have helped them out for a period of 10 to 15 years in receiving waste from other areas.

There are two principal waste disposal sites in the region, one located in the city of Nepean and one in the township of West Carleton, which I represent. The one in Nepean is run by the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton and the one in West Carleton is run by the Laidlaw corporation.



What has happened is that because of the outcry, the Laidlaw corporation entered into an agreement with the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, even though the region at that point in time had no legislative authority to ask Laidlaw to pay any money for the right to accept waste in its own site. Laidlaw, I believe a good corporate citizen as well, has said: "Okay, we understand the argument. We understand the need for the government of the regional municipality to explain to its constituents that it must receive some compensation to be able to provide additional waste capacity when the Laidlaw dump fills up and when the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton dump fills up."

There is a lot of logic and reason behind this act. It is not new to the province. I understand that the regions of Halton, York, Durham and Waterloo have similar provisions in their regional acts, so the region was not without some precedents in asking for this special legislation to be brought forward here in this Legislature.

I also want to indicate that I am aware of the concerns of the residents who live in the immediate area of this waste disposal site. I am talking about the Laidlaw site in the township of West Carleton. When there were water problems approximately four or five years ago, there was some concern about leachate coming from the dump and polluting the wells of the people in the area. Laidlaw entered into an agreement with the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton to provide water for those people from municipal sources. So Laidlaw, in my view, has acted in a responsible manner, not only in dealing as a corporate citizen with the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, but in dealing with the local citizenry, who had, I think, some legitimate concerns with regard to the quality of their well water in the area.

There are two sections to this bill. One section deals with the future and the right of the region, when a private concern develops a site in the region, to ask for compensation from that particular site if garbage is brought across the border of the regional municipality. There would really be no logic or sense in asking for compensation with regard to waste that was brought from within the region to a private site.

The second section deals with a retroactive situation dealing with the Laidlaw situation. As I said, Laidlaw has already sat down at the bargaining table with the region and hammered out a deal to deal with waste coming from Kingston. It is interesting to note that the amounts of money we are talking about here are not insignificant. Under the deal struck with Laidlaw, it has agreed to pay to the region \$20 per tonne for each tonne of garbage deposited in the waste disposal site in West Carleton township.

I believe that over the next two years—I am not certain whether it is 168,000 tonnes per year or a total of 168,000 tonnes, but if you translate 168,000 tonnes times \$20 for each of those tonnes, we are talking about \$3.3 million. We are not talking about an insignificant amount of money that is going to be transferred or paid to the region under the agreement with Laidlaw.

My concern is, what happens to the \$3.3 million and any additional revenue the region may receive from these

agreements? I think this legislation should be specific in putting aside any moneys collected under these compensation agreements into a reserve that will be there for future generations to utilize in order to increase their waste disposal capacity.

My concern is the experience we have known whereby, for instance, municipalities have in the past been given moneys for lot levies that were originally thought to be for creating and paying for additional infrastructure: for recreation facilities in a municipality, for sewers, for water, for additional demands upon the municipalities. What has happened over the period of our last 20 years of history, since lot levies have been introduced and collected, is that municipalities have not used lot levies specifically to increase their infrastructure. Lot levies have been used for operating expenses of municipalities.

When the time came in the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, for instance, to pay for the Green Creek sewage treatment plant, when the time comes in Ottawa to pay for the tremendous restructuring of its sewer system—which is, I understand, in a great deal of disrepair—when the time comes to do those things, there is no reserve pot for the municipal politicians, the regional politicians, to go to and say, "This money has been put aside to deal with these very kinds of problems."

What has happened is that all that money has gone out the door. It has paid for fire protection, for police protection, for recreation and for a host of other normal municipal operating expenditures. The region finds itself in such a tremendous debt problem it is then forced to go to the taxpayers and increase taxes.

#### 1650

What I am concerned about with this legislation is giving the ability to the region to collect a new kind of tax, in essence, but not requiring it to put these funds aside for the uses for which they will have this additional power to collect these funds.

The outgoing council of the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton found itself in the fortunate position this year of having a budget surplus of close to \$3 million at the end of the year. Despite the fact we have elected politicians and heard the municipal politicians say that the issue at the door was taxes, taxes and taxes, the outgoing council of the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton found it could not leave office without spending this \$2.5 million to \$3 million, and so it gave away the money to worthy causes. They gave \$1 million to both the former universities I attended, Carleton University and University of Ottawa. They gave them \$1 million each, and they gave another amount of money to a drug treatment centre, which was another worthwhile cause as well.

I am asking and demanding that it be included in this bill that any funds that are received for taking garbage into the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton—the \$20 per tonne that was negotiated in the Laidlaw contract—be put aside in a reserve fund so that I can be certain this council of the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton will have funds to develop new capacity to dump our waste from the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton in the future.



Therefore, when this bill is put into committee of the whole House of this Legislature, I will put forward two amendments, both similar in nature: one for section 1, dealing with future sites, and one for section 2, to deal with the money coming from the Laidlaw contract which I want put aside in a special reserve fund. I hope the minister will have the opportunity to consider, and can consider this amendment. It is not a partisan amendment and I hope she will consider it seriously.

One of the problems we have in dealing with this legislation is that we have the transition from one regional council to another regional council. In the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, effectively half the members of council, including the regional chairman, are brand-new elected people. So we have a situation where I am having difficulty talking to the new regional chairman and the new council of the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton as to their feelings with regard to amendments to this bill. In fact, I have not been able to ascertain from the new council what their feelings are with regard to Bill 123.

I therefore ask that the minister consider not going ahead with committee of the whole House with regard to this bill and the amendments, because I think it would be most prudent for us to get some kind of reaction with regard to the amendments she has put forward. She intends to amend the bill. We have been given today for the first time three amendments to the bill, even though it is only a two-section bill. I would also like the region to react to the amendment I am going to propose to this bill.

I have indicated that it is not a bad piece of legislation. Perhaps the minister should consider doing it on a province-wide basis. I do not believe we can solve all of our garbage problems, as my colleague the member for Markham has said, by giving individual municipalities the blanket right to say no to garbage coming into their area.

We have to realize that some areas just do not have the capacity to set up a dump, to set up a waste disposal site. I think that we have to be reasonable in our approach to environmental solutions and that we cannot close down options. I have been very much concerned that this Minister of the Environment has yielded to the shrill voices of people who call themselves environmentalists and closed down a number of options. I was sorry to see her take such a hard stand on incineration and sorry to see her take such a hard stand on Kirkland Lake.

I do not think we are going to be able to solve our problems in this province with a minister who is ideologically setting herself up to be wrong in a scientific and rational way on decisions that are evolving to deal with waste disposal problems.

I do not want to divert away too much from the intent of Bill 123, but I think it is important to know that Sweden was one of the countries with the most vehemently strict laws against using incineration as part of the solution to its waste disposal problems. Now they have reversed that tack totally and are looking to incineration as one of their solutions to dealing with this subject. Quite frankly, I understand that the Green Party in Germany is looking to incineration as one of its solutions to waste disposal problems. So I would urge the minister, when she is standing

up in front of environmental groups, to not be so shrill, so definite, in terms of saying, "We will not consider new technology to deal with the environmental problems we have."

In this country we do not want our engineers and our scientific community lagging behind in terms of seeking environmental solutions. We have one of the best engineering professions here in the world in Ontario. I say that with prejudice because I happen to be one of those engineers. We have 58,000 engineers in Ontario, the largest professional organization in all of Canada. I think engineering is one of the few remaining professions—we have many professions that have transferred into what I consider union membership, but the engineers have not done that and they are very loath to do that.

What I would like this minister to do is to challenge those engineers, to challenge our scientists to come up with environmental solutions, technically sound solutions, to our environmental problems. We cannot go on saying, "We will not have incineration." We should not deal with environmental problems by blanket statements, black and white statements like that. We must consider all the environmental solutions that are out there. We must not close down the options.

I think Bill 123 has captured a little bit of the kind of co-operation that is possible between municipalities. I only wish the Minister of the Environment would show that same kind of open-mindedness towards all the environmental issues she is facing at this time.

**Mrs Caplan:** I am pleased to comment on the remarks by my colleague from the Ottawa-Carleton area. The point he is making about the desire for us in Ontario to seek the very best environmental solutions, and that many of those solutions will be as a result of new research and technology that is developing, perhaps even as we speak, is a point well taken and well made.

We not only have an excellent engineering community; we also have a very fine cadre of research professors and scientists. We know that in the world there have been more discoveries and accumulation of knowledge and information and new technology developed in the last 10 years than probably in the past three decades in comparison.

I support his comments when he encourages the minister not to close out any option which is going to give us the very best environmental result. I support his comments in encouraging this government to keep an open mind about new technologies in energy from waste, if they are the best. If something is discovered tomorrow, we do not want to see a situation where we cannot even think about it.

I am concerned when the minister and the NDP government say that certain things are unthinkable. I support the comments of other members of this House who say that in times of rapid technological change it is in the public interest for us to get the facts, seek the very best environmental solutions for the challenges we face and explore every possible option.

1700

**Mr Cousens:** I would like to acknowledge the excellent presentation by the member for Carleton. I listened



very carefully to his remarks, and when you consider the background he brings to the subject, first of all as an engineer and also as a lawyer, he is able to apply a tremendous amount of educational background developed over many years of experience, not only in private industry but here in the Legislature as one of the longest-serving members of our caucus.

As he has gone through this bill, he has touched on some of the critical issues. I think he shows a level of kindness to the minister that is very generous in that he is asking only for an amendment that will allow the moneys to be collected to go into a reserve fund. He is going to support the bill. I really cannot go as far as he can in supporting the bill, but I do not live in Ottawa-Carleton. I can raise a few other matters when I have that opportunity shortly.

I would like to put on the record how fortunate the people from the Ottawa region are to have someone representing their needs as well and as articulately as he has done this afternoon on this bill.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** The member may have two minutes to respond.

**Mr Sterling:** It is hard to differ with what has been said, Mr Speaker.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** I thought it might be, "I love you, too."

**Mr Mahoney:** I think it appropriate that following those lovely remarks, I would be the next speaker. I absolutely bring seasonal greetings to everyone in this place.

I wish to join this debate and express some concern about how this bill relates to overall government policy, or rather how it does not relate. I understand the need in the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton. I understand the problems they were facing with garbage coming into the Laidlaw site and Chairman Haydon's concern at the time about importing garbage into their community. I understand their desire to negotiate a better arrangement with the provincial government to allow for more control to be placed in the hands of the regional municipality.

Having been a regional and city councillor for 10 years, I very much support the concept of local autonomy and the concept that what is particularly good in Ottawa-Carleton might not necessarily work in other parts of the province. I have trouble reconciling the statements by the minister in responding to the bill put forward by my colleague, who spoke so eloquently earlier to that—

Interjection.

**Mr Mahoney:** I am just following the lead of the member for Markham. We have all been nice today, so far.

To the comments of the Minister of the Environment in speaking against the bill which would have allowed for that kind of control to be placed, it almost seemed like the minister was simply saying it is not a good idea because it came from an opposition member, but she thinks it is a good idea when it comes from her. I have some difficulty with that kind of partisan mentality in dealing with a problem as important and as significant to the people of Ottawa-Carleton as the filling up of their landfill site with garbage without proper compensation and without an at-

tempt perhaps to collect the tipping fees or to get some form of compensation that presumably they can then place in reserve funds or put in funds for the future when they may indeed have to deal with rather expensive new ideas of how to dispose of their waste once the sites they are currently dealing with are filled up with garbage from other regions.

I can understand how they would come to this government and say, "If you don't want to listen to Mr Chiarelli, how would you like to listen to us and give us an opportunity to have some control over our own destiny within our own municipality?"

What did this government do? They said, "Sure, we're prepared to talk to you about a partnership and an arrangement." They entered into an agreement in April 1991 among the Minister of the Environment, the Minister of Municipal Affairs and the Ottawa-Carleton region, a written commitment by the minister to introduce amendments to the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton Act to expand the region's control over importation of waste into that community, which also said specifically that no Toronto-area waste would come into that community. That was part of the agreement. It also went on to allow the region to charge a surcharge over and above the tipping fee charged by Laidlaw to municipalities that were shipping their garbage in. They went on to put in place a plan.

What seems so inconsistent to us, though, is they draw up this new partnership, one that I am sure is supported in principle by the members from that region who understand the severity of the problem and that is certainly supported in principle by the people in the Kingston community, who had a dump site which this ministry ordered closed and had nowhere to put their garbage. Then what does this government do? It introduces another bill, which we will be dealing with perhaps later on today or perhaps next week, Bill 143, that totally strips the region of any authority at the whim of not just the minister but a bureaucrat to override the bill we are talking about supporting today.

If I were the regional chairman in Ottawa-Carleton or the member of this Legislature from that community, I would be awfully nervous at the thought that this minister and/or a bureaucrat in the Ministry of the Environment could, perhaps due to some undue pressure from an environmental group or some other special interest group—we all know that this government is driven by special interest groups, that this government clearly does not have the broad interests of the province at large at heart and that this government is clearly dominated by the trade/labour movement or perhaps by the special interest environmental groups.

So here they are. They think they have entered into a new partnership. They say: "This is a good deal. We can increase our revenue. We can build up reserve funds. We can do all those kinds of things. We can turn off the tap because we've been given some controls as a regional municipality over the filling up of our own waste site," and now this government is coming in with another bill, which as I said we will be debating in a short time, that will completely put this particular agreement at risk.



The other thing I have some difficulty with is statements by the Minister of the Environment that all municipalities should take care of their garbage within their own boundaries. Clearly in my municipality we have been doing that for years at the Britannia site. That site has now been ordered to accept some more garbage. Very clearly, with the new bill we will be dealing with that affects this bill, the minister is expanding her emergency powers and simply putting herself in the position where she will be able to order more garbage into the Britannia site or more garbage into a dump site in York region—which would concern those members—Keele Valley or wherever, maybe even Ottawa.

Clearly, the agreement says no Toronto garbage will go to Ottawa. But Bill 143 says this minister can do whatever she likes, with no requirement for an environmental assessment, no requirement for an impact study, no requirement for dialogue with the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, Peel, Durham, Metro, anywhere. If this minister wakes up one morning and says, "I think I'll send all Toronto's garbage down to Ottawa," under that legislation, she can simply override the agreement that the chairman, the members of council and the citizens in Ottawa-Carleton have entered into in good faith.

1710

**Mrs Caplan:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: My colleague is making some very important points, and I do not believe there is a quorum here to listen to this important debate.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** A quorum is present.

**Mrs Mathysen:** Steve, you drove her out.

**Mr Mahoney:** Apparently, I drove the minister out. We all have to do business for the good of our constituents, and I am delighted to see she has returned, because I hope she will listen to the remarks. I am sure you were busy. You were listening on television and having a muffin. I can appreciate that.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** I would ask the member to speak through the Chair.

**Mr Mahoney:** As I was saying, the concern is that the minister has really done something that on the surface would appear positive, in entering into an agreement with Ottawa-Carleton at its request, in order to allow it to control its own destiny. But she has not been consistent.

The region of Peel has a major crisis. I believe this minister is going out to meet with Mayor McCallion and members of council. I hope to be in attendance, if at all possible, if only to be a fly on the wall, to watch the blood-letting I anticipate may take place that day. I am sure it will be the minister's; it surely will not be Hazel's.

I have tried to understand why the minister would enter into an agreement with Ottawa-Carleton to bring some sensible arrangements to that community with regard to importation of garbage and then bring in another bill which totally puts that in jeopardy. I have tried to understand why this minister would look at a process that was well under way in many communities, mine particularly, where an environmental assessment would be about three

quarters done in my estimation, and we would be extremely close to a new landfill site in the region of Peel. She has totally thrown that into a quandary. She has totally stripped Peel, Durham, Metro and municipalities all over this province, of any kind of authority or ability to deal with this problem. Yet it is those people who represent the ratepayers who will be facing garbage piling up in their streets if this minister does not get a handle on her responsibilities.

We know Halton, for example, has been shipping its garbage to the United States to be burned. This minister has said there will be no burning of garbage whatsoever. I wonder where she thinks the smoke goes when the garbage is put into the incinerator in Buffalo. I think it probably blows right back across the border. Our information is that the incinerators that are burning it in the United States do not have the technology and the scrubbers that we could put in place to ensure that the carcinogens and the other problems coming into the atmosphere would not occur.

That does not matter, because the special interest groups that are driving this minister, this ministry and this government to bring in draconian legislation such as Bill 143, which totally impacts on Bill 123 and negates the potential of Bill 123, had some debts out there that were owed to them by this government. This government is clearly paying off the debts it incurred in getting the support of some of these special interest groups.

Then you take a look and you say to yourself, "The minister came out with a statement and said that municipalities should deal with their waste disposal in their own community." I wonder if the member for one of the Durhams—I forget which Durham it is; not the member for Durham East, the fellow behind him who is not here, Norah Stoner's old riding—if the member for Durham Centre is nervous about the fact that the minister has said everyone has to deal with it within his own community.

**Mr White:** On a point of personal privilege, Mr Speaker: I have had no connection whatsoever with Ms Stoner. I have not succeeded nor had any knowledge nor contact with Ms Stoner.

**Mr Mahoney:** Mr Speaker, it was Durham West.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Durham West is the riding.

**Mr Mahoney:** I appreciate the fact that the member admits he has never succeeded at anything along those lines, I have no difficulty with that. The member for Durham West won, I think based on the fact that he was prepared to lie down in front of some bulldozers or whatever, and now the Minister of the Environment has come along in that part of the world and said they are going to have to take care of their garbage in their own backyard. Yet in other areas they are allowed to import it. There is such inconsistency on the part of this minister that it scares everyone.

We have Halton burning it in the United States. We have Peel being forced to expand its boundaries. We had a pretty good plan in place in our community. We had site 6B in Brampton. We were very close, I think. It would



have gone to the environmental assessment hearing. There would have been intervenor funding. All the interest groups would have had an opportunity to put their cases forward. Everyone could have had good public debate. We could have had the scientific assurance that the aquifers in that area were not being affected, and if they were, we could have put in the proper liners and the proper engineering technology to ensure that a new landfill waste site in Peel in the community of north Brampton could have been in place by now.

But that is not what this minister has done. This minister has thrown the cat among the pigeons and has put the regional municipality of Peel in the position where it has no option. Even though so far they are resisting, they are resisting obeying the ministerial order—

**Hon Ms Ziemba:** I'm still listening.

**Mr Mahoney:** Nice to see you.

**Hon Ms Ziemba:** I'll be back.

**Mr Mahoney:** That's good. Don't threaten me.

Even though they are going to resist the ministerial order as long as they possibly can, the bottom line is that they know that this minister, coming down with a hammer—

Interjections.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order. I think the people of Ontario deserve civility in this House. They expect civility in this House, and I think we can give it to them.

**Mr Mahoney:** I think I was being quite civil, given some of the acrobatics that were going on. I appreciate you, Mr Speaker, reining in some of the excitable members and getting control over them. I will carry on with expressing my concerns.

As I was saying, if we relate this Bill 123, which is an attempt to enter into a new partnership to solve a problem in Ottawa-Carleton, to the inconsistencies in the rest of the province, we have no sense of confidence whatsoever that the minister or the government might live up to it.

What this government fails to understand is that the disposal of garbage should be treated like a business. The people of Kirkland Lake analysed what opportunities they had to expand their industrial base. They came up with the rather unfortunate decision that they had very few opportunities and they put together a very well thought out plan that said they would be a willing host for Metropolitan Toronto garbage.

What happens? It just gets dismissed out of hand. There is no examination of an environmental impact, no examination of lost jobs in that community, no examination of the fact that many of the products and the packaging that is generated out of this particular GTA market wind up on the shelves of the stores in Kirkland Lake, notwithstanding the fact that those folks, since they do not have jobs, do not have money to buy those products.

But the reality is that the GTA is a centre of economic growth for the entire province. Certainly I would not support a government decision to simply force Metro's garbage or Mississauga's garbage or Ottawa's garbage on a municipality that was unwilling to take it. I do not think we are at that stage in development in our life in Ontario

that we want to force things down people's throats. But when you actually have a municipality come forward and say, "We have a business plan that we think makes sense"—

**Mr Callahan:** A good one.

1720

**Mr Mahoney:** A good business plan, as my colleague the member for Brampton South says, a business plan that makes sense, that says we can ship garbage in enclosed containers.

I have spent some time in Japan, a country where the people, unlike the people of Canada, basically do what their civic and political leaders ask them to do. That is the Japanese way. It is a matter of honour. They believe in co-operating with their elected representatives in a very real way. That is not necessarily the way things happen in this country, as we understand. It is a different political system. Even in Japan they only recycle approximately 25% of the waste that is generated. In a country where the people actually do what their elected leaders ask them to do, they recycle 25%. This minister thinks you can simply put out an edict that will force everybody to recycle. It is not going to work.

Our government, the former provincial government, was instrumental in advancing the blue box program. The government I was part of at the city of Mississauga was instrumental—we were the largest city; Kitchener, I think, was first, and then Mississauga was the largest city to implement the blue box program. It is expensive to get off the ground. You have to buy all the equipment and the new trucks and enter into the contracts. But we have promoted it in our community and it is extremely successful. When you drive down the street on garbage day in my community, you see house after house after house with a blue box out.

I believe we are doing whatever we can. Our government led the way, and I think the municipalities are doing whatever they can to find new and creative ways to deal with waste. What they need is an understanding government that recognizes that we need a comprehensive waste management program. Why should we simply stick our heads in the sand and say no to incineration? Why should we not be open-minded and try to understand that there is technology that exists, whether it is in a cement kiln or whether it is in a plant with new scrubbers, the proper type of technology?

I use Japan as an example again. They have incinerators all over the island and they actually generate power. They heat their local swimming pool right in the community with this industry. What happens is that properly enclosed garbage trucks drive into a building—

**Mr Perruzza:** Did you pay for that government trip to Japan by yourself?

**Mr Mahoney:** No, the government paid for it. Do not worry about it.

They drive into an enclosed building and back up to a hopper, we will call it. They dump the garbage into a hopper. Someone is there operating a crane and they separate the plastics and the rubber and the metal. They separate all



this into different streams and they purify the stream of the garbage. Out of that they get out what can burn and will not put toxins into the air. They generate enough power right in Kariya City, the twin city of Mississauga in Japan, to provide electricity to the local community, to heat the local swimming pool. They make a business. They create jobs. It is clean. You could walk around the site. You would stand there, Mr Speaker, and you would eat your lunch. Well, maybe you would not eat your lunch, Mr Speaker, but I would eat my lunch there. You would not even know that this was a garbage operation you were going into. The smell is totally enclosed in that hopper because it is all operated by a crane. It is really a modern-day way of dealing with it.

The Kirkland Lake proposal could have been similar. We could have had the garbage shipped in enclosed boxcars on rails. Some of the members shake their heads. They obviously do not understand. They think the only solution to this is to continue burying everything and hope that somehow down the road we do not wind up with everything burping right back on us. That is exactly what is going to happen.

I went to a dump site on the Credit River a few years ago. We were making it into a park. We did a drill to test. The dump site had been closed 20 years. You could still read the newspapers from 20 years ago. It was amazing how active that particular dump site was. Now, I do not say that because you have that problem, you just eliminate dump sites. We need composting. We need all the recycling and the reusing. We need the blue box program. We need incineration. We need it done safely and carefully in communities where we can generate power. We need landfill. We also need proper packaging regulations and I hope we get that kind of tough legislation.

The only government I have seen in recent memory that had any guts at all on environmental issues was the last government. We were the only government to put a polluter in jail. We were the only government to expand the blue box program and expand the municipal-industrial strategy for abatement regulations and to actually get tough with environmental foulers.

**Mr Owens:** How long did it take?

**Mr Mahoney:** We were only in office for three years as a majority government, which I realize is not a great length of time, and in that short period of time we actually managed to lead the way in the western world in new environmental protection ideas.

What has this government done? With bills like Bill 123 on waste management in the Ottawa-Carleton area, it has thrown the community into confusion. With ignoring the problem by saying to everybody in the GTA, "We're going to take over this problem; don't you worry about it; everything is going to be fine," they are in a quandary. They do not know what to do. They are all trying to get meetings. Do you know you cannot get a meeting with this minister? It is unbelievable. I have people calling my office every day who say, "We would like to meet with the Minister of the Environment to show her some of the ideas we've got that might solve some of the problems."

**An hon member:** An open and accessible government.

**Mr Mahoney:** It is not, obviously. It is not open. I understand why the minister does not want to meet. The minister is embarrassed at the record of the government in this area. The minister would have to sit there and admit that—

**Mr Callahan:** She's leaving.

**Mr Mahoney:** That is okay. She may come back. I can assure members she is not going off to meet with proponents who have new, good ideas on how to solve waste management problems.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** As a matter of fact, I am.

**Mr Mahoney:** If she is, I would like to know who they are, because they all call my office and say they cannot get a meeting with her. She is probably meeting with one of her interest groups, someone who is driving her agenda.

I tried to think, why would this minister, with a golden opportunity—here is a government that comes into power brand, spanking new. They have a situation in my region and in Durham and in other regions where there are dump sites that have been identified, where the analysis has been conducted, where the drilling has been conducted and the tests have been done. They have intervenor funding being provided to groups that want to come to the environmental assessment hearing. They have a golden opportunity to say to those communities, "We are going to fast-track the environmental hearing process," or: "We don't even have to fast-track it. We're just going to make sure your proposals go to the environmental assessment hearing."

That is not what they do. They come in and say, "You've done all this work. You've spent hundreds of millions of taxpayers' dollars and dollars generated by tipping fees"—which ultimately come back to the taxpayer, whether corporate or residential—"hundreds of millions of dollars in trying to find ways to put a dump site"—who wants a dump site in their backyard, other than Kirkland Lake, because they have a business plan that makes sense, that allows them to create profits, that allows them to generate revenue, that allows them to create jobs in their community, that allows them to look at this thing in a commonsense, pragmatic way that says, "We have a solution to a major problem in southern Ontario."

But no: "We don't want to listen to that. We've got a better idea. We're going to stop everything. We're going to take it all away from the regional municipalities that have been working hard on it. We're going to tell them they have to find a way to dispose of it in their own backyard, unless you're Ottawa-Carleton. With Ottawa-Carleton, we're going to make an exemption." This is the government of exemptions. They have principles, and if we do not like them, they have others. That has been very clear from day one. So they make an exemption. Obviously they have a problem in Kingston. They are going to have a problem elsewhere, except what are they doing to solve the problem?

If they do not allow the sites that have been identified by my regional municipality to go to an environmental assessment hearing, their only other option is to bring in



these draconian measures where the minister can bring down the hammer and say to Hazel McCallion and everybody in Peel, "You are going to expand Britannia Road."

What does that cost our community?

We made a deal. Some members would not understand it. I am sure they were not around politically in those days, but we worked very hard in our community to make an agreement so that we could develop a proper, long-range plan, not for three years, not even for 10 years. We developed a plan that said, "We're going to open a site on Britannia Road in 1978 and we're going to close it in 1990 and we're going to replace it with the next dump in Brampton." That was the deal. I was there. I was on council in 1978, and that was the deal that was agreed to by the late Ken Whillans, the former mayor of Brampton, by the entire regional council and by the people in the community. That was the deal.

1730

Of course, we ran into some difficulties in coming up with acceptable sites to the community. Members would know that every time you identify a site, whether it is in Huttonville or Brampton or Mississauga, obviously some people are going to come out and say: "Hold on here. You're violating our quality of life. We don't want garbage and seagulls and rats and problems in our community." We all understand those feelings. It is called NIMBY. In all honesty, that is an unfair label, because it is really just protecting your own community. We as political leaders have to be prepared to justify that kind of thing and to ensure that it is safe disposal of garbage, that it is not going to ruin a community if we are going to put it in that particular community.

We went that route. We went the route of all the hearings and the public meetings, and there was a first set of six sites that were identified. We were very close to doing a particular environmental assessment hearing there and those sites got derailed, so we went back and looked at them all again.

Then we were right on the verge of making sure that a site in Brampton would be acceptable from an engineering point of view, from an aesthetic point of view, whatever we had to do, and we were ready to go for environmental assessment. What happens? This minister comes along with her great new philosophy that says: "We're going to solve this problem. We're going to take it over. We're going to bring in a bill that is going to provide for emergency powers for this government and this minister to do whatever they want."

Then they come along and they bring in Bill 123, with all the agreements that were reached. I am in support of my colleague the member for Ottawa-Carleton, because I know he has a problem with the regional municipality down there in accepting this garbage from outside. I listened very carefully to his arguments about this bill, and I believe he has clearly and succinctly put forward a position of moderation that says we should adopt this bill because this bill will be good for Ottawa-Carleton. This bill will do what I have always believed is important: It will put authority and autonomy in the hands of the people who

are elected at the level of government that is closest to the people.

Let's face it. We all know that when you become an MP or an MPP, you have broader issues and you wind up perhaps moving a little bit away from your community, even though none of us want to do that. Members who represent an area like Ottawa-Carleton have to spend time at Queen's Park, so they are away from their homes and their families and away from their constituents from at least Sunday night usually until Thursday night, when they are back opening up their offices to meet their people and try to represent them. I think it is very difficult to be a member of this Legislature and come from a community as far away as Ottawa.

I am quite fortunate that I can literally drive half an hour to three quarters of an hour, depending on rush-hour traffic, and I can be back in my constituency. I am there every night and every morning, and I have an opportunity to drop into my community office and return messages and meet people. Even the Acting Speaker, being in Cambridge, is not too far away.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** I encourage the member to move back to the subject.

**Mr Mahoney:** I am on that subject. It relates to the member for Ottawa-Carleton and the difficulty he has and that all members who are far away from this place have in spending so much time here. As a result, he has to rely on the level of government that is closest to the people. The Acting Speaker can see how that ties together. It only takes a little bit of imagination. It clearly shows that this member is supporting his regional municipality in the deal they worked out.

He expressed some very legitimate concerns. I hope the minister will respond to those concerns. It is a basic fundamental thing called trust. The minister meets and enters into Bill 123. Perhaps initially the people in the regional municipality feel a sense of confidence: "We struck a good deal here. We can generate some additional revenue. We are using up our capacity in the landfill. We have to be concerned about that." But very clearly, they felt they had struck a good deal. That is why I and, I assume, other members of our caucus are quite willing to support my colleague from Ottawa-Carleton in his desire to see this bill passed.

Why, though, is the minister setting double standards?

**Mr White:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: To the best of my knowledge, Ottawa-Carleton is not as yet represented. If perhaps the member has a redistribution—

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** The member does not have a point of order. The member for Mississauga West will continue.

**Mr Mahoney:** It is the member for Ottawa West and the region is within that district. I thank the member very much. I am glad he is on his toes today. That is very helpful. The member for Ottawa West—

**Mr Chiarelli:** From Ottawa-Carleton.

**Mr Mahoney:** —from Ottawa-Carleton, as he points out, introduced a private member's bill which would give the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, which is



near Ottawa West, more control over the importation of garbage into the region. That is interesting. It was this man's idea to introduce such a bill. When he introduced this bill, the Minister of the Environment was critical of the bill, saying she did not want different legislation for different municipalities. Can members imagine? She did not at that time want different legislation for different municipalities. Rather, she wanted province-wide legislation. A month later the minister then contradicted her own statement and agreed to make special provisions for the Ottawa-Carleton region.

Members can imagine our dismay and concern. She negotiated the deal on Bill 123 and then introduced Bill 143—which, I can see by the clock, we are not going to get to today—which strips this agreement of any authority whatsoever. So we do not trust this government.

**Mr White:** No kidding.

**Mr Mahoney:** I do not think the people trust this government.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** The member for Durham Centre will not make interjections while he is out of his seat.

**Mr Mahoney:** Mr Speaker, you really did well at Speakers school. I am impressed at your handling of this place.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** You have the floor and we would appreciate it if you would continue with the debate.

**Mr Mahoney:** We need more decorum in this place. You add to that, sir, and I congratulate you for doing that.

The point I am trying to drive home is that the member for Ottawa West, the member for Nepean, all of the Ottawa caucus—that is one area where this party is very substantially represented; like Mississauga, I might add.

**Mr McClelland:** Peel.

**Mr Mahoney:** All right, all of Peel; that is right. The members for Brampton and Mississauga are chirping in the background here. Most of Peel and most of Ottawa had the good sense in the last election to stay with us.

We have a government that we do not trust and that is operating under management by crisis. The minister says the private member's bill of the member for Ottawa West is no good because it confers special authority on a regional municipality. "We do not like that. We want the same rules for all of the province."

Then she does a complete turnaround and flip-flop, which, in fairness, we are getting used to around here, and brings in legislation that in effect does what the member for Ottawa West—

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**Mr Chiarelli:** She stole the bill.

**Mr Mahoney:** She stole his bill. That is exactly what she did. I agree with the honourable member. What kind of honour is that? She stole a private member's bill.

Private members' hour is supposed to be an opportunity for all backbenchers over there, who will not be back after the next election, to put forward the concerns of their communities. It is supposed to give them a chance. In fact,

if the honourable members were here, and some of them were, and voted in favour of my private member's resolution last week, it called for more free votes for MPPs; it called for a government not to be toppled except on a vote of confidence or lack thereof. It allowed for MPPs to have more opportunity for input, more freedom, more democracy, more openness to the budget system. It allowed for the democratization of this place, and many of the members opposite voted in favour of that.

They must then in their private time think this Minister of the Environment was extremely unfair. When she saw a really good idea come from the member for Ottawa West to solve a problem with regard to garbage in their community, she stood up and said: "That is not a good idea, I do not like it." Then a month later she turned around and stole the private member's bill right off the table, reworded it a little—

**Mr Johnson:** What a hypothesis.

**Mr Mahoney:** It is not a hypothesis; it is a fact. This bill basically does the same thing the member for Ottawa West's private member's bill would have done. Why was it not good enough for this government to recognize that a member of the opposition has done his homework in his community, put together a responsible bill and introduced it in private members' hour?

Interjection.

**Mr Mahoney:** No, it is no good. They throw it out and then they steal it. I would say that is a compliment to the member for Ottawa West, if it did not make me so angry that this government clearly has no agenda in the area of waste reduction, of waste management, has no agenda in the area of establishing new partnerships with the municipalities out there that do not trust the government. They do not have any sense of comfort that the government knows what it is doing, whether in the area of waste management or flip-flopping on auto insurance. It does not matter, they are all over the map.

The government members may pay their pollsters to do some fancy polls, ask questions in a funny way and try to sleep at night by pretending they have 41% of the support. If that is how they want to kid themselves, they can go right ahead. I can tell the members of this government that I cannot find anybody who voted for them. They will not admit it. I cannot find anyone who is not totally embarrassed if they do admit it. There are even buttons out there with a picture of the Premier and a slash through it that say: "Don't blame me. I didn't vote for him."

It is quite remarkable. However, government members are there and they have another three years. They are going to mess up the economy, they are going to mess up waste management and throw the sense of confidence out the window.

The Minister of Labour is sitting over there smiling, knowing he has the authority now to bring down all the payback bills to Leo Gerard, Bob White, Shirley Carr and all the men and women in the hierarchy of the labour movement. He understands it just as well as I understand it, and he knows it. He can smile for three years because he



has the power and he is going to do it. He is going to pay them back.

The Minister of the Environment is doing the same thing in offering paybacks to the environmental and special interest groups that have put forward their support, either financially or in some other way, to this minister or members in the government, and it is payback time for them.

As the members opposite will understand, in opposition you wind up in a bit of a quandary at times. You find a bill that makes some sense, and Bill 123 does because it was our colleague who in essence drafted the bill. We will be supporting Bill 123 because we support the people in Ottawa-Carleton, not because we support this government. This government is absolutely bereft of any kind of long-range plan to solve the waste management problems in this province, in Ottawa-Carleton, Kingston, Mississauga, Brampton and Toronto. They have no idea what they are doing.

If Bill 143, which we might call in some sense related legislation, carries, the people in Ottawa-Carleton can only sit and hope and pray that this minister does not wake up with a headache one morning and decide that is it, she is going to bring down the hammer and destroy everything they worked hard to attain in negotiating with this government a bill that makes sense.

**Mr Chiarelli:** First, I appreciate the comments made concerning my participation in this legislation. It has been a very successful debate on the part of the member for Mississauga West because he has moved up now to my second ballot support for the leadership. I encourage him to keep up the good words. I did want to comment on his comment about the inaccessibility of the Minister of the Environment to stakeholders and people with an interest.

The member indicated it is very difficult for people with an interest in these major issues to get in and do any significant or substantive consultation. I want to say I know exactly how he feels. We are dealing here with Bill 123 regarding Ottawa-Carleton and there has been virtually no input and no access from the only NDP member for Ottawa-Carleton, the member for Ottawa Centre, on this issue, including the time it first started in November. The question of accessibility is significant for the people of Ontario and it does not exist with this government.

I know it is inappropriate to comment on the non-attendance of a person in the House. I will not comment on that specifically, but I will simply say I have not seen a letter, I have not seen a comment, I have not seen any action whatsoever from the member for Ottawa Centre, the cabinet representative in this government, on this issue of garbage, on the concern of Ottawa-Carleton or on this piece of legislation. She has chosen not to debate this legislation or comment on it. It is a common refrain from Ottawa-Carleton that there is no accessibility to the local minister, the member for Ottawa Centre. As this member has said, there is no accessibility to the Minister of the Environment.

**Mr Callahan:** I have listened very attentively to the last speaker and I want to comment. Has Kingston suddenly become part of Ottawa? That has to be the case,

because the Minister of the Environment, for whom I had great respect when she was in opposition but to this day is a know-nothing minister, told us garbage had to be looked after in the community from which it came. As I understand, they are trucking the garbage from Kingston to Ottawa.

**Mr Sola:** Kingston is a suburb of Ottawa.

**Mr Callahan:** Is that right?

**Mr Chiarelli:** That is what the bill does.

**Mr Callahan:** That is what the bill does, my colleague tells me.

I find it really interesting. No one, no reasonably intelligent person, likes to have a garbage dump located in his or her area. The people of Brampton do not necessarily want it. There was a great deal of concern about getting it, but it went through a process which finally centred on a particular site. The fact is that it is centred on that site and then suddenly the Minister of the Environment and this government comes along and upsets the whole apple cart. Millions of dollars were spent by the region of Peel and its taxpayers, and suddenly the know-nothing Minister of the Environment says: "Put a hold on it. Nothing's going to happen. We're going to go through it all again."

No one likes to have a garbage dump in his or her area. However, I cannot think of a person who wishes to have the uncertainty that existed during the entire process that went on in our city in terms of where it was going to be located. We are now back into the uncertainty area. I suggest that causes people more unrest than if the know-nothing Minister of the Environment had said something, because then at least people would know where it was going to go.

**Mrs Fawcett:** I too want to commend my colleague the member for Mississauga West for his very thoughtful and informative remarks. Certainly he has put forward many options that are available in the solution to the garbage crisis, one of them of course being Bill 123. I agree with him, though, that we cannot close our minds to any ideas that might be out there. In this age of progressive technology and science, one never knows when there an idea that right now may not be a correct one may be the absolutely most environmentally friendly idea around. Incineration may become that because of the technology that would make it so.

I am worried because this minister has said, "No, never can incineration be an idea that might be considered." In Belleville, I think, she said, "Over my dead body would incineration be allowed." This really boxes her into a corner. I do not think we should ever do that.

1750

Many people are worried out there. This minister makes people worried, especially the farmers who speak to me about the environmental bill of rights. They are really worried, so I think we must be open to all ideas. My colleague put forward so well the idea of trust. Can farmers really trust this minister not to put them out of business? Hopefully, the people of Ottawa-Carleton can trust this minister with this bill, that there is not something further behind it and that it will be good for the people concerned.



**Mr Mahoney:** You can tell if you are making a mark when two things happen: Either the members opposite chirp and interrupt you and rise on points of order, which members saw happen on a number of occasions, or they sit there muzzled, which is what is happening now.

I can understand their whip has told them: "Don't get anybody too excited. Don't bother with the two-minute replies. We don't want to hear your ideas. We don't want to hear if they agree with this." Do they think this is a good deal? They don't even speak in the rotation, for goodness' sake. Some of them actually supported my private member's resolution which called for them to have more freedom to deal with their government. No members of cabinet supported it, notably, but many members on the back bench supported it, and they do not have the guts to get up and speak about this bill.

The people in Ottawa want to know if the member for Ottawa Centre has them muzzled and told them not to say anything about this bill. Maybe that is exactly what has happened. That is a disgrace. They call themselves open and accessible. Their Environment minister will not meet with people who have good ideas. The backbenchers sit there like trained seals waiting to be thrown a fish and do not have the courage to get up and let the people of Ontario know what they think. They were elected to do that and they do not have the courage to do it. That is a shame.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** The member will speak to the comments that were made, please.

**Mr Mahoney:** I want to thank the member for Ottawa West for his announcement—that second-ballot support is very much appreciated—and the member for Northumberland for her very thoughtful comments about openness and access to this government. I think that, frankly, the reaction of the members opposite is quite clear. As I said in my remarks, and I will close with it, I will be supporting this bill in a vote if necessary. But that is clearly not an indication of support for this minister or this government.

**Mr Cousens:** It is awfully hard to follow the act we have just had. I sit here in awe and I wonder where we get the acting lessons, because if we did we could not do a better job than we have just seen. I would just like to give this honourable member at least a one-handed clap so that it goes on the record that we have all sort of—

**Mr Mahoney:** Are you with me on second ballot?

**Mr Cousens:** If I am able to give any kind of ballot support for that kind of performance: People who are watching this lovely program on TV, you have just seen one of the contenders for the Liberal leadership who hopes to replace the interim leader who replaced the other interim leader who replaced another interim leader who replaced David Peterson who was interim leader.

I just wish that these honourable members had sufficient memory to go back two or three years. If this honourable member had had the same speech in caucus to the then Premier, David Peterson, maybe we would not be in the mess we are in right now. All he would have had to do is stand up there with the same degree of fervour, the same enthusiasm, and maybe when his government had a chance

to do something with the reins of power it would have done things an awful lot differently.

I do not know. I cannot call people hypocrites because that is not parliamentary language and I would not want to get into that. But the biggest laugh for me today was not the member for Mississauga West, who was delightful in his presentation, but the insidious remarks by the member for Ottawa West. His amendments to the Environmental Protection Act that he went on at length for—if I have ever seen a NIMBY approach.

One thing about the Minister of the Environment is that she indeed tries to make a law that is going to help a few people. But when the Liberals come up, it is truly something. When you look under section 38b of the member for Ottawa West's amendments to the Environmental Protection Act, he goes to great length to "control the amount of waste from outside the municipality that may be deposited at the waste disposal site." He brought this in with regard to this whole situation for Ottawa-Carleton.

His private member's bill had a great deal to say about the powers that would go to the municipalities, and it was all because Kingston was sending some garbage up to Carleton. When you have this kind of reaction, members saying, "We just want to do something to protect it," I just wish the government would come to some understanding of a policy that is going to work not just for one area but for all areas across the province.

When the New Democrats were in opposition they were listening to everybody and always having an audience in order to consult and share and understand things, and now that they are in power it is hard to get their attention. I know Hazel McCallion and the people from Peel have tried for some four or five months to have a meeting with the Premier and the Minister of the Environment with regard to Britannia Road and the landfill sites. They cannot get a meeting. This open, available group of people now running the province is operating in isolation from the people who want to contribute to a workable solution that has everybody committed to developing some kind of compromise that is going to work for everybody.

But instead what we end up having is ad hockery. Here we again have a bill in the House, brought in by the Minister of Municipal Affairs, An Act to amend the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton Act, and I want to get into some of the powers he is talking about in this act, but it is just another example where the government, when it is dealing with any one situation, deals with each one in isolation. It cannot see the forest for the trees. What we really have to criticize this government for is that inability to lift things up to another level, rather than just have the very parochial, belief-ridden system it works under, to allow others with new ideas, fresh ideas and ways of trying to resolve things to work it out together. That is not the way this government operates.

That is the greatest condemnation I have of the Ministry of the Environment and the way it has brought forward Bill 143, a bill affecting the landfill sites for the greater Toronto area. It came out only on October 24. There is a special resolution on our order paper today in which the House leader of the New Democrats would like to try to



force that through for quick passage before December 20, when we rise for Christmas. It is just totally unacceptable that they want to ram it through in the few weeks that exist between now and Christmas, not giving municipal politicians a chance to look at it, not giving anyone a chance to really participate in the dialogue. We are dealing with a government that seems to operate from crisis to crisis to crisis. We are dealing with a Minister of the Environment who—

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** I ask the member to take his seat at this stage. We move at this time to business items.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

**Hon Mr Cooke:** Pursuant to standing order 53, I would like to indicate the business of the House for the coming week.

On Monday, December 9, we will consider second reading of Bill 86, An Act to amend the Gasoline Tax Act; Bill 130, An Act to amend the Retail Sales Tax Act; Bill 150, An Act to provide for the Creation and Registration of Labour Sponsored Venture Capital Corporations to Invest in Eligible Ontario Businesses and to make certain other amendments, and Bill 143, An Act respecting the Management of Waste in the Greater Toronto Area and to amend the Environmental Protection Act.

On Tuesday, December 10, we will give second reading consideration to Bill 129, the Truck Transportation Amendment Act; Bill 156, the Financial Administration Amendment Act; Bill 163, the Legislative Assembly Amendment Act, and Bill 143, An Act respecting the Management of Waste in the Greater Toronto Area and to amend the Environmental Protection Act.

On Wednesday, December 11, we will give committee of the whole consideration to Bill 158, An Act to amend the Labour Relations Act with respect to the Industrial, Commercial and Institutional Sector of the Construction Industry; Bill 83, An Act to amend the Income Tax Act; Bill 84, An Act to amend the Tobacco Tax Act; Bill 86, An Act to amend the Gasoline Tax Act; Bill 130, An Act to amend the Retail Sales Tax Act; and Bill 136, An Act to amend certain Acts relating to Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy. We will follow with second reading consideration of Bill 117, An Act to amend the Courts of Justice Act, and Bill 125, the Education Statute Law Amendment Act.

On Thursday, December 12, in the morning, we will deal with private members' business ballot item 51, standing in the name of Mr Eves, and ballot item 52, standing in the name of Mr Mammoliti.

In the afternoon, we will deal with second reading of Bill 164, the Insurance Statute Law Amendment Act.

The House adjourned at 1802.



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- O'Connor, Lawrence** (Durham-York ND) parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/Adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto



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 O'Neil, Hugh P. (Quinte L)  
 O'Neill, Yvonne (Ottawa-Rideau L) opposition deputy whip/  
 Whip adjointe de l'opposition  
 Owens, Stephen (Scarborough Centre/-Centre ND)  
 parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial  
 Institutions, government whip/Adjoint parlementaire du  
 ministre des Institutions financières, whip du  
 gouvernement
- Perruzza, Anthony (Downsview ND) parliamentary assistant to  
 Minister for Skills Development/Adjoint parlementaire du  
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 Minister of Correctional Services/Solliciteur général,  
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 Poole, Dianne (Eglinton L)  
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 permanent des organismes gouvernementaux  
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 Management Board of Cabinet, Minister of  
 Education/Président du Conseil de gestion du  
 gouvernement, ministre de l'Éducation  
 Sola, John (Mississauga East/-Est L) Vice-Chair, standing  
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 Comité permanent des affaires sociales  
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 Sterling, Norman W. (Carleton PC)  
 Stockwell, Chris (Etobicoke West/-Ouest PC)  
 Sullivan, Barbara (Halton Centre/-Centre L)  
 Sutherland, Kimble (Oxford ND) parliamentary assistant to  
 Chairman of the Management Board of Cabinet;  
 Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic  
 affairs/Adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de  
 gestion du gouvernement, vice-président du Comité  
 permanent des finances et des affaires économiques  
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 of Industry, Trade and Technology with responsibility for  
 trade and technology/Adjoint parlementaire du ministre de  
 l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie et délégué  
 au Commerce et à la Technologie  
 Ward, Margery (Don Mills ND) parliamentary assistant to  
 Minister of Government Services/Adjoint parlementaire  
 du ministre des Services gouvernementaux  
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 Georgienne ND) parliamentary assistant to Minister of  
 Tourism and Recreation; Vice-Chair, standing committee  
 on resources development/Adjoint parlementaire du  
 ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs, vice-président du  
 Comité permanent du développement des ressources  
 Wessinger, Paul (Simcoe Centre/-Centre ND) parliamentary  
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 ministre de la Santé  
 White, Drummond (Durham Centre/-Centre ND) Chair,  
 standing committee on regulations and private bills/  
 Président du Comité permanent des règlements et projets  
 de loi privés  
**Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud** (Algoma ND) Minister of Natural  
 Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/Ministre  
 des Ressources naturelles, ministre délégué aux Affaires  
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**Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred** (Frontenac-Addington ND) Minister  
 of Government Services/Ministre des Services  
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 Wilson, Gary (Kingston and The Islands/Kingston et Les Îles ND)  
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 Wilson, Jim (Simcoe West/-Ouest PC)  
 Winner, David (London South/-Sud ND) parliamentary  
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 Wood, Len (Cochrane North/-Nord ND) parliamentary  
 assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/Adjoint  
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- Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine** (High Park-Swansea ND)  
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 rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race  
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Clerk/Greffier: Smirle Forsyth



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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

First Session, 35th Parliament

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Première session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Monday 9 December 1991

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le lundi 9 décembre 1991



Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers





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## Table des matières

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Il existe un index cumulatif des numéros précédents. Les renseignements qu'il contient sont à votre disposition par téléphone auprès des employés de l'index du Journal des débats au (416) 325-7400.

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Effective with the opening of the Second Session of the 35th Parliament, Hansard issues and pages will once again be numbered on a sessional basis. Hansard numbering therefore will become consistent with Orders and Notices and Votes and Proceedings, and with other parliamentary publications throughout Canada.

For the last two years Hansard has been numbered according to the calendar year. Under this system, the numbering of issues and pages was restarted with the first issue in the calendar year, regardless of session or Parliament.

Under the new system, the sequence of numbering started in January 1991 will end with the final House and committee sittings of the present First Session. A new sequence will begin on the opening day of the Second Session, and each succeeding session, which will be issue 1 and begin with page 1. Committee reports likewise will be numbered from the first sitting of each committee in a parliamentary session.

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A partir du début de la deuxième session de la 35<sup>e</sup> législature, les pages et les numéros du Journal des débats seront de nouveau numérotés par session. La numérotation du Journal des débats correspondra donc à celle de Feuilleton et Avis et de Procès-verbaux, ainsi que celle des autres publications parlementaires au Canada.

Depuis deux ans, le Journal des débats était numéroté par année civile. Avec ce système, la numérotation des numéros et des pages recommençait au premier numéro de l'année civile, quelle que soit la session ou la législature.

Avec le nouveau système, la numérotation commencée en janvier 1991 s'arrêtera à la dernière séance de la Chambre et des comités de l'actuelle première session. Une nouvelle série commencera le jour de l'ouverture de la deuxième session et des sessions suivantes : numéro 1, page 1. Les rapports des comités seront également numérotés à partir de la première séance de chaque comité pour une session parlementaire donnée.

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Monday 9 December 1991

The House met at 1330.

Prayers.

## MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

### SENIOR CITIZENS' HOUSING

**Mr Grandmaitre:** My statement is directed at both the Minister of Housing and the minister responsible for seniors' issues.

There have been press reports in the Ottawa newspapers regarding the Ottawa-Carleton Regional Housing Authority's plan to integrate younger adults into seniors' homes starting in February.

According to the Ottawa Citizen, seniors have no say whatsoever in the decision. Seniors who attended meetings held in their targeted senior citizens' buildings were faced with a *fait accompli*. Even after they "complained, they argued, they shouted" and a senior citizen raised his arm asking the simple question, "You've got it your way, and we just sit here and listen; what can we do?" representatives of the housing authority answered, "Nothing."

The article concluded: "Regional and provincial bureaucrats have absolutely no intention of listening to them. The seniors will accept the new tenants and that's the end of it."

The Minister of Housing claims that her government is always consulting with the people of Ontario. It has clearly failed here, since it has not even asked the advice of the people who will have to live with these new tenants. I would like to know if the minister, who is never able to meet with the Ottawa groups, even if she is the government's representative in the Ottawa-Carleton area, has even consulted her colleague the minister responsible for seniors' issues, or will seniors have to wait for the long-awaited advocacy legislation to have their voices heard? The Minister of Housing should listen to our seniors instead of making decisions without consulting them.

### LABOUR LEGISLATION

**Mrs Cunningham:** In October, the results of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business survey reported that more than a third of Ontario's small and medium-sized businesses are thinking about leaving the province. Citing the proposed labour legislation as one of the major reasons, more than 85% of the 3,539 businesses surveyed said the Ontario business climate is unfavourable.

The London Chamber of Commerce has 2,400 members, representing 1,000 firms and employing approximately 70,000 employees in the London district. The London chamber's position paper on the proposed changes states, "With the current poor economic conditions in Ontario and limited prospect for recovery, any initiative by the government of Ontario that undermines confidence or gives the perception of an anti-business bias to investors and others is counterproductive to what must be the government's first priority—encouraging economic growth."

Walt Legrow, vice-president of human resources for EMCO Ltd in London and vice-chair of the More Jobs Coalition, says the More Jobs Coalition has been holding meetings across the province. The coalition represents 70 companies and over 200,000 employees. They are also discovering that many companies are looking to invest outside Ontario and that many parent companies are choosing not to consider Ontario as a possible area for their business location. In answer to the question, "Do we need these labour reforms?" the resounding answer is "No."

### NOVACOR CHEMICALS PLANT

**Mrs MacKinnon:** I am very pleased today to recognize the Novacor Chemicals plant in Moore township, in my riding of Lambton. Novacor celebrated two million hours of safe work, from October 1987 to September 1990, and was presented with a plaque from the Western Ontario Industrial Accident Prevention Association. Also, the plant was given a certificate of performance for 1990 for attaining one full year without a compensation case.

This particular plant was built by Union Carbide in 1977 and was purchased by Novacor in 1987. The workforce has increased its productivity by two thirds since 1987 by introducing new technology and systems, by reorganizing itself and by continual training.

With 243 employees, the plant produces polyethylene resins for the plastics industry. It is one of three Novacor plants in the Lambton area that are owned by Nova Corp of Alberta.

I congratulate Novacor for the outstanding accomplishments and its dedication to a safe and prosperous workplace. My personal congratulations to all the employees and management of Novacor.

### CHILD CARE

**Ms Poole:** Last week this government finally followed up on a promise made 10 months ago and reannounced a low-wage enhancement for child care workers. At that reannouncement, child care workers were told they would have their cheques by Christmas. Late last week child care centres received these forms with an urgent memo attached.

The memo advised that the minister would not be able to process their request unless the forms were completed and submitted within seven days. That is right—seven days. Members should look at the forms, look at how complex they are and look at how extensive they are—and they have been given seven days.

At the same time, the forms have to be completed by the volunteer board of directors. They are volunteers—they have other jobs, they have responsibilities—and yet if they do not fill in these forms and complete them in time and the workers do not get the money, who is going to get the blame? Certainly not the government. The overworked board of the child care centres will get the blame, when it was really this government that created the mess in the



first place by delaying the process so long. In a very clever move, the government has imposed an impossible deadline.

When is this government going to learn that it has to plan, that it has to commit and keep to its promises? They have to do it in an orderly way, not a last-minute promise and a last-minute delivery to appease the Ontario Coalition for Better Child Care.

This kind of manipulation that I talked about today, using the boards of the child care centres as pawns, is simply unacceptable and unconscionable. We do not want this government to engage in this type of activity again. They must change their ways.

1340

#### COCHLEAR IMPLANTS

**Mrs Marland:** Earlier this fall, in a W5 interview, the member for York East rejected cochlear implant technology. The member is an important advocate and leader for persons who are deaf and hard of hearing. However, many persons with hearing loss do not share his views on cochlear implants, which may help hard-of-hearing persons to hear and speak.

Carole Théberge, executive director of the Canadian Hard of Hearing Association, writes in a letter to the Premier: "Government funding of cochlear implant research, development and implementation is absolutely essential for those of us who do not wish to be isolated in a silent world but who instead desire to be integrated into the 'hearing' world. The cochlear implant may be freedom at last for many. Mr Malkowski has no right to remove this choice from the people of Ontario. No one should be forced by financial circumstances into the isolation of the deaf community when another alternative is available."

Not all hard-of-hearing persons are as fortunate as the member, who has several interpreters provided at taxpayers' expense to help him function in a non-deaf world. As Mr A. F. Bowden, first vice-president of the Canadian Hard of Hearing Association has written, the member for York East "has no right to use his political position to interfere with decisions made from community group input and a subsequent consensus of a ministry to fund this cochlear implant program."

#### VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

**Ms Harrington:** Many women hoped the week of December 2 was the turning point in the attitudes of society towards violence against women. I remember two years ago the attitudes of denial, and I believe there has been substantial change. In Niagara Falls progress was made. City council wore white ribbons when inaugurated a week ago.

From 1 to 2 last Friday I discussed this subject with many callers on the local phone-in show. From 4 to 5, I distributed leaflets at the main bus stop. People were interested and receptive. At 7 pm there was a candlelight vigil held, where women shared with each other the personal violence they had experienced in their lives. A new and controversial film entitled *Freedom Sacrificed*, which is the price of porn, was released in Niagara Falls this week.

This was made by the Social Justice Committee, of which I was the founding member, and funded by the secretary of state.

In the throne speech, we said: "The government will deal resolutely with violence against women and children. It is time now for society to come face to face with the reality." That was a year ago. For the sake of the teenage girl who said, "My father beats my mother, my uncle beats my aunt, my grandfather beats my grandmother; I didn't know there was another way," we must continue our commitment made in the throne speech. Because women have less power in society, there is violence against them, and because women experience violence, they have less power. Now this vicious cycle can be broken.

#### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

**Mr Chiarelli:** Today I want challenge the Premier to honour his stated principles of public ethical standards of behaviour and his throne speech statement, "My government's first challenge is to earn the trust and respect of the people of Ontario."

Former Premier Peterson was alleged to have said he had a plan to reduce auto insurance rates. For that the now Premier publicly called him a liar, words which, if spoken in this House, would cause the Speaker to have him ejected.

Last Thursday the Minister of Financial Institutions said that under David Peterson's Ontario motorist protection plan, "To date 18 insurers serving 50% of Ontario's drivers have applied for or implemented premium reductions." The Peterson promise is being fulfilled. On the other hand, this Premier's throne speech promised a public, driver-owned plan. This has been totally abandoned, a "complete betrayal" according to the member for Welland-Thorold.

Does the Premier still think it is appropriate to say one thing in this House and another outside? In view of the foregoing, will the Premier publicly apologize to David Peterson and his family for publicly calling him a liar? Where are the Premier's standards?

#### EDUCATION PROGRAM EVALUATION

**Mrs Cunningham:** Traditionally, opposition parties criticize governments when they flip-flop on issues, but today I would like to congratulate the Minister of Education for coming around to our position on the school achievement indicators program. Parents, trustees and business leaders all applaud the minister's decision to participate in the national testing program.

On October 1, 1991, I pointed out to the former Minister of Education that the Council of Ministers of Education could accommodate Ontario's concern about gender or racial bias and the length of time a student has been in Canada. Ontario's objections were not insurmountable. On Friday the member for Dovercourt, our new Minister of Education, said he agreed.

One concern remains. Teachers argue that the tests will not be tied to Ontario's curriculum. I have a solution for that problem as well. Following the proposals put forward in the federal government's prosperity initiative document entitled *Living Well, Learning Well*, Canada should develop a core curriculum for literacy and numeracy skills.



Commonality of curriculum already does exist. We just need to sit down and hammer out the details.

Report after report has concluded that Canada's future prosperity depends on the skill and knowledge of our workforce. Let's stop talking and start taking action. The prosperity framework is a good place to start. The paper states: "Our success will require the co-operation of many, some of whom have differing opinions. All these differences will not be resolved. We need to work together to identify areas where common ground exists, build a consensus and take action."

#### GODERICH DISTRICT COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE

**Mr Klopp:** I rise to pay tribute to the consulting process and to two grade 11 classes at Goderich District Collegiate Institute. As members are aware, the Ministry of Natural Resources put out for public discussion the document *Looking Ahead: A Wild Life Strategy for Ontario*.

In my riding, two classes from Goderich District Collegiate took the opportunity to examine the document and to put down what they felt they wanted to see for the future. They provided me with a copy of their submissions for the minister and I would encourage all the members to review these proposals done by the students at Goderich. I truly admire their efforts and the care these students have demonstrated on this project. I know the minister will have a chance to review the proposals and to comment on their fine work.

This is not only a good chance for us to take advice from our future leaders, but an excellent learning process for future discussions and decision-making that we all have to go forward with. Therefore, I take my hat off to those grade 11 students of Goderich Collegiate who worked hard on this effort, and I hope to see more students participate in the future.

1350

#### STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

##### NATIVE ISSUES

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** I rise today on behalf of my colleague the minister responsible for native affairs to inform this House of an initiative which opens the way to a brighter future for six remote aboriginal communities in northern Ontario.

Under the terms of an agreement signed earlier today, Ontario will make 235 square miles of crown land available to be designated as reserve lands for the first nations of Aroland, Kee-Way-Win, McDowell Lake, New Slate Falls, Saugeen and Wawakapewin.

Canada will contribute \$35.5 million and Ontario \$25 million over a seven-year period, for a total of \$60.5 million, to provide basic community facilities such as water and sewage services and decent housing for five of those communities, the types of services which are often taken for granted in non-aboriginal communities.

Taking part in the signing ceremony earlier today with the Minister of Natural Resources, who is the minister responsible for native affairs, were Tom Siddon, the federal Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Grand Chief Bentley Cheechoo of the Nishnawbe-Aski

Nation and the chiefs of the six first nations, all of which belong to Treaty 9 or the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation.

We will give credit where credit is due. We will give the previous government credit for starting the process of doing something for these six communities. We also wish to credit the Indian Commission of Ontario for the success of the negotiations. This government willingly picked up the initiative. Staff of the Ontario native affairs secretariat have worked closely and intensely with Canada, the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation and its first nations and the ICO since last November to finalize this agreement.

Members will recall that the NAN communities fought for recognition as first nations for many years. The finally received status as bands under the Indian Act in 1985, but did not get the expected land bases or the benefits that go with them.

The Chiefs of Ontario made it clear last fall that it considered the six NAN communities as a priority for government action. Canada offered to create the reserves if Ontario contributed the land and made a substantial contribution to the infrastructure costs in the communities. We agreed, mindful of the fact we were stepping into what might be considered traditional territory of the federal government in working with reserve communities. But crown land is a responsibility of the province and it was up to us to make the land available.

Then there was the issue of the quality of life in these communities. The residents of those communities live in dilapidated, overcrowded and inadequate housing with chronic dangers to their health from untreated sewage. Many have limited access to schools and medical facilities. Economic opportunities are scarce or non-existent. This government has taken the position that the quality of life must be improved in aboriginal communities. That is why we accepted the opportunity presented to us by the federal government.

There are many exciting aspects of the agreement signed today. For instance, an aboriginal development corporation is expected to be formed by the first nations to plan, manage and deliver the facilities provided through the agreement. The people of these communities will assume a very real control over their future and the development of their communities. This is a very real beginning to creating self-government.

The agreement will also lead to economic bases for the communities and benefits to native businesses, but I am also sure economic benefits from the agreement will flow to northern Ontario businesses that are actually outside those named communities.

Staff of the Ministry of Northern Development and Mines will play a pivotal role in implementation of the agreement. They will assist in the creation of the aboriginal development corporation and will administer the agreement on behalf of the province until the corporation can assume its responsibilities.

The government recognizes that there are many other aboriginal communities in the province that lack very basic services, both on and off reserve, and there are many other areas where we must take action if we are to meet our commitments to fair and just treatment of aboriginal



peoples. I assure the members of this House that the government will meet those commitments in the months ahead.

## RESPONSES

### NATIVE ISSUES

**Mr Ramsay:** This is a very important announcement by this government in trying to address the growing crisis in our native communities. I would like to congratulate the minister responsible for native affairs and the Minister of Transportation for doing this in the minister's absence.

This is a good start. As the minister knows, there is much more to do. The unemployment rate among natives is 50% and over 70% of on-reserve natives receive social assistance. As the government is painfully aware, native health care and education are sadly lacking; 50% of all native households have experienced some family violence and 72% of all victims of native violence are women.

I have some concerns and questions I would like to address in my response to the minister. One regards the funding. The minister has announced funding of \$25 million. I would like to know if that is new and over the \$48 million the Treasurer announced for native issues in his budget last April. I would also like to know if these are just the capital costs. Have the minister and the government taken into account the maintenance costs of this program? Where is that money going to come from?

We also have some concerns about the delivery of this service, especially with regard to the Auditor General's report on federal government spending. I would like to know if the minister has some guarantees that this money will go to the production of housing and basic infrastructure, as it is supposed to, and what proportion of this money will go to supported housing. Are there any stipulations that a certain percentage of these funds go to supported housing for seniors, for the handicapped, for alcohol and drug addiction and for battered women's shelters, etc? I would like the minister to look at that.

As the Auditor General of Canada has just brought down a ringing condemnation of the federal government's mismanagement and ineffectiveness in providing decent housing for natives, what do the minister and the Premier know that suggests this federal mismanagement will not continue? They have to make sure these funds are well spent, as the federal government does not have a good track record on this.

The Premier has stated many times his desire to take over Ontario's proportion of the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and in this agreement the Ontario government seems to be allocating the lion's share of costs, with no change in that jurisdiction. The federal government is clearly in charge. The federal minister gets all the hype in the first quote in the press release, yet Ontario is the one that is making the important commitment. We would hate to think Ottawa is playing the Ontario government off for its money when it rightfully should be getting the Premier's commitment.

I would like to make one further note about consultation. As the minister knows, other groups have been affected by this. I would like to know what consultations and feed-

back from local residents and people in the mining community, etc, have taken place, as this is very important.

I would like to allow a little time for the member for Kenora, who has a great interest in native issues, to complete the comments.

**Mr Miclash:** Mr Speaker, you will realize that in my riding I represent a good portion of the first nations members of the province, and I must say that I, too, am fairly happy to hear this announcement and would like to thank the minister for recognizing the previous government for what progress it made in this area.

As the previous speaker has pointed out, there are a few concerns we have in terms of the announcement. I have already heard one member of the NDP government talk today about the consulting process. I must emphasize that is something I am very interested in as well. As we know, throughout my riding we depend a lot on resource-based industry. I think we have to consider the other people who are in the area and the consulting that goes on in terms of extracting those resources. I think it is a good announcement for the first nations people in the riding.

The minister who announced the program was on a trip looking at health services and conditions throughout the north a few years back, and he realizes some of the bleak conditions many of those communities are faced with. I would like to say that as a northerner I realize the importance of this agreement, the importance of both the provincial and federal governments coming in with the first nations and coming up with some resolutions to these many bleak conditions. But we must have the co-operation of and a process of consultation for all the people throughout the north in the province.

**Mr Eves:** I would like to respond to the minister's statement by congratulating his government for taking this initiative in the minister's absence here today. I have a couple of questions, like my colleague the member for Timiskaming, as well.

I thought it was a great precedent; I believe it was the band from Whitedog that was here several weeks, if not a couple of months ago now which suggested to the government that the proper way of proceeding with respect to its particular problem, its particular claim and the agreement it signed with the government was a public consultation process with people in the area. I think the native community itself showed us how these types of things should be done. I reiterate the question the member for Timiskaming asked in his remarks: Has this been done in this instance and will it be done in further agreements and negotiations with the native peoples? I am sure there will be more forthcoming in the weeks and months to come.

I also understand the minister has at his disposal the sum of \$250 million which has been allotted to him with respect to agreements such as this, to be expended before the end of the fiscal year. Having again some thoughts on what the member for Timiskaming had to say about the contribution from the federal government, the question I would have in my mind is whether the government of Ontario is going to insist that the federal government not neglect its duty in putting forth its share of the funding.



It is fine for Ontario to say it has \$250 million set aside in this fiscal year with which it hopes to address some of the outstanding native issues that are out there, but we would like to know that our partners at the so-called senior level of government in Ottawa are going to be forthcoming with their fair share of the funding for the native community as well.

1400

## ORAL QUESTIONS

### ONTARIO ECONOMY

**Mr Ramsay:** I have a series of questions for the Treasurer in regard to his continuing saga that we call the Ontario budget. I hope the Treasurer will be paying attention to this. He should be.

We heard the Treasurer yesterday, after his emergency cabinet meeting, telling the press about the continuing, worsening economic situation in Ontario and the problem that is causing for him to balance his budget, more spending cuts possibly being hinted at and tax increases possibly next year.

We are getting tired of this continual saga, this sort of As the World Turns soap opera with the budget. We started with a \$9.7-billion deficit in the April budget. Then only one month later the Treasurer had to cut and put off and beg for another \$2.1 billion in extra money because forecasts were off again. The Treasurer already knows that next year's tax revenues are going to be \$1 billion to \$2 billion short, and now he is saying there are going to be more restraints.

Can the Treasurer tell us now, rather than causing more of this apprehension about what is going on, how bad the economy is? Are we going to have to wait till the April budget? What is he going to do now to get control of the Ontario budget so we can start dealing with the problems this province faces?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I appreciate the question from the member for Timiskaming. I should tell the member opposite I do welcome the question because it allows me to put in context the situation in which we find ourselves.

First of all, the meeting yesterday should not be categorized as an emergency or crisis meeting. It was a meeting to bring my cabinet colleagues up to speed on the latest economic information because of all the changes that have taken place since the last time we had a half day or a full day back in September to talk about economic problems.

I should tell the member opposite that we are not happy with the numbers that are coming out. Perhaps the member saw numbers released last Friday which showed job losses again, particularly in manufacturing. That is indeed a concern to all of us, but I can assure him that just as we have done since the budget was brought down last spring, we are continuing, despite very difficult times, to manage within the numbers we forecast in our budget last spring.

**Mr Ramsay:** We are already getting some hints about what possible remedies the Treasurer may be applying to the situation. I have a letter from the Ontario Lottery Corp stating that it is developing a plan to introduce video lotteries

in this province—surprise, surprise—possibly by the spring of 1992. The point is, the Treasurer appears to be counting on money from these gambling machines to pay for his government's economic mismanagement.

I recognize the government has to look for new sources of revenue, but what I cannot believe is that his party is starting to look at this type of revenue-raising system when the NDP has stated before that this type of gambling is an inequitable tax on the poor. The Treasurer is considering this unfair form of hidden taxation to pay for his spending. I would like to ask him if he is really considering video gambling as a way of dealing with the province's economic woes.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** To be fair, if the member opposite can change his views on some aspects of our party policy, I can too.

I hasten to add, because the member opposite asked a serious question and I do not want to trivialize it, that what we did on treasury board was indicate we were seeking new sources of revenues that would help us compensate for a very difficult fiscal time. I am sure the member opposite appreciates that.

When a suggestion was made that we should look at video lotteries as a potential source of new revenues, I said, "Yes, why not look at video lotteries as a potential new source of revenues." I hasten to add that absolutely no decision has been made. There has been no report back to treasury board yet. In the end it may be we will decide to proceed, but I assure the member that absolutely no decision has been made at this point, none whatsoever.

**Mr Ramsay:** I am glad to hear that because I think it is important for the Treasurer to note, as he is making that decision, that any bingo or lottery type of system runs up against how charities derive a lot of their revenue in this province. I think the minister has to be very careful in how he proceeds.

Again, when we were the government, the opposition at that time opposed the Cleansweep lottery we were investigating to generate more revenues to clean up the environment. The former Solicitor General has stated that gambling in Ontario is a disease and that the government used to oppose such lotteries. Is the Treasurer so bereft of new ideas and thinking that he is really seriously going to rely on this type of mechanism to start to get new revenues for the Ontario government?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** Any idea that something as minor as video lotteries could solve the fiscal problems of a province the size of Ontario, with expenditures in the \$50 billion range, really would not have any bearing on reality whatsoever. All I say to the member opposite is that as a treasury board and a government we have an obligation to look at any sources of new revenues that would help us deliver to the people of this province the essential services which I believe they still think they are entitled to and which I think they are entitled to. Not to examine any potential new sources of revenue would be irresponsible at this time.

**Mr Ramsay:** Just as a note to the Treasurer, if he does look at gambling, not Pink Floyd but Pretty Boy Floyd



might be his nickname after he gets to there. I think it is a great name also and I do not mind.

#### POLICE SERVICES

**Mr Ramsay:** I have a question for the Solicitor General. Yesterday the Treasurer met with his cabinet colleagues to discuss more budget cuts, potential new taxes and the introduction of video gambling machines, which we have just talked about.

While the Treasurer turned his mind to more budget cuts, I wonder if the Solicitor General was asking the Treasurer not only to save the OPP from the budget axe but for some more money for the OPP so that we can have policing services in Ontario.

The Solicitor General will know Ontario is facing an unprecedented cut in OPP services. Detachments are being ordered to limit their police coverage, stop hiring new recruits and replacing retiring officers. They are to eliminate training. They are asking their officers to donate up to 43,000 hours of overtime.

Will the Solicitor General make a commitment today to stop the decline in services and ensure the Treasurer helps the OPP meet its \$16-million shortfall?

**Hon Mr Pilkey:** There have been no cutbacks in the OPP budget. We should get that clear. I explained to the House last week, if I recall correctly and I am sure I do, that the estimates provided had not been met because a number of officers who were going to retire from the force did not retire and the attrition that was estimated did not occur.

The essential services that the OPP are committed to provide for the safety and wellbeing of the people of this province are ongoing. I have every confidence in that. I will add and share with the member, though, that it is the case that I as Solicitor General, in promoting the estimates for our ministry, have encouraged the Treasurer to be very aware of the circumstances and the concerns we have around policing in this province now and more particularly into the future.

I find it interesting, though, to notice that in a recent poll released by Gallup in September fully 78% of Canadians approve of police performance. In fact, in Ontario the number is 87% and here in the city of Toronto 89%. The public believes it is being well served.

1410

**Mr Ramsay:** If the Solicitor General reads further in that poll, it also indicates that 75% of Ontarians would like to see an increase in police spending, because they do not feel safe in this province today. That is his responsibility.

There is a bit of a problem here because the Solicitor General today assures us that there are no cuts in police spending and that policing is going on as normal in Ontario, except that the Treasurer does not agree. I have a letter that the Treasurer wrote the chief superintendent of policing for his area. He should not have written this letter. In this letter—

**Mr Bradley:** Is this a leaked letter?

**Mr Ramsay:** It is a leaked letter, right here from the Treasurer's office. In this letter the Treasurer is asking the

chief superintendent about policing in his particular riding and in particular the Foleyet detachment. He is asking questions because right now Foleyet does not have 24-hour-a-day policing. It has come to the Treasurer's attention that another officer who is leaving is not going to be replaced because of the Treasurer's own budget restrictions. The Treasurer is starting to ask how come in his riding he is not getting that police coverage.

I would like to talk to the Solicitor General to ask him if he intends to tell the Treasurer and the people of Foleyet that they have nothing to worry about, or does he intend to be honest with them and tell them that the reduction in service is a result of his failure to tackle the OPP problem and its deficit?

**Hon Mr Pilkey:** There have been no fiscal cutbacks from the budget estimates provided and approved. As a matter of fact I would share with the member opposite that in a meeting I had with Robert R. Hunter, the chief executive officer of the Ontario Provincial Police Association, he indicated to me, and it is quoted in the Toronto Star recently, that the problems this force is having did not start this year or in the last year but emanated back at least the five years when the Liberals were in power.

**Mr Ramsay:** Let me give the Solicitor General a current example of what is going on out there, in case he does not know. I would like to give an example of Thessalon. The Thessalon detachment requires 19 officers. Today it is going to have 11 officers. Because of that, starting January 1 the Thessalon detachment is thinking of reducing from 24-hour-a-day service to 20-hour-a-day service: 11 municipalities, a 100-kilometre stretch of the Trans-Canada Highway, and that service is being cut. I would like to bring that point to the Solicitor General.

The police and the people of Ontario are counting on the Solicitor General to give the police the support we need for security and safety in Ontario. Will he ask the Treasurer for the necessary funds so the OPP can provide 100% service to the people of Ontario?

**Hon Mr Pilkey:** I can assure the member that every responsible attempt has been made in the past and will continue to be made in the future with respect to funding the OPP in this province.

#### TAXATION

**Mr Harris:** My question is to the Treasurer, who I hope is not going to follow the advice of the Liberal Party which, as I gather, is to get into organized gambling to give the money to fight organized crime. If that is not the case, they can explain to me their actions over the last six years.

**Mr Bradley:** He still forgets who is the government and who is the enemy.

**Mr Harris:** I sometimes forget who is the government but I do not forget who got us into this mess, I might say to the interim, interim, interim leader of the Liberal Party.

My question is to the Treasurer. We have a \$10-billion deficit. We all know it is going to be even higher next year in spite of all his pronouncements to the contrary. In fact, I made the prediction I think the day his budget came out



that it will be higher than \$9.75 billion this year and higher again next year given the track he was on, and I think that has proven out.

The Treasurer intends at least to double Ontario's debt over the next four years. Twice he has come to this House to make readjustments, yet he has cut not one nickel. He deferred to the next year but he has not cut a nickel. He delayed buying new cars for the police so they cannot catch up with criminals any more, I guess. He has delayed some things. He has transferred things but he has not cut anything. Now we find out, as has been revealed, that he is looking at video gambling to get us out of the mess.

What people are telling me and what they find offensive and I find offensive is that he apparently is still trying to figure out more ways to gouge more tax money out of the people of Ontario to balance the books, without acknowledging the fundamental reality and problem that we are not competitive with the current tax structure and the taxation levels we have in this province. Until the Treasurer deals with that, we will never be competitive in this province. Why is the Treasurer still trying to gouge more money out of the people of Ontario through taxation or fees?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** The member opposite has an unfortunate selection of words. The fact that the government is looking at ways to raise revenue and at the same time to reduce expenditures surely should not leave us open to the charge that we are gouging the people of this province.

I believe—and I think it is time the third party came to grips with this—that the people of this province want essential services of health, education and social services to be maintained. If the member opposite thinks that can be done without the adequate level of taxation, he is sadly mistaken and he is not going to fool anybody but himself.

**Mr Harris:** The Treasurer has a \$53-billion budget. Between him and his high-spending Liberal predecessors, taxpayers in Ontario have been hit with 47 tax increases since he or the coalition of his party and the Liberals—

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I ask the member to separate us from them. How many were ours?

**Mr Harris:** I do not know. They had a coalition there for part of the time. We find them all the same when it comes to spending and taxing. We do not differentiate. But instead of talking about where we could control expenditures, where we can cut spending, all he has talked about is trying to figure out how he can get into some new taxation.

The Liberals taxed tires and put that into general revenue. This government hiked gasoline taxes, which we all know is a tax on the poor. They are the ones who live farthest from the core of a city; they are the ones who drive the older vehicles. Now he is talking about a gambling tax. We know that is more of a tax on the poor than it is on the rich. He still has not addressed the fundamental problem.

The Treasurer said we do not understand. We have offered to help him cut expenditures. We have said we will assist with that. Why will he not today admit that we are spending at a level we cannot afford, taxation-wise. Instead of trying to dream up new taxes, he should admit that and bring to this House a package of priorities, that we will help him with, to begin in this province to live within our means.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I have said many times that we are in the process right now of examining all major expenditures of government. There are major expenditure reviews under way as we speak. Surely the member opposite would not support simply a cut, slash and run approach to managing a very difficult economic situation. That is exactly what we are doing. We have an expenditure review process going on right now that is examining all major expenditures of government and I look forward, on the day we announce those expenditure restraints, to having the member opposite support us in all of them.

**Mr Harris:** If the Treasurer will share the information, we will help him make them. He seems to be doing it willy-nilly without consulting with the taxpayers, with the public or even with this House. That is the problem. He has had two goes at it and he has cut nothing. Now we hear from the weekend he is dreaming up new ways to tax. That is the problem.

We do not know when the Treasurer is going to be making his transfer payment announcement. Last week he gave 2% to those most needy in Ontario. I assume that is now the upper limit for transfer payments to municipalities, hospitals and school boards. I doubt he is going to come to this House and say, "Teachers can have more than 2%, but those on welfare can't."

Because he has not shown any leadership to these transfer partners, we now have school boards negotiating salary hikes of up to 5%, 6% and 7% and the reason is, they say, "The government hiked its salary package 16% last year; surely teachers should be able to catch up." He has shown no leadership. He will not set a freeze on salaries at the top, so they are running away from him. I want to know who is going to pay the teachers' salaries of 5%, 6% and 7% increase next year while he dithers around and refuses to lead by example.

1420

**Hon Mr Laughren:** First, we are doing exactly part of what the member opposite suggests.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** We are approaching it in a way that it has never been approached before. We are tackling our expenditures in a methodical way by examining all our expenditures. I remind the member opposite that distorting the amount of increase we gave the civil service last year does not do his case any good at all. The increase was 5.8%, of which 0.8% was absorbed within the ministries involved, so basically it was 5%. On top of that, this government froze the salaries of all MPPs, deputy ministers and senior officials of government. That is not something that perhaps sits well with the member opposite, but that is what we have done.

#### MINISTER'S COMMENTS

**Mr Harris:** My question is of the Minister of Northern Development. I have a memo which outlines a conversation the minister held last Thursday regarding a Sudbury physician who is protesting the cap on his income.



According to this memo, the minister said she had seen the doctor's file and those present would be very surprised when they learned how many charges were going to be laid against him, and she then used the words "It's criminal." In a letter of retraction the minister says, "The remarks I made were entirely without foundation and I withdraw them without reservation." Could the minister explain to this House why, as minister at an official function, she deliberately smeared this doctor's reputation?

**Hon Miss Martel:** On Thursday I was involved in a private conversation with a few people at a reception. I made some remarks which are completely unfounded and which are without basis. Yesterday I spent a good part of the day talking directly to those people who were involved or caught up in those comments. I offered my apologies to them. I told them the remarks were without foundation, and my apologies were accepted.

**Mr Harris:** I have been the first to say that in these circumstances, if you make an honest mistake, you should apologize. In fact, that is exactly what I said last June when I felt the minister made an honest mistake. She stood up and said, "I made an honest mistake and I apologize." I accepted that. But this did not sound to me like an honest mistake. If I am to believe her letter of apology and the comments that were made—I have no reason to doubt either—she deliberately told a falsehood in order to justify a government policy.

As Minister of Northern Development, she smeared a northern doctor's reputation to a number of people at a public reception, and then she retracted only when either the media or ministry officials contacted her because one of the persons was so offended with the comments she made. Did the minister make up these allegations? Were they just a lie she made up, or were they something she said and found out later were false?

**The Speaker:** Order. The honourable leader of the third party, I do not believe, would want to accuse a member in the House of telling a lie.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order. Perhaps the leader of the third party would like to find a different phrasing for his question.

**Mr Harris:** Mr Speaker, I think you will want to be very careful. I am not accusing the minister of lying in the House. I am talking about her admission of lying last Thursday at this reception. That is indeed what I am asking for the answer to. That is what her letter says.

**Hon Miss Martel:** As I have said, I was involved in a private conversation with a few people at a reception Thursday night. The conversation became very heated, and I made comments which have no basis in fact and were unfounded. I contacted those who had been involved or who were implicated by this and said to them very clearly that the comments made were without foundation and not based on fact. I offered them my apology. I regret very much the incident that occurred.

**Mr Harris:** I understand, and I understand the apology the minister has made to the people. I am really concerned, though, with the information she felt she had. The

minister said she had seen the file. In the letter of apology she says: "I retract that. I apologize. I have not seen the file."

However, the minister has admitted she made the remarks. Would she tell us how she knew any of this information she made the remarks about and, if she had not seen the file, who she heard that information from that would have led her to believe there were criminal actions involved and that the doctor was going to be charged?

**Hon Miss Martel:** If I might, I said to the member of the third party that I made comments in a private conversation, a conversation that was very heated. I made some comments which were entirely without foundation. I have made it very clear to the people who were implicated, having talked to a few of them personally, that there is no basis in fact for the allegations I made. I have withdrawn those remarks in conversation with them and I have offered them my apologies for the remarks which were made.

#### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

**Mr Scott:** I have a question for the Minister of Financial Institutions. Last week the minister announced what he has the nerve to call the government's auto insurance plan. There was immediately a reaction against it in the community, much from this side of the House, but even from his own members. First off was the honourable member for Welland-Thorold, who had certain things to say about it. His views are reported in the press, and I understand from local authorities that his views have been shared and expressed by the honourable member for Simcoe Centre, the honourable member for London South, and even, though in a muted way, the Attorney General.

Here is what the member for Welland-Thorold said. After saying the government plan would be supported by "a slick public relations scheme in which carefully scripted speeches only would be used," he went on to say the plan would create greater profits for the insurance industry: "That is undisputed, and anyone who says differently is misleading us." He refers to the plan as "a complete betrayal" of all previous NDP commitments, and he says, "The bottom line is that the careless, the reckless, the negligent and even the drunk are going to be treated as if they were victims."

I would like to ask the Minister of Financial Institutions—and I am certain he has what the member for Welland-Thorold calls a "carefully scripted response"—what his response is and what the slick public relations campaign will say about the honourable member for Welland-Thorold and his colleagues.

**Hon Mr Charlton:** In terms of my carefully scripted response, I will have nothing specific to say about the member for Welland-Thorold. I intend to pursue the plan and my comments about the plan based on what the plan will deliver.

**Mr Scott:** We are perhaps getting used to the notion that there is no response to the honourable member for Welland-Thorold. I take it he has got used to it, and those colleagues of his who share his views, like the honourable member for Lincoln, on a different subject, will have to



learn that this is the way ministers behave in this new government.

But the honourable minister had considerable difficulty getting into this ministry. He has learned that a lap dog has a lot of virtues as a domestic pet, and he is perhaps learning that the rule of NDP politics is that getting along is going along. What I want to know from him is not what he says to the member for Welland-Thorold but what he says to the dozens of other members of his party and to the public at large who make this criticism and who particularly assert that the increases for the insurance companies will be very great under this scheme, which will do injustice to consumers of automobile insurance and to victims. What does he say, not to the member, whose opinion he obviously does not give a damn about, but to the critics of the policy?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** I will say to the public that the plan I introduced here last Thursday will deliver premium reductions and a dramatically improved benefits package without premium increases to the drivers of Ontario, and that the profits of the insurance industry which were gained as a result of the former administration's very lucrative plan will be largely eaten up by that new benefits package.

The profits that will flow to the insurance companies as a result of our package will be nowhere near the kinds of profits we have seen in the last year and a half. We will return the profit factor to a reasonable level in this province and deliver benefits to the drivers that they warrant.

1430

#### MINISTER'S COMMENTS

**Mr Harris:** I have a question for the Minister of Health. We have had a number of concerns in this House—the former Minister of Health certainly had a concern—over access to files, to information about doctors and billings and names.

The minister has heard from the Minister of Northern Development, who made remarks last Thursday concerning a doctor in Sudbury. She alleged at that time that she had seen the file and told people that charges, in effect, were going to come out of that. She now denies this and says what she said is not true. I do not think the Minister of Northern Development dreamed all this up. I do not think anybody would think that. Has the minister shared, or does she know of any officials in her ministry who have shared, information concerning the doctor in question in Sudbury with the Minister of Northern Development or with other members of cabinet?

**Hon Ms Lankin:** I certainly have not, and after questioning officials in my ministry, there has been no revealing of any confidential files. The materials that have been made available are some general materials about thresholds and the effect of thresholds in the underserved area program. That was put out in a press release made available to the Sudbury media and people attending a meeting of Sudbury doctors last Thursday evening. But there has been no revealing of any confidential information or files by any officials to the minister involved in the member's questioning, or to myself, as a matter of fact.

**Mr Harris:** I think it stretches our credibility a little bit to think the Minister of Northern Development just made this up. The minister would know, I believe, that there are a number of physicians, none of whom are prepared to come forward, expressing concerns about the OHIP police if they complain about the government, that you had better be very careful if you complain about the government and that these files are available. That has been the suspicion. I do not know if it is true or not but they feel that way. I am sure the minister has heard some of that.

What we have heard today concerning the Minister of Northern Development I think would lead most objective observers to believe that somebody has seen the doctor's file and relayed some information to the Minister of Northern Development that there is information in that file that charges would be laid. Otherwise I do not think the minister, as mad as she was or as heated as the argument was, would have suggested, "I've seen the file and there's going to be charges laid."

Will the minister undertake a full investigation to find out how the Minister of Northern Development got access to that information concerning this doctor that is presumably in those files?

**Hon Ms Lankin:** With respect to the first part of the leader of the third party's comments, about the OHIP police, actually I have not had any comments of that sort drawn to my attention except for one. I received a call from a doctor over the weekend who told me about an incident when he took on Dennis Timbrell in a debate at one point in time when he was Minister of Health, and following that he found he was being investigated by the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario. In his mind, he drew a connection between those two events. I do not know of any proof of that sort of thing and I have not had any direct allegations brought to my attention with respect to this at this point in time.

With respect to the issue the member raised in the second question, I have very specifically asked and received assurances from my deputy minister, who has heard directly from the director of OHIP, that no confidential information with respect to doctors' files and their billings and their incomes has been shared with anyone outside the OHIP department which has proper access to that information. I have not seen it, the Minister of Northern Development has not seen it and no other MPP has seen it.

#### AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY

**Mr Sutherland:** My question is to the Minister of Agriculture and Food. As he knows, the deadline for a GATT agreement approaches and dairy, poultry and egg farmers in Oxford county, and indeed across this province and country, are becoming increasingly concerned about the fate of Canada's supply management system. Recent news reports that the visit of the federal ministers, Mr Wilson and Mr McKnight, to Geneva has failed to win support for Canada's balanced position have done nothing to allay farmers' fears. Would the Minister of Agriculture and Food please tell this House what he is doing to help save supply management for the farmers in Oxford?



**Hon Mr Buchanan:** I would like to thank the member for the question. As the member knows, I led a delegation of farmers to Geneva and Brussels some weeks ago to defend the Canadian position and make the views of the Ontario farmers well known to negotiators in other countries over there. We received mixed signals in terms of supply management from other countries while we were there.

Since returning to Ontario I have written to several of the agricultural ministers in other countries, explaining how supply management works in Ontario and Canada and urging them to support our position at GATT. I have also written to some of the key leaders in the US Congress and the Senate agricultural committee, again urging them to take a look at it, because we know that many of the farm groups in the United States now are interested in how supply management works here in Canada.

I also met with the federal Minister of Agriculture, Bill McKnight, a week ago to make sure we had the same information. We continue to support the federal government and urge it to hang on to its position and be firm and not cave in at the last minute.

**Mr Sutherland:** I am sure the farmers in Oxford are appreciative of those efforts, but I must also stress that the potential conclusion of these talks is near and that all efforts must be put towards securing support for Canada's position. I was wondering if the minister could tell us what else he has been doing besides those things he outlined in the first response to the question.

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** I also met late last week with the minister from British Columbia to make sure he was doing everything he could. I believe he is going to make a trip over to Geneva to support the Canadian position. Many of the members in the House from rural ridings have received concerns from their constituents about supply management and what is happening with the GATT negotiations. I would urge all members on all sides of the House who represent rural ridings to write letters to the federal government or to talk to the federal MP from their area, urging them to hold to the Canadian position.

One other thing I might add is that the trade ministers met last week. My colleague the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology was there. There were discussions at that meeting around agriculture and supply management. I believe he urged and in fact got the support of almost all the other provinces to maintain supply management in our negotiating position at GATT.

#### MINISTER'S COMMENTS

**Mr Conway:** I want to go to the Deputy Premier about the matter involving the Minister of Northern Development, because I have now had an opportunity to review some of the information related to that. I must say, just taking a preliminary look at the material that is now in my hands, that it appears this is a very serious matter involving the standards of a member of the Rae government.

I repeat that I see this as an extremely serious issue, because from reading the material, one of two things happened. Either the Minister of Northern Development had possession of the information she used in that encounter in

Thunder Bay, in which case that would on the face of it be a serious breach of the law and a very serious breach of good judgement by a minister of the crown, prepared to use that material in some kind of public way to advance a political or public position, or if it is not the case that the honourable minister had that information, then there is in my view an equally serious matter of judgement and integrity, because if the honourable Minister of Northern Development did not have the information, then she apparently made it up out of whole cloth with very serious implications to the character of an Ontario doctor and the Ontario community.

In the second instance there is, in my view, an equally serious matter of judgement and integrity. What can the Deputy Premier advise as to the position of the Rae government on this latest and I believe most serious question affecting the ethics and integrity of a minister in this government?

1440

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I listened very carefully to the response of the Minister of Northern Development, and of the Minister of Health as well. In both cases it was clear, at least to me, that the minister did not have access to information she should not have had. I take her at her word in that regard. I also remind the member that she made it quite clear that the comments came as a result of a very heated private discussion and that she has apologized to all concerned and regrets it very much. It would seem to me that she has done what she can, at this point, to rectify that situation.

**Mr Conway:** Accepting the Deputy Premier's position that the honourable Minister of Northern Development did not have access to the sensitive medical records of the doctor in question, then it is surely the case that the honourable Minister of Northern Development last week in Thunder Bay behaved in a thoroughly discreditable fashion for any minister of the crown, that she made up a story that impugned the integrity of an Ontario citizen in a way that was wrong and utterly unacceptable, if not malicious.

Accepting that latter position, if the minister did make that up, in a way that now seems to be accepted in all accounts, she behaved in a way that violates fundamentally the ethics code the Premier heroically established for his own government, and has now behaved in a fashion that leaves her and her government no choice but that she withdraw from the ministry on this account.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** To be fair, the Minister of Northern Development made it eminently clear that she regretted very much the comments that had been made in the midst of a very heated private discussion. It seems to me that the Minister of Northern Development has stated categorically that she regretted saying what she said and has apologized, to the best that anyone can apologize, to everyone concerned. I would not choose the words the member opposite uses, but the Minister of Northern Development has stated quite clearly that she regrets she made the comments and has apologized accordingly.



**Mr Harris:** I realize the Premier is away, which is not unusual. I would not expect the Deputy Premier to undertake the role of the Premier in this regard. I think it is too serious a matter. He has heard from the Minister of Northern Development. He has heard from the Minister of Health. Would the Deputy Premier not agree with me that this is a matter which should be brought up with the Premier, to find out how the Minister of Northern Development had access to this information, if indeed that is the case, and that there should be a thorough investigation on that aspect of it? Second, would he not agree with me that if we accept the former premise that this was entirely a fabrication, this whole matter of appropriate ministerial behaviour ought to be referred to the Premier as well?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** May I welcome the leader of the third party back to the Legislature.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I must have said something that upset the members opposite. I do not know what it was. I was trying to extend an olive branch to the leader of the third party and they did not appreciate it.

I do not think there is any question that the Minister of Northern Development has stated that she regretted making the comments and consequently has apologized. While I expect the leader of the third party to be out there head-hunting, I think the member has done what she should have done and apologized unconditionally to everyone concerned.

**Mr Harris:** Will the Deputy Premier now agree to ask the Premier when he comes back, whenever that is, to do what it is he should do in these circumstances?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** The Premier will be apprised of the situation. I can only assure the leader of the third party that the Premier will be looking at the entire matter. Beyond that I would not comment.

#### FARM PAYMENTS

**Mr Jamison:** My question is for the Minister of Agriculture and Food. White bean producers in my riding have been calling my office wanting to know when they can expect to receive their payments under the tripartite program for 1990. Will the minister tell the House why the bean producers have not received their 1990 payments yet and what action he is taking to get the payments out and in their hands?

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** The member for Norfolk is not the only one who has been getting calls. Most of the members, both provincial and federal, from rural ridings that have white beans have been getting calls.

There was an announcement back in the spring that a payment would be made. That payment was delayed because not all provinces had signed on to the agreement, one in particular. It is my understanding now that that province, which is Manitoba, has consented to the agreement. The cheques will be sent in the next few days.

**Mr Jamison:** That will be welcome news for the producers in my riding and elsewhere, but if the current plan is in such difficulty, could the minister indicate what plans

for stabilization of the 1991 and 1992 white bean crops will be in place?

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** The member talks about some of the problems with the current tripartite plan. There is a deficit in that plan. We support the bean board's proposals for the 1991 crop as we understand them. We would like to change their plan over to something similar to the gross revenue insurance plan so that it would be more in line with the safety net plans in other commodities. We hope to be able to negotiate with the bean board on side from Ontario and talk to the other provinces and change the plan and make it a better plan that serves the interests of the bean growers in Ontario.

1450

#### MINISTER'S COMMENTS

**Mr Scott:** I would like to return to the Minister of Northern Development. It has been reported that she made a statement of fact in the north about this doctor. She has now said that this statement of fact was without foundation, which I take it means it was not true. She has unreservedly apologized for that, and I accept that. We have the assurance of the Minister of Health, in so far as it is possible to have an assurance in a big ministry, that the Minister of Northern Development did not have access to the doctor's file, which alone would have permitted her to make an accurate statement.

Assuming that the statement is false, that the apology is unreserved and that she did not have access to a file, will the Minister of Northern Development tell us, did she make up that statement, yes or no?

**Hon Miss Martel:** As I said earlier with regard to the case, I became involved in a very heated conversation at a reception in Thunder Bay. At the time, I made comments which are unfounded and not true. I have made it very clear to the people who were involved in the conversation or who were implicated by the conversation that the comments made were without any basis and were not in fact correct. I have offered my apologies without reservation to those who were involved or implicated and I have withdrawn the remarks I made from them.

**Mr Scott:** In light of that, I challenge the minister in this way: I assert in this House that she made up that information out of whole cloth and I ask her to deny it.

**Hon Miss Martel:** I can only go back and say what I have already said in this House, which is the following: I became involved in a heated private conversation at a reception. I made comments which were not based in fact and which were not true. I have contacted personally those people who were involved in the conversation or who were implicated by it and I have said to them very clearly that the comments I made were not true and had no foundation in fact. I regret what I have done and I have apologized to them for those comments.

**Mr Harnick:** My question is to the Minister of Northern Development. She made remarks that were unfounded and untrue. Did she make up those statements, and is that behaviour of a minister that should be condoned?



**Hon Miss Martel:** I am not sure what else I can add to this conversation. I have said clearly to members of the House the following: I became involved in a heated conversation, which was a private conversation, at a reception in Thunder Bay on Thursday night. I made comments during the course of that private conversation which were unfounded and not true. I have contacted those people who were implicated by it or involved directly in that private conversation and told them very clearly that the comments I made were without foundation. I have offered them my apologies, and those apologies have been accepted.

**Mr Harnick:** Did the minister fabricate this story and did she lie?

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order. The honourable member for Willowdale will know he cannot accomplish indirectly what is forbidden by the rules directly, and perhaps he would consider just a slight rephrasing of his question.

**Mr Harnick:** Mr Speaker, you put me in a awkward position. I am not making any allegation that this minister lied. That is not the tenor of the question. I am asking if she fabricated certain information. The answer will speak for itself, but she must answer the question. We have heard that her remarks were unfounded. Did the minister fabricate the information, yes or no?

**Hon Miss Martel:** I can only repeat what I have already said in trying to make this very clear to the House. I made comments during a private conversation which were unfounded and not based in truth. I have made that clear to the individuals who were involved in that conversation or who were implicated by it. I have made that clear in the House this afternoon. I have offered my apologies to those who were involved or implicated by my comments and those apologies have been accepted by them.

#### ASSISTED HOUSING

**Mr Kormos:** I have a question for the Minister of Housing about the funding of co-op and non-profit housing units by the government. The minister is aware the ministry promised to provide funding for 10,000 co-op and non-profit housing units in the most recent budget. This funding was in addition to the 30,000 units pledged under the Homes Now funding program and the units funded under the cost-shared federal-provincial non-profit housing program.

First, can the minister assure the people down in Welland-Thorold, the people involved in Niagara Peninsula Homes and the co-op movement there, that her ministry will be delivering the full amount of the more than 40,000 units pledged?

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** It is our intention to deliver the full amounts of all units pledged.

**Mr Kormos:** I want to ask about the share of non-profit housing units being allocated to the co-operative housing sector. During the last year, the minister has made announcements regarding three non-profit housing programs. The co-op housing sector received, I am advised, only 19% of the units allocated under these programs, a

percentage no different from the share that the previous Liberal government provided.

In the past, our party, the New Democratic Party, has pledged a fair share model for the distribution of non-profit housing units which would give the co-operative sector an equal share of the allocations along with the private non-profit and municipal non-profit sectors. Would the minister pledge and promise to this House that the announcements to be made regarding the remainder of the units to be funded under this program will correct this unjustifiably low share of the allocations going to the co-op sector?

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** The allocations that we make in the Ministry of Housing are based on the needs on a regional basis and on the quality of projects put forward by community-based organizations. I am concerned about the level of co-ops which get allocated on this whole selection basis, and I have asked my ministry to investigate on what criteria we are making these decisions, which seem to create a bias against co-ops. I think the member has correctly identified a problem there. What we are looking at are those elements of the selection process which may be creating a bias against co-ops. If there is a reason to try to change those elements, we will do that.

#### MINISTER'S COMMENTS

**Mr Conway:** My question is to the Minister of Northern Development. Given the gravity of the situation in which she finds herself arising out of the incident in Thunder Bay last week, can she indicate to this Legislature whether at any time since that incident occurred she has discussed this matter with the Premier and, if she has, whether in the course of those discussions she has at any point tendered her resignation to the Premier?

**Hon Miss Martel:** The Premier's office is aware of this event, and no, I have not tendered my resignation.

**Mr Conway:** It is interesting that the member did not indicate whether she had personally communicated with the Premier directly, as we know the Premier has taken on to his bosom full responsibility for these questions of standards and ethics.

I want to say, as a final point to my colleague the Minister of Northern Development, that we have a situation where one of two things occurred. She has indicated in her letter of December 8, 1991, to Ms Dodds in Thunder Bay that the remarks that she, the minister, made in Thunder Bay last week were "entirely without foundation" and that she withdraws those without reservation.

If it is, as I believe it to be, that the minister did not have access to the files—I cannot believe she would have access—it leaves me with only one alternative belief. That is that she made this story up, that she knowingly impugned the integrity of a northern doctor. I can come to no other conclusion. Surely my honourable friend would recognize the gravity of that, what that does and says about her judgement, her ethics, her conduct.

**The Speaker:** And your supplementary?

**Mr Conway:** Does the minister not feel, as a bright and honourable person, that she is left with no other



choice, difficult though it may be, as an honourable person having done this, but to withdraw from the government?

**Hon Miss Martel:** I have gone through very carefully with this House the actions I have taken to respond to this matter. I have spoken directly to the people who were involved in this private conversation and those who were implicated by it, to tell them as clearly and uncategorically as I can that the remarks made had no foundation and were not based in truth. I have offered each of them my apologies and my apologies have been accepted by them.

1500

**Mr Harris:** I believe we are going to have to wait until the Premier comes back to get an objective analysis of the appropriateness, but I have one more question for the Minister of Northern Development before that.

She is talking about this being a private conversation. Could she confirm for me that the event in question was a public event, that it was a reception with numerous members of the public there, that she was invited as a minister of the crown of the Rae government and that in fact her conversation, as she has said, was heated and was heard by many more people than the one who relayed the information to me?

**Hon Miss Martel:** The incident occurred during a private conversation with a few people at a reception. Those people who were involved in the private conversation and the person who was implicated by it have been contacted directly by me. I have spoken to them and made it very clear that the comments I made were unfounded and not based in fact. I have spoken with those few people who were implicated or involved in it. I have offered them my apologies. All of them have agreed and accepted those apologies.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY

### EXTENDED HOURS OF MEETING

Mr Cooke moved government notice of motion 30:

That, pursuant to standing order 6(b), notwithstanding standing order 9, the House shall continue to meet from 6 pm to 12 midnight on December 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18 and 19, at which time the Speaker shall adjourn the House without motion until the next sessional day.

Motion agreed to.

### WASTE MANAGEMENT ACT, 1991

#### LOI DE 1991 SUR LA GESTION DES DÉCHETS

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 143, An Act respecting the Management of Waste in the Greater Toronto Area and to amend the Environmental Protection Act / Projet de loi 143, Loi concernant la gestion des déchets dans la région du grand Toronto et modifiant la Loi sur la protection de l'environnement.

**Mrs Caplan:** As I rise to participate today in the debate on Bill 143, An Act respecting the Management of Waste in the Greater Toronto Area and to amend the Environmental Protection Act, I think there is much information that can be shared with members of this House which perhaps will persuade the government that it is extremely

important that this legislation receive full public hearings during the intersession.

I hope my remarks will alert members of this House, particularly those of the government caucus, as well as people around this province that this piece of legislation is precedent-setting, not only for those in the greater Toronto area, where 44% of the population of this province lives, but for communities right across this province.

As I begin today's remarks I would like to review some of the things we find in the four parts of this act which cause great concern and I would like to share with this House some of the opinions I have received since the last time I had an opportunity to speak on this issue in the Legislature.

On December 5, Metropolitan Toronto council had its inaugural meeting. They broke with all tradition and precedent by having before the council a report from their solicitors, a report from their works commissioner, alerting the council of Metropolitan Toronto to the implications of Bill 143, which is presently before this Legislature.

The reason the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto council took this unprecedented step is that this was the very first opportunity the new council had to review, to hear about, to be made aware of Bill 143, because it had not met as a council since this bill was tabled in the Legislature on October 24. The reason they had not met was that there was a municipal election going on.

The last time I rose to speak on this subject I said that the timing of this legislation was creating a lot of anxiety within the greater Toronto area because it had been tabled on October 24. That was the day of first reading. The minister said very clearly that she wanted this bill, in its entirety, passed by this Legislature before the recess for the winter break. We all know that recess is scheduled for December 19, yet we see a piece of legislation with four components, each of which has serious implications not only for the people of the greater Toronto area, not only for the people of Peel and Durham and York and Metropolitan Toronto, but also for the people of municipalities right across this province who are grappling with the issues of planning for waste management and waste disposal into the future.

I point out very simply that in part I of this bill what the minister is proposing is the establishment of an Interim Waste Authority. I expressed concern before about the title "interim" because this waste authority will have responsibility for the next 25 years in planning for the capacity that is needed for the disposal of waste and for waste management in the GTA. I have said to you, Mr Speaker, that there is nothing interim about 25 years of responsibility, and I know you understand how important the establishment of this authority is.

What I do not think people fully believe is the powers that are going to be granted to this authority in order to allow it, as the minister has said, to do its job. The powers she is proposing, simply put, are that on any farm, on any piece of land in the greater Toronto area where the waste authority feels there might be a good location for a landfill or a dump, the waste authority will have the power to



phone up and say, "We'd like to come on your land and test your property."

If the individual says, "No way; I'm not going to let you on my land; I'm not going to let you on my property; I do not want my land considered for this purpose," the response from the waste authority will be: "Consider this your notice. We can get a warrant and we can show up on your property in a week's time with the police and use whatever force is necessary to enforce our warrant and test your property for its potential as a dump, as a landfill site, and you, land owner, have no right of appeal."

1510

I see you are picking up the piece of legislation, Mr Speaker. If you look at part I, that is exactly what it says. The waste authority can phone you and ask for your permission. If that permission is denied, they can tell you they will be showing up with a warrant and the police. If you resist, there is a \$5,000 fine. There is no right of appeal. There is no right for any land owner in the greater Toronto area to protest. This is exactly what is being proposed by the Minister of the Environment, who is the NDP minister responsible for the greater Toronto area, and the NDP government of the Premier. Further, the waste authority can then expropriate your property.

I do not believe people are aware that this power is being vested in the Interim Waste Authority by this piece of legislation, but as members read this legislation, they will know I am telling the truth. This is the fact. I hope members of the government caucus will realize the public will not stand for those kinds of powers—no right of appeal, no right to protest—because those are police state powers. That is what is being proposed in part I.

Part II is the process for the establishment of the long-term sites over the next 20 years. The process for the development of the site is one which, again, I believe the people of the province do not yet fully realize is a complete reversal of the Environmental Assessment Act.

The last time I spoke, I said it was important for people to understand the difference between the Environmental Protection Act and the Environmental Assessment Act. Mr Speaker, as a veteran member of this Legislature, you know that the Environmental Protection Act allows for the examination of an individual site to determine its acceptability for a specific use and that the process of the Environmental Protection Act, in looking at that one site, is to determine its suitability and what, if any, mitigation should be taken to result in protection of the environment as that site is used for whatever the intended purpose is, whether it is landfill or anything else. The Environmental Protection Act looks at a site-specific location and determines if the proposed use is environmentally acceptable.

The Environmental Assessment Act's principle is very different from that of the Environmental Protection Act. Under the Environmental Assessment Act, each option must be examined and considered. Each site for the intended purpose must go through examination. Then the judgement is not on just that individual site. Under the Environmental Protection Act, the judgement is made as to which is the best environmental solution available to solve

the problem. In this case, we are talking about waste management and the disposal of garbage.

What part II of Bill 143 does is preclude the consideration of options. Bill 143 says you cannot consider all possible options. It says we are not seeking the environmentally best solution.

That is what Bill 143 says and I know members find that very hard to believe. I think the people of this province will find that hard to believe, because what it says under part II is that only solutions within the boundaries of the greater Toronto area will be considered, even if there is a community outside the greater Toronto area that can provide a site or a solution which could be judged to be more environmentally sound and better for the environment than a site or a solution within the boundaries of the GTA.

I can give members some examples of those kinds of solutions that have been considered in other parts of the province where the solution has been found outside the boundaries of that region. There are examples where municipalities have worked together with other communities, and the concept of a happy host community, one that says, "We have a proposal we'd like you to consider," is not a new concept. There are many examples around the world of the kinds of partnerships and proposals where municipalities will work together and enter into agreements, or where a municipality will enter into an agreement with a region.

Bill 143 says there can be no agreement between municipalities that are not within the boundaries of the GTA and in fact very specifically within the boundaries of Durham, York, Peel and Metropolitan Toronto. Part II of this bill runs contrary to the principles of the Environmental Assessment Act, which says we want the best environmental solution to our problem.

Part II says, "Our philosophy is, our ideology is, and we are going to take a doctrinaire approach that says solutions can only be considered if they are within that boundary," even if that solution is not as good an environmental solution as a proposal outside the boundary. What part II says is that we cannot even consider it for a period of 20 years.

Part II also says that if next week, next month or next year energy from waste technology has developed to the point where it is better than the technology that is available to us today—I would say that many of us have great concerns about the available technology today, but I for one know the technology is changing so rapidly. Technology is finding solutions. Every day we are seeing breakthroughs from the research and development that has been going on around the world.

It reminds me of the Industrial Revolution. There were those they called Luddites, who to stop progress threw their shoes into the machines that were being developed at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, who said: "This new technology is unthinkable. Stop the progress."

Interjection.

**Mrs Caplan:** I would say to the member for Downsview that I think he is one of those Luddites. He is yelling, "Stop the progress." I think that many in his caucus who support this legislation are in fact taking that same



attitude if they are saying: "Progress is unthinkable. New technology can't even be considered. We don't want to be confused by the facts." That is what is available in part II.

1520

**Mr Perruzza:** On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: The member quite clearly did not hear what I said. I would never say you stop progress. Obviously, she has mothballs stuck in her ears. I would ask her not to mislead this House with respect to what I have said.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Certainly the member has a unique way of putting forward his point of view, but it does not contribute to the good order of the House.

**Mrs Caplan:** I would say to the member for Downsview that he should read this legislation, because part II does exactly what I have just said. It does not allow for the consideration of new technology in the field of energy from waste or incineration. Even if it is developed next week, next month or next year, following the passage of this legislation it cannot even be considered. That is as much as saying, "Stop progress." That is like throwing your shoes into the machines. That is not just mothballs. That is out of touch with the reality of what is actually happening within our society today, as solutions are being found that were never contemplated.

I am not that old; I am only 47. I keep telling my family and my children, "That's not that old," but I remember before television. I know you do too, from the way you are smiling, Mr Speaker. You remember the days before television. I was about five years old when television was invented and I remember the excitement of that new technology. I remember it was black and white. We did not have VCRs. We did not have compact discs. We did not have computers. Colour television, VCRs and compact discs have all been developed within the last 20 years, and yet this piece of legislation says that for the next 20 years we cannot consider any new technologies that are developed to solve our problems.

Members should think about the implications of saying, "No new technology can be considered for the next 20 years." They should think of the message that sends to the research and development community here in Ontario. We know the policies of this new government are not encouraging business and industry to stay and develop here, but this policy is madness in a world where you see the kinds of rapid changes we have seen in the last 20 years. I appeal to the government and I appeal to the members of the government caucus to read this legislation, to at least allow the facts to be considered, to at least allow new technologies to be developed. They should not preclude the options. Not only does it run contrary to the principles of the Environmental Assessment Act; it runs contrary to the wisdom of our society, which is encouraging new technology to solve our problems. I say to the NDP that it cannot stop progress.

Part III of this bill, as members know, addresses three specific sites: one in Peel, one in York and one in Durham. The responses from those municipalities to what is proposed from a minister who just a year ago said, "There's

no problem; there's no gap," should be of grave concern to every member of the NDP caucus, because this is now a question of credibility. I say to the members from Durham and to the members particularly who stood in front of the landfill sites and promised there would be no dump, that their credibility is on the line and thoroughly tested with the proposals, not only under part II but under part III.

I suggest they talk to their own taxpayers about one issue they have neglected and that is, what is the proposal under part III of this legislation going to cost? What is it going to cost in taxpayers' dollars? What is it going to cost in loss of rights of their community to have its say? These are very important questions, because this is not just a question in Durham, York and Peel. What is proposed before us could well be a precedent across this province, because it is effectively a new approach to the Environmental Assessment Act; it is a new approach to the Environmental Protection Act.

We see amendments under part IV which do not apply just to the greater Toronto area. The amendments under part IV are amendments to the Environmental Protection Act. The amendments under part IV are to the minister's powers under section 29. The amendments under part IV will affect every municipality in this province. Every member of this Legislature should ask the question, "What is Bill 143 going to cost? What is it going to cost municipal taxpayers?"

One of the principles in our democracy is representation by population, responsibility and accountability. We have discussions going on right now on disentanglement, and the principles behind disentanglement suggest that the level of government that makes the decision should also be accountable and responsible to its taxpayers.

Let me tell the members what Bill 143 does. Simply put, it is a message from the province to the municipalities, and this is the message from the NDP government. It says: "We have the say and you will pay. We, the province, have the say and you, municipal taxpayers, will pay. We, the province, will tell the Interim Waste Authority what the capacity will be and the Interim Waste Authority will require the municipalities to implement their plan and pay for it."

I do not think anybody really realizes that this is what this legislation does, particularly the amendments under part IV which should be of concern to every municipality across this province, because it goes contrary to the principle of democracy that says our local representatives will make decisions and decide how they should be paid for. To have part IV before us at the same time disentanglement is being discussed with the Ministry of Municipal Affairs in my view creates a sham of that whole consultation. It creates a sham of the whole concept. It calls into question the commitment of this government to the disentanglement discussions and the disentanglement process.

How can the government bring forward a piece of legislation at the same time as it is saying to the municipalities, "We are going to discuss disentanglement"? They are tangling it up some more when they say, "We are going to make the decisions and you are going to pay." Is that partnership from the democratic government? Is that the concept of



consultation? "We're happy to discuss it with you, we'll spin our wheels on disentanglement, but we're going to table legislation that requires you to pay when you don't have the say." That is Bill 143.

I mentioned the discussions that took place at Metropolitan Toronto council. I would like to share with members of the House the recommendations from the management committee and the report. It is a lengthy report. I do not think I am going to be able to have sufficient time to read the whole report, but I would commend it to the members, and I can assure them they will be hearing more from Metropolitan Toronto council.

Let me tell members what Metro council has accepted and what the requests are of this provincial government that has said it wants this passed by Christmas. Let me tell members what is being requested. This is a joint recommendation from the Metropolitan Toronto council solicitor and the commissioner of works. They are saying that:

"1. This report and the comments...on Bill 143 be forwarded to the minister responsible for the office for the greater Toronto area and of the environment." So they have sent this to the Minister of the Environment.

"2. The province be requested to defer passage of parts I, II and III of Bill 143 dealing with the Interim Waste Authority, the long-term waste disposal site search and implementation of the minister's report under section 29 of the Environmental Protection Act (EPA), to enable Metropolitan Toronto, other municipalities and interested parties sufficient time to make adequate representations.

"3. In any event of a deferral, the province be requested to strike from the draft legislation section 19 of Bill 143 providing for rights of injurious affection in connection with the Keele Valley lift.

"4. The province be requested to defer passage of part IV of Bill 143 dealing with amendments to the EPA, and that part IV be considered with other proposed provincial legislation and the regulations and consultative process associated therewith on municipal waste management responsibilities.

"5. The appropriate Metropolitan officials be authorized and directed to attend before any legislative committee considering the contents of Bill 143 in order to communicate the concerns on Bill 143 as set out in the report."

The report highlights some of the concerns. I would like to share with the members some of the concerns Metropolitan Toronto council has highlighted for its members. I am now quoting because it is important this be on the record:

"1. The Interim Waste Authority and Long-Term Waste Disposal Sites:

"Parts I and II of the bill provide a statutory framework to allow for the activities and environmental assessments in relation to the long-term waste disposal sites as 'undertakings' of the Interim Waste Authority (IWA). The legislation is retroactive in respect of prior work of the IWA. The undertaking of the Interim Waste Authority in respect to York and Metropolitan Toronto is defined as"—

**Mr Tilson:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I do not believe there is a quorum.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan) ordered the bells rung.

1535

**Mrs Caplan:** I was quoting from report 1 of the management committee of Metropolitan Toronto council. Without going through the report in detail, what I would like to point out is that it says very clearly:

"The environmental assessment to be undertaken by the IWA for a disposal site is not required"—underline "not required"—"to consider as alternatives anything beyond reduction, reuse, recycling or the use of other sites outside of York and Metropolitan Toronto. Accordingly, the environmental assessment need not examine as alternatives possible sites such as Kirkland Lake, one site serving the whole of the GTA, or require a comparative examination of the other sites to be provided by the IWA in the other regions.

"As well, the environmental assessment to be prepared by the IWA is not required to evaluate as alternatives:

"(a) incineration"—sometimes called energy from waste—"the legislation appears to be comprehensive in attempting to shut the door on incineration by ensuring it is not raised as part of the consideration of the alternative waste reduction, reuse or recycling);

"(b) transportation of waste beyond Metropolitan Toronto and York"—for example, the proposal to have composting outside the boundaries of the greater Toronto area—"eg, composting in Kirkland Lake); and

"(c) multiple landfill sites (this would, for example, appear to remove from possible argument over alternatives the consideration of the equitable sharing of the waste disposal burden by the establishment of a number of sites....)"

It says that anything which would fall below the capacity established by the minister's estimates could not be considered. Therefore, it is the minister who will be setting the policies, the Interim Waste Authority that will be implementing those policies and the taxpayers of the greater Toronto area who will be footing the bill.

This is from the management committee report: "It would appear that the IWA is to be guided in the environmental assessment by policies to be established by the minister." I am now digressing from the report: This is a piece of legislation which says very clearly that the proposed environmental assessment which is going to take place will be guided by the policies of the minister to be set. Nobody knows what they are. It is not in this legislation. I am quoting once again from the report:

"The legislation specifically states that the corporation"—the waste authority—"must use estimates of waste reduction, reuse and recycling provided by the minister. It is unclear, however, whether the minister or the IWA will have the responsibility to establish and justify gross waste generation figures. Moreover, while the IWA will be planning capacity for the waste disposal site based on waste diversion targets established by the minister, there is a discrepancy between the mandate given to the IWA to plan on the basis of at least 20 years...and the fact that the estimates are to be provided for a 20-year period." What this



means is "ie, the IWA must determine the period for which the site is to provide disposal—20 years and beyond," even though the estimates that are to be provided are for a 20-year period.

The report goes on to say:

"The person approving the undertaking under the EAA (presently the minister, the Environmental Assessment Board or a joint board under the Consolidated Hearings Act) must make its decision consistent with the statutory provisions and 'have regard to' the waste diversion estimates and environmental assessment policies established by the minister. Again, the legislation is unclear what weight is to be given to those policies and estimates.

"There is a provision in the legislation for participant funding within the environmental assessment process. Section 16 of the bill contemplates that the policies of the minister to guide the environmental assessment will deal with participant funding in the environmental assessment process. Participant funding is defined to mean funding to assist persons in participating in any part of the environmental assessment process to which the Intervenor Funding Project Act, 1988 does not apply. It, in effect, refers to the funding of the process prior to the actual hearing. Actual detail as to what comprises the funding will have to be elaborated by regulation or ministerial policy."

The report goes on and talks about a number of concerns regarding section 29a of the Environmental Protection Act in part IV. It sounds quite technical and complicated, but I know there is one concern which members would understand. There was a recommendation regarding the impact on taxpayers of the "injurious affection" clause. What this report points out is:

"If injurious affection results from implementation of the minister's report, an affected person is entitled to compensation in the same way as if the municipality had expropriated land from the person. The definition of injurious affection is used in the legislation in such a way that Metropolitan Toronto may be liable for damages resulting from the use of the lift as opposed to simply construction of the lift."

That is very significant for the taxpayers of Metropolitan Toronto.

The report goes on, as I said, and I am not going to read it all in detail. I know it will be available for members of the House if they wish to review it in its entirety. It expresses some of the concerns as it not only points out the comments of the solicitor and the works commissioner at Metropolitan Toronto but suggests inconsistencies.

On page 15, the report states, "The proposed legislation will ensure that a completely modified environmental assessment is substituted for that contemplated under the EAA" by the legislation, Bill 143. I think that is something members of the NDP caucus have not yet fully realized. For 44% of the population of this province, they are writing, with this legislation, a new Environmental Assessment Act. Their Premier promised that all new sites and all existing sites would be subject to a full environmental assessment under the EAA, yet what piece of legislation have they tabled? One that completely modifies the environmental assessment, one that substitutes a new process.

They have done this without any consultation. They have done this and expect this legislation, which was tabled on October 24, to be passed by December 19. That is what they have demanded. Their House leader tabled a time allocation motion last week. It is outrageous that, through new legislation, they would substitute a new Environmental Assessment Act. That is what they have actually done.

This will have implications across the whole province. For those members opposite who, like myself, want the very best solution for the environment, this act will not give them that opportunity. Those members opposite who, like myself, believe in public information, public awareness, public participation and individual rights will be appalled, as I am, that the minister responsible for the greater Toronto area, who is the Minister of the Environment, would try to ram this through in a few short weeks and that the government House leader would be complicit in tabling a motion that would force this to be done before the winter break. That the minister would suggest that a new Environmental Assessment Act, which is what this really creates, is one that does not require extensive public hearings is something I believe she will regret.

I point out what the management committee of Metropolitan Toronto has said:

"The proposed legislation will ensure that a completely modified environmental assessment is substituted for that contemplated under the EAA by the legislation. By the legislation:

"(a) a full examination of alternatives need not be undertaken; and

"(b) the assessment process is 'governed' by policies and waste diversion estimates which can be established from time to time by the minister. As indicated above, it is not clear what weight is to be given to the policies and estimates by the ultimate decision-maker for approval of a site"—the minister.

"There is an inconsistency between the 20-year period for which the estimates are established and the open-ended planning period to be served by the long-term sites (at least 20 years). The effect is to require the IWA to justify its planning period and possibly to prove the need for capacity beyond that dictated by the estimates."

Part 2 is "Implementation of the Minister's Report under Section 29 of the EPA." The report says:

"The legislation is comprehensive in imposing a statutory obligation for the respective municipalities to comply with the minister's report. While comprehensive in attempting to set aside potential legal obstacles, the legislation creates uncertainty as to what is to eventually occur, the timing of the lift and the costs to Metropolitan Toronto. Examples of this uncertainty are"—this is pointed out by the solicitor and the works commissioner and I think should be taken very seriously by members of the government caucus:

"(a) The minister may amend or revoke her report at any time. Further conditions can, therefore, be imposed on Metropolitan Toronto. As an example, the issue of participant funding still has to be decided by the minister and the requirement that Metropolitan Toronto pay for such funding can be the subject of a further condition."



That is what I was referring to when I said the Interim Waste Authority and the minister of the NDP government will have the say and the taxpayers of Metropolitan Toronto and the greater Toronto area will have to pay.

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Part (b) of this report, under section (2) on page 15, says:

"As indicated...the conditions to be attached to the certificate of approval may be those that a regional municipality or an area municipality might have imposed under the Municipal Act, the Regional Municipality of York Act, the Planning Act and the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act. Given that the approval powers under those acts are broad, arguably, the conditions could deal with the payment of royalties, the receipt of waste and rebates which a municipality might have required in giving its approval to a waste management facility under those acts.

"(c) Given that North Avondale is not covered by the definition of the undertaking to be implemented, decisions, therefore, will still have to be made by Metropolitan Toronto about attendance before the Ontario Municipal Board to oppose the town of Vaughan's rezoning bylaw and official plan amendments in so far as they affect the extraction of clay from North Avondale.

"(d) The Keele Valley expansion is only a vertical expansion directed by the province. Yet the bill imposes a requirement that Metropolitan Toronto pay damages for any injurious affection (loss in market value and personal and business loss) resulting from the use of the site. Statutorily allowing for claims for injurious affection and broadening the definition to include damages arising from the 'use' as well as construction of the site creates total uncertainty and unlimited cost exposure concerning claims that may arise"—unlimited cost exposure for the people of Metropolitan Toronto.

In part (d) there is more, but I am going to try to abbreviate it, given the time allotted.

**Mrs Mathysen:** That is what you said about three hours ago.

**Mrs Caplan:** The member may not want to hear this, but I know the member for Durham Centre, who sits behind the member, will want to hear this because his ratepayers, his constituents, will be outraged when they realize this is going to have an impact on them. This runs contrary to everything he said in the last election. It runs contrary to everything his leader said and it runs contrary to everything the Minister of the Environment stood for when she was in opposition.

Mr Speaker, I know you will appreciate what I am about to say. This is a report from the management committee of Metropolitan Toronto.

Interjections.

**Mrs Caplan:** They do not like to hear the truth. This is an issue of integrity, and the members had better listen, because the taxpayers are not going to stand for this.

Interjections.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order. Obviously these interjections are out of order, but it would facilitate

the process if the member directed her remarks to the Chair.

**Mrs Caplan:** I must admit I am provoked by the comments, extemporaneous as they are, from members of the government caucus, who seem to be willing to trample over people's rights, who seem to be willing to ram a bill through before Christmas that will take away people's rights, that will say, "We have the say, but you, Metropolitan Toronto taxpayers, have to pay." This is no joke and I am outraged that they would have the nerve to try and bring this kind of legislation, complex as it is, into this House on October 24 and have it passed and in place without the proper public hearings and bring in time allocation to do that before the winter recess. That is outrageous.

I have been in this Legislature since 1985, and I want members to know that I have never, in all my time here in the House, seen such a complex piece of legislation brought forward nor seen a time allocation motion put on the order paper to ram something through in a way which is clearly undemocratic and run totally contrary to the public interest.

I want those members in the government caucus to know that if any other government had attempted to do this, the howls of outrage from their caucus would have been heard far beyond this great chamber. They should know that just because the people of this province do not believe the NDP would do this does not mean the NDP is not doing this. They are, and they have done this.

When the people of this province realize what they have tried to perpetrate, they will be as outraged as I am that the government on October 24 tabled this legislation and then demanded it be passed before Christmas. What a Christmas present to the people of the greater Toronto area. What a Christmas present to the people of Metropolitan Toronto. Shame on the Premier. Shame on the Minister of the Environment. Shame on the NDP. They know better than this.

I was referring to the report of the management committee of Metropolitan Toronto. I talked about the open-ended obligation that is not imposed on any other facility in any other municipality yet.

Part (d) on page 16 says, "The Keele Valley expansion is only a vertical expansion directed by the province. Yet the bill imposes a requirement that Metropolitan Toronto pay damages...resulting from the use of the site. Statutorily allowing for claims for injurious affection and broadening the definition to include damages arising from the 'use' as well as construction of the site creates total uncertainty and unlimited cost exposure concerning claims that may arise."

The government caucus may not want to hear that, but that is a real and legitimate concern on behalf of my constituents in the riding of Oriole, that they are going to be forced to pay for something they will have no say about through their Metropolitan Toronto councillor, who happens to be Mrs Joan King, the chairman of the works committee at Metropolitan Toronto. She has grave concerns about the costs to all taxpayers in the greater Toronto area, and in particular the taxpayers of the Metropolitan Toronto council, if this bill passes intact.



Part (e): The legislation allows for a potential hearing under the Environmental Protection Act, an act which I would point out was totally unacceptable to the Premier before the election. He went to every site around the province and said: "The Environmental Protection Act isn't good enough for you. We're not going to look at just one site. We're going to make sure that all of the alternatives are considered. We, an NDP government, would ensure that you have a full environmental assessment act."

Yet what do we hear under Bill 143? The legislation allows for a potential hearing under the Environmental Protection Act. Whether a hearing is required or not most likely depends on the provincial appreciation of whether there is such a thing as a hearing, given the timing of exhaustion of capacity and the provision of sites by the Interim Waste Authority.

I would point out that the legislation, while allowing for a hearing under the Environmental Protection Act, does not require one. It does not require even a hearing under the Environmental Protection Act, when what was promised were the protections of the Environmental Assessment Act. As I pointed out before, the Environmental Assessment Act is the one that requires a look at all the options. This act removes that right for the people of the greater Toronto area, 44% of the population of this province.

The amendments under the Environmental Protection Act, which comprise part IV of this bill, are also of real interest. The management committee heard this from the Metropolitan Toronto solicitor and commissioner of works:

"There are two broad policy issues created by the legislative amendments to the EPA:

"(a) the potential dichotomy between the waste management responsibilities of municipalities and control over that responsibility; and

"(b) the uncertainty created for municipalities by the amendments.

"Bill 143 does not amend the regional acts, including the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act. At the present time, the waste disposal power and the statutory obligation in respect of the management of waste reside with the regions, including Metropolitan Toronto. The powers given to the IWA are permissive only. Section 3 of the legislation simply states that certain powers are given to the IWA 'for the purpose of establishing landfill waste disposal sites.' It appears that a discussion paper will be forthcoming on the role of municipalities in waste management, including the relationship between government and the private sector. If so, there will be consultation before any amendment to the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act or other regional act occurs.

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"Assuming, however, that Metropolitan Toronto continues to play an operational role in waste management, Bill 143 represents what may be considered"—are members ready for this? I hope they are paying attention—"an unprecedented and fundamental intrusion of provincial control over the actual waste management responsibilities of Metropolitan Toronto"—words like "unprecedented" and "fundamental intrusion." "The province will now be

regulating extensively in program planning and implementation, not just in setting facility standards and in granting approvals. The province will be regulating, for example, waste management planning, including control over when to seek approval and implementation of facilities and the manner of financial waste management. In fact, the bill states that regulations under the legislation may regulate all waste management activities.

"The minister is also given power to establish and operate waste management systems, waste disposal sites and programs concerning the reduction of waste or the reuse or recycling of materials that are or could become waste. This would represent a 'residual power' even if all waste management was statutorily assigned to upper-tier municipalities."

That is what I meant when I said, "We will have the say and you will pay." Is this legislation saying, "We the province, we the waste authority will have the say and you, Metropolitan Toronto taxpayers, will pay"?

"Uncertainty is created by the breadth of detail that is left to the regulations. The regulation-making power has been broadened considerably, but with a scarcity of information on what is intended by the legislation and in the absence of determining the appropriate division of waste management responsibilities amongst the levels of government."

I could go on at length. There are many issues that are raised. It is my hope that the government will listen to what Metropolitan Toronto council has heard and that it will be willing to change significantly some of the provisions.

I will state that I have received communication from Eldred King, chairman of York region. He has asked if I would convey the position of Cassels, Brock and Blackwell as the position of the region of York here in this Legislature.

A letter of December 4 from the firm of Cassels, Brock and Blackwell to the Minister of the Environment says, to summarize very briefly: "York region requests that you delay passage of Bill 143 to allow York council and other affected newly elected regional councils in Peel, Durham and Metro council to study the bill and consult with you and your officials about changes. York region also requests that, in any case, Bill 143 in its entirety be referred to committee for analysis and study on a clause-by-clause basis." This is very significant. "Bill 143 is too new in direction and too rhadamanthine and draconic in effect to be rushed through the Legislature, using the government's majority, without allowing for full public debate and amendment." I am sure if we look up the meaning of that word we will find it is not too complimentary about the NDP government's actions. I have not heard that word before and I can assure members I will be looking it up.

The letter goes on to say: "York region requests that you make a public statement that Bill 143 will be referred to a legislative special committee, that affected regions and citizen groups will be heard by this committee, that the government will maintain an open mind about suggested amendments, and that the government will allow a reasonable amount of time, at least three months, for this process to occur."

This is in this letter from Cassels, Brock and Blackwell:



"As of today, York region's concerns are that:

"1. The bill is fundamentally unfair and ignores the way that we do things in Ontario. The draconic nature of the bill and the government's determination to pass it quickly reminds one of Edmund Burke's statement that 'if I cannot have reform without injustice, then I will have reform.'" An eminent law firm in this province is saying that about this NDP Bob Rae government.

"2. The bill will not result in an environmentally optimal solution for the GTA's and Metro Toronto's garbage."

Interjection.

**Mrs Caplan:** The member should be listening to this. Anyone who has seen this legislation and had an opportunity to review it believes, as I do, that it will not result in the best environmental solution for dealing with Metro Toronto and the GTA's garbage.

The letter goes on to say:

"3. The bill allows provincial power to intrude into regional and municipal responsibility over waste management."

As I said before, this NDP government will have the say, and yet it is the property taxpayers of Metropolitan Toronto and the GTA who will have to pay—totally contrary to the essence of our democracy.

The bill is called unfair. It does not allow for the optimal solutions. All the things I mentioned in my remarks are echoed in this letter from Cassels, Brock and Blackwell, signed by Mr Ian Blue. I know this will also be tabled before committee, should this bill get to committee during the intersession, as has been requested.

I would also point out that there is a legal opinion from the firm of Osler, Hoskin and Harcourt for the city of Vaughan. I could speak at length about this legal opinion. But it is interesting that while the minister tabled this on October 24, there has already been the kind of clause-by-clause analysis that should cause the minister grave concern. That is why I was so shocked to see a time allocation motion tabled last week that would have forced this bill through the legislative process before Christmas.

I am not going to go on at length, only because I know I have a number of colleagues who will also want to make comments and who will be referring to the opinions of the solicitors. I want to point out I could speak at length, but I just want to tell people that I have had some very interesting phone calls.

1610

I had a phone call from John West. He called my office. He is the mayor of Aurora. He believes, as I do, that there must be extensive public hearings on Bill 143 and supports the call by the official opposition for those hearings during the intersession. My staff took this quote. I hope I am quoting him correctly. He said: "When the NDP got elected, it promised to listen to the people. I am calling the NDP as well." I am sure the minister and the Premier have heard from John West, the mayor of Aurora, who shares my concern that this government must listen. They must not table legislation and expect they can ram it through before anybody notices and not pay very dearly

for that kind of crass partisan opportunism the people of this province just will not stand for.

I had another call to my office, from Fran Sainsbury, mayor of Whitchurch-Stouffville. She told my office she does not agree with Bill 143 as it is written. She does not believe Bill 143 should be rushed. She says that her area does not mind taking York region's garbage, but that there will be a problem if the area has to take all of Metropolitan Toronto's garbage. She says this bill is totally unfair, that they are bypassing due process and they are bypassing the process they professed to believe in for so many years while they were in opposition.

Mayor Sainsbury reflects some of the comments I made the last time I spoke on this about why the public is so cynical, why the public is so upset with all of us who stand for public office, those who say one thing during election time and another following the election. What they do is undermine the essence of the trust the people place in those of us who stand for public office. I notice that one of the members from Durham stood proudly in his place and said, "I just said all those things to get elected." I heard him during private members' hour.

**Mr Wiseman:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I do not recall any member from Durham rising in this House and saying he only said those things to get elected. That is not a correct or accurate assessment of what was said.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order. The member will take his seat, please. This is certainly not a point of order. It may be a matter of some disagreement. The member for Oriole will continue.

**Mrs Caplan:** I will not argue with the member because the point I am going to make is that everything is recorded in Hansard. I was here in the House during private members' hour and I remember when the member for Durham East stood at his place and totally dissociated himself from everything that was in his election brochures. He said he felt he had to say that to get elected, but now that he was in government, he did not have to do that any more. That is in Hansard. It is on the record.

I say to the members of the government caucus that this attitude creates ill will, increase the cynicism, questions the integrity of members of this Legislature and creates a lack of trust among the people of this province, this kind of attitude that says, "Look, you say what you have to say to get elected." That is what he said, "You say what you have to say to get elected."

We in the Liberal Party and we in the Liberal caucus do not believe that you say what you have to say. We believe that you should say what you believe in, that you should talk about your principles and plans and that you do not tell the people one thing during election time and stand up proudly afterwards and say, "We just said that to get elected." I was very frustrated and upset because I know how my constituents react to that kind of cynical behaviour. It is very disappointing. They react by saying to me, "Elinor, we lose faith in those who enter public life." They expected better and they deserved better than the likes of the members of the government caucus who do not believe you have to say what you are going to do and then do it.



Interjections.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order, please. I would ask the member to move back to the order of debate, if possible, so we can continue the discussion.

**Mrs Caplan:** Mr Speaker, I am, speaking about Bill 143. In the historical perspective, when you compare this to what the Premier said during the election; what the member for Durham East and his colleague the member for Durham West said during the election; how those who campaigned talked about in their literature protection of the environment, support for the Environmental Assessment Act; the Minister of the Environment, all the things she said in opposition and then what she has done, I would say my comments are very germane because the people of the province do not realize Bill 143 is a betrayal of their trust. But they will when this is examined before committee. The people of this province are just beginning to understand the deception, the sham, the lack of integrity that has been displayed by this government in the tabling of Bill 143.

Interjections.

**Mrs Caplan:** Mr Speaker, it is obvious that the truth hurts, because the members opposite have reacted to the truth as you would expect, with shouts and screams. When this bill goes before committee—and we in the Liberal caucus are going to make sure it goes to committee—we are going to make sure the people of this province understand exactly what is being perpetrated by the members of this NDP government. The government used to profess the importance of rights of the individual, the importance of looking at all the options, the importance of people paying when they have had a say, of accountability and responsibility.

When they realize the NDP has not only jettisoned its policies and its principles but is imposing a draconian approach, taking away the rights of people in a heavy-handed, undemocratic way that the people of this province just do not believe the New Democratic Party would do, when that is exposed, whatever is left of the halos of the members of this government—and let me say, there is not much left—will be gone. Even a trip to the Virgin Islands will not replace the purity of the members of this government.

When the people of this province realize what Bill 143 does, the New Democratic Party of this province will pay dearly. They will have lost their credibility, lost the respect of the people and will deserve to be turfed out of office and for ever banished for having attempted to perpetrate this kind of deception on the people of this province.

On behalf of my constituents in the riding of Oriole, I protest loudly and strongly the actions of the minister responsible for the greater Toronto area and Minister of the Environment, who tabled a piece of legislation on October 24. The minister supported and demanded passage of this legislation before Christmas that will not provide the best environmental solution, that will be unaffordable for the people of Metropolitan Toronto in its present form, that removes the rights of my constituents the people of Metropolitan Toronto and the greater Toronto area to have their say, that creates a new environmental process in this prov-

ince and that purports to live up to the commitment to the environment of the New Democratic Party government. It purports to live up to the commitments when in fact it does exactly the opposite.

1620

On behalf of my constituents, I say shame and I say to them that we will not let this go. We will not allow this kind of deception to go unchallenged, and we will hold the Minister of the Environment accountable. We will hold the Premier accountable. We will hold every member of the NDP caucus accountable to their constituents for this piece of legislation, for the approach and for the cost.

**Mr Stockwell:** Those were probably the kindest comments the member from the Liberal Party could come up with about the bill respecting GTA waste management, or Bill 143.

It seems she has touched on a very large number of issues that I believe will come back to haunt this present government, not just for the duration of its two or three or four more years in office but once it comes back to opposition after the next election. It will haunt them even at that time, because what they have done is—and I think the last speaker was very clear—usurped the Environmental Assessment Act and all those powerful and important pieces of legislation that go along with it. This is from the party that was protector of the environment, the party that stood fast in its positioning on environmental hearings and on expansion in sites and on the shortening of the Environmental Assessment Act to the Environmental Protection Act—all this coming from the party that purports to be the one that best exemplifies the concerns of the environmental groups today.

The speech touched on some very important concerns that municipal politicians have, specifically in Peel region and York region but also in the greater Toronto area and Metropolitan Toronto. It seems to me that this government has basically abandoned policies and principles it stood by for many a year. It is very funny to see a party publicly crumble before your eyes when any kind of heat is applied to its positions. It is hopelessly adrift. It has gone against everything it stood for.

That comment made by the member from the Liberal Party, I think, was fair and just and maybe did not go far enough. If members were allowed to go far enough in this chamber, words that they could get sued over spring to mind. I certainly compliment the member for her comments.

**Mr Offer:** In the short time permitted to me in response, I would like to compliment the member for Oriole for bringing forward so many of the issues as a result of the actions of the Minister of the Environment.

Later on in the day I will be speaking to the bill specifically, but I think we should all recognize that in my riding of Mississauga North is located the Britannia landfill site. That is the site that was slated to be closed this year and would have been closed were it not for the heavy-handed, draconian actions of the Minister of the Environment.

I see that the Minister of Transportation sort of shudders when he hears those words “draconian” and “heavy-handed.” I ask the minister and any member of the



government side to come out and visit the riding of Mississauga North or in fact anywhere in Mississauga or Peel to listen to the people who have been specifically and directly affected by that decision. They have purchased homes and communities have been built on the basis of agreements that were entered into many years before. It is the actions of the Minister of the Environment which have said no to that agreement, which have said no to the official plan, which have said no to zoning bylaws. It is the actions of the Minister of the Environment which have said: "We don't care what the local municipality has done in terms of planning, in terms of organization, in terms of the building of communities. We don't care what the ratepayers' associations and the many residents not only surrounding Britannia but indeed throughout the city of Mississauga have to say."

The Minister of the Environment has been asked to come out on more than one occasion, and on each and every occasion she has said no. Not only has there been no response or action by the Minister of the Environment, but no member from the government, none of the many parliamentary assistants at her side has seen fit to come out and speak directly to the people who have been directly affected by her actions. This is something which the people of Mississauga are not forgetting. They are matters which I will be bringing out in my response to this particular piece of legislation, and it is one thing I think the members of the government had better understand very rapidly.

**Mr Tilson:** I have a brief comment with respect to the excellent remarks of the member for Oriole with respect to this bill. One of the areas that she raised which I would like to emphasize is that the promises were made by the government, and particularly by the Premier when he went around this province during this last election. He emphasized the environment. He emphasized that he would have a safer environment. In fact, those were the words that were put into the Agenda for People: "We're going to have a safer environment and we're going to have environmental assessments. We are going to have environmental assessment before any expansions or before any new sites are put forward."

As the member for Oriole indicated with respect to these three sites, we are not going to have them; we are not going to have environmental assessments. With all the issues that have been raised by this government, and particularly by the Premier as he went around the province the summer prior to the election commenting on the fears he has with respect to the environment, the ozone layer, cancer, the destruction of our forests and everything else with respect to the environment, saying, "We're going to protect our environment; we're going to make sure that before we do anything we have environmental assessment," lo and behold, with this new bill that is coming forward, we have no environmental assessments.

We are just going to build up the garbage higher and higher, with no consultations with respect to those municipalities and certainly with no environmental assessments. The government has no idea what the effect of those lifts are going to be on the environment of those areas, no idea whatsoever. It has got itself in a mess. It has had a year to

solve these problems, and this is what it is going to do. It is going to create lifts, with no environmental assessment. That is one point I wish to emphasize that the member for Oriole raised and which I think we should all consider before we vote on this bill.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Further comments and questions? The member for Oriole may wish to use two minutes to respond.

**Mrs Caplan:** I want to thank my colleagues who commented on my remarks. I know I spoke at length. The reason I spoke at length is that I care so very much about the environment. I care so very much about finding the very best environmental solution for Toronto's garbage and waste management problems. I believe it is possible for us to find those solutions by working together co-operatively.

I also believe that Bill 143 does not set a climate for that kind of co-operation within Metropolitan Toronto and the greater Toronto area. I believe very strongly that it does not allow for the very best environmental solution to be found because it excludes options. It excludes the alternative which, through new technology, may be developed over the next few years. I believe that is shortsighted.

The legislation itself is of grave concern to me. On behalf of my constituents, I want to share those concerns and ask the government to reconsider many of the aspects of this bill. I think it is fundamentally flawed. I believe it requires extensive public hearings so that the government members will be aware of exactly how it is flawed. Some parts of it are supportable, but I suggest to the government caucus that it sends out the wrong message because it does not allow for the best solution to be found. To table it and expect passage in a few short weeks is fundamentally unfair to the democratic process. It is unfair to the people of this province because their attention to these matters is extremely important.

**Mrs Marland:** In rising today to speak to Bill 143, An Act respecting the Management of Waste in the Greater Toronto Area and to amend the Environmental Protection Act, the irony is that the name on this bill is "The Hon R. Grier, Minister responsible for the Office for the Greater Toronto Area. The irony is that for five years I stood in this House and discussed this same subject we are discussing today, when this member whose name is on this bill, the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore, agreed totally with my comments. That person, who is now the Minister of the Environment and the minister responsible for the greater Toronto area, was the Environment critic for the New Democratic Party in opposition.

1630

Of course one would think that the Environment critic, if she ever had the opportunity of becoming the Minister of the Environment, would cherish that opportunity, would even possibly cherish the trust and the faith that were handed to her by that opportunity in that particular portfolio. The travesty in this case is that all those ideals and all those beliefs that the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore stood for suddenly dissolved into thin air when she was given the portfolio in the cabinet of this socialist govern-



ment, whereby she is now responsible for the area that she had pledged, I may say, not just the five years before that, but many years before that.

I am quite convinced that the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore is a committed environmentalist, to the degree that I recall very clearly, and I think perhaps at this moment in this House—well, there is one cabinet minister in this House—

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** Three.

**An hon member:** Five.

**Mrs Marland:** It is almost amusing how sensitive they are. These seals do not let you finish a sentence. What I was going to say is that there is one cabinet minister in this House, the member for Lake Nipigon, who was in this House when the Minister of the Environment was a committed environmentalist.

I happen to have known the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore when she was in municipal politics, and she has a very fine record as a municipal politician serving the public. There is no question about her record to the public as a member of a municipal government, namely, on the council for Etobicoke.

This member whose name is on this bill before us today as the person responsible for the bill is the same person who—I could actually pull, not out of the current Hansards but out of our records, another bill that bears this member's name as the person responsible for that bill. That was when the Minister of the Environment, as a private member, brought forward her environmental bill of rights.

She stood for everything, in terms of the preservation of the environment, I stood for. I certainly cannot believe that member has been so changed by the cloak of power that now surrounds her because she is in the cabinet that she is willing to give up all the goals, both personal and otherwise, she had for the protection of the environment. Yet as minister responsible for the office for the greater Toronto area, her name on this bill unfortunately confirms my worst fears.

I suppose she had a choice when the recommendations for drafting the contents of this bill came forward. I suppose she had a choice of saying, "The thrust and direction of this bill are so contrary to what I believe about the preservation of the environment in this province that I will not allow my name to stand as the minister responsible for this bill." I suppose she had that choice. I suppose as Minister of the Environment, which is the other hat she wears, she could have gone to the Premier and said, "Mr Premier, I've really considered this responsibility very seriously, and in light of my years and years of commitment in public service to the preservation of the environment, I feel I cannot go forward with this piece of legislation with my name on it."

That also brings us to the fact that with Bill 143, while under the name of the minister responsible for the office of the greater Toronto area, we recognize there is a conflict for that member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore who is also the minister responsible for the environment. The management of waste in this province is a major responsibility for

the Minister of the Environment. It is rather ironic, I suppose, that both ministries are not on this bill, because it is an act respecting the management of waste—where? in the greater Toronto area—but it is also an act to amend the Environmental Protection Act.

**Mr Tilson:** It covers the entire province.

**Mrs Marland:** It covers the entire province, as the member for Dufferin-Peel just said.

Is it not interesting that the minister responsible for the greater Toronto area can bring forth a bill into this House that amends the Environmental Protection Act? Is this not something? I wonder how many other bills can be brought into this House and amended by somebody who is not the minister. It is very significant that it is not the Minister of the Environment is bringing an act into this House to amend the Environmental Protection Act, but the minister responsible for the greater Toronto area.

As my colleague the member for Dufferin-Peel has said, the implications of Bill 143 are not just for those municipalities within the greater Toronto area. Certainly it is for them, but it is not solely and exclusively for just those municipalities. It is a significant piece of legislation which sets forth the policies and direction of this socialist government for the entire province for all the years to come in dealing with the subject of waste management. I do not believe there is anyone in this House who knows what is going on who could deny the significance and challenge of waste management today in this province.

1640

It really is a travesty of justice that people in this province can be told something, not just by one person but by a number of people on a campaign trail, that they can be promised the same thing over and over again by the same people while they are campaigning for their votes, and yet when those people are given their support by their votes, those same people who have made those promises turn around and totally turn their backs on the people whose trust they have been given.

The trust of a great number of people in this province was given to an individual in this House who was elected to represent York South. I do not suppose that if you were to ask the member for York South directly, he would tell you that he ever really anticipated becoming Premier when he was elected leader of his party. It is wonderful for him personally that this became an achievement in his political career. It is wonderful that to the surprise of everyone, and certainly no less to the members of the New Democratic Party, the member for York South, as leader of their party, became Premier.

But it is not wonderful for the people who heard the member for York South, when he was just the Leader of the Opposition in Ontario and not yet the Premier, promise time and time again that there would be no expansions to existing landfill sites without full environmental assessment, none; not, "Just some," not, "Perhaps," not, "Maybe we'll wait and see," but no expansions.

He did not say that in his office in Toronto. He did not say it on some street corner in his riding in Toronto. He went out to the sites. He stood on the sites with his arms



out to embrace the whole sensation of the feeling that the people who were there with him wanted him to embrace their concern, their worry, their fear, their anxiety that those landfill sites might be expanded. He embraced those concerns. He took them to himself. He brought them into himself as his responsibility and he pledged that there would be no expansions without full environmental assessment.

Now we know that the rest is, tragically, history for this province, history that we will not be able to turn back or recall once Bill 143 is passed, history, I would say to the members opposite, that I would not want to have on my record of voting in this Legislature.

Not one member of the Progressive Conservative caucus in this Legislature is going to vote in favour of this bill. Not one of us in the Progressive Conservative caucus wants to be associated with a piece of legislation that is so regressive in terms of the rights of people and the preservation of the environment.

The one good thing is that the record of every one of these socialist government members who stand to vote in favour of this bill will stand for ever. It will stand for them when their remains have long turned to dust. The record will still be there. They will have to face their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

I do not want to be in that group. I do not want to be there when my yet-to-be-born grandchildren and great-grandchildren might turn around and say to me, "Grandmother, what did you do to help preserve the environment in the future of Ontario?" or, "Great-grandmother, did you do anything about fighting against the direction in which this kind of legislation took this province?" I want to be able to look in the mirror. I want to be able to face my children, my grandchildren and great-grandchildren and say to them, "We are all aware of how much damage mankind has done in this world to the environment and we don't want to be part of it any more."

I really thought that was what the Environmental Protection Act and the Environmental Assessment Act were all about. I thought that was why we passed those acts 20 years ago. I thought finally the people in this province had brought their legislators to the point where they understood that we only have one go at this, one opportunity to preserve the environment.

Sadly, with this government that is not the case. This government said: "We care about everybody. We care about the littlest guy and we care about this person who has all these problems, this person who doesn't have opportunities. We care about everything and we're the only people who ever cared about the environment." That is what this government always said in opposition.

What this government does not realize, however, is that through Bill 143 it is enshrining a truth, and the truth is that it does not care about the environment and it does not care about the basic rights of individuals.

We also have to talk a little bit about the fact that this government has a Premier who elects not to meet with the mayor of the ninth largest city in Canada.

1650

Whether or not we want to meet with people, frankly, as elected representatives of people, it is not something that is our choice. What is our choice is when we decide to run for public office, but once we have run for public office and have been successfully elected, we do not have a choice about meeting with people who want to meet with us to discuss serious and relevant matters. I am talking about anybody in this House and I am talking about anybody in our ridings, but in this case I am talking about the Premier of the province and the mayor of the city of Mississauga.

The city of Mississauga has 460,000 people, so when Mayor Hazel McCallion asks for a meeting with the Premier and the Premier brushes her off and says, "No, you will meet with my Minister of the Environment, my minister of the greater Toronto area or my Minister of Municipal Affairs; I will not meet with you," I think that is the height of arrogance.

Even if this Premier knows he is not going to agree with anything Mayor McCallion says, even if this Premier knows he cannot give her the answers she wants, even if this Premier for whatever other reasons my imagination cannot even lead me to—I cannot think of any reasonable explanation why this Premier would not want to meet with Mayor Hazel McCallion. But in any case, for a number of months now the mayor of the city of Mississauga, the person elected to represent 460,000 people in the city of Mississauga, has not been able to get a meeting with the Premier to discuss the most grave and urgent crisis of waste management in her municipality and in the region of Peel.

Can members believe that the Premier would put himself in that position? I am sure there were a few of those 460,000 people in the city of Mississauga who voted NDP in the last election. I am quite sure there will perhaps be a few who will consider voting NDP in the next election, but I can assure members that if the mayor of Mississauga has anything to do with it there will be fewer than there might have been otherwise, had this Premier granted the courtesy of a meeting with the mayor.

I respect the fact that we all come into this chamber with different views on different subjects. That is a given. That is what the parliamentary procedure is about. We do not all come from the same experiential base. We do not all come from the same philosophies, thank goodness, but we should all come from the same point of common courtesy and we should all come from the same point of common respect. I suggest that the fact the Premier of this province has refused to meet with the mayor of the city of Mississauga for this number of months shows a total lack of respect for her office as mayor of that city and is a very bad reflection on his office as Premier of this province.

If somebody should, for one fleeting moment, think, "Perhaps the Premier has been busy," and the Premier has said, "Speak to my other ministers," the mayor has met with the other ministers. It is not that the mayor said: "No, I don't want to meet with the Minister of the Environment. I will not meet with the Minister of Municipal Affairs." The mayor has met with the Minister of Municipal Affairs



and the Minister of the Environment. The mayor has still asked for a meeting with the Premier.

If we think that perhaps the Premier has been too busy and does not have time to meet with Mayor Hazel McCallion to discuss the most important, critical matter, and potentially one of the most expensive matters this province is going to have to deal with, waste management, if we think for a moment that this was a possibility, let me tell the members that this same Premier has had time to go to the city of Mississauga and cut ribbons.

I do not know the number of times in the period of months that the mayor has been waiting for this meeting because I do not keep track of the itinerary of this Premier, but I know the mayor and the Premier have sat at the same head table on more than one occasion at a function to which he has been invited, as I say, cutting ribbons, official openings, that kind of stuff. What is more important to the people of this province, cutting ribbons or the Premier facing his responsibility as Premier and solving the crisis of waste management?

This Premier chooses to ignore Mayor Hazel McCallion. He chooses to ignore his responsibility as Premier of this province to meet with a mayor of a municipality. I do not care, really, whether the municipality is large or small. I simply say that to hide in his offices or have time to go all over the world—I am not sure. I know he has been to Paris and London. Where else has He been lately?

**Mr Tilson:** Who knows? We have lost track.

**Mrs Marland:** We know this Premier has become a globe-trotter in the last few months. He turns his back on the crises in this province. I am not talking about the recession. That is not on the bill so I am not going to speak about the fact that he turns his back on the recession or job losses, the fact that they think the increase to those people in social services and the people requiring welfare support are only inclined to, what is it, a 2.3% increase? They gave their staff 6.7% or whatever those figures are. They are only figures, but the figures indicate an inequity. The fact that he does all that is on his back, on his shoulders. It is not on mine. If he has time—this is the point I am making—to do all those other things and he cannot set the priority of a meeting with the mayor of Mississauga to discuss the crisis of waste management, then it is just a further demonstration of arrogance to the people of this province and certainly a demonstration of ignorance towards the mayor of Mississauga.

The other thing is that if we are talking about what has happened here, we are talking about a Minister of the Environment who has totally shed all those garments she wore in supporting the cause of the preservation of environment for this new cloak of indifference. But at the same time, it has taken a year to have this bill come through. Do members realize that today is December 9? Do they realize how long this socialist government has been in office? I think there are three socialist governments in the world now, and all three socialist governments in the world now are in Canada. Whoopee, is that not exciting? Unfortunately the worst part is that one of the three socialist governments in Canada is in the largest-populated province,

Ontario. I think the cabinet was sworn into office on October 1 last year. Certainly the election was on September 6 last year. Here we are on December 9.

1700

I realize that of the 74 socialist government members we have today, only about 14 of them were in the House before, so I do not expect the people in the House today to understand at all what I am talking about. For the most part, when most of them stand up on points of order and so forth, they are not points of order. Even after 15 or 16 months they still do not understand what our routine proceedings are. They do not even understand the orders of the House or how meetings are conducted, so I do not expect them to understand what I am going to say now.

When they became the government, in my own experience I had been here five and a half years at that time. For five and a half years I had sat on this side of the House and listened to the New Democratic Party in opposition attack the government of the day because of its inaction in dealing with the waste management crisis in Ontario. We listened to all their concerns about any possible expansion of existing landfill sites in order to resolve the capacity crisis. Then they suddenly became the government and we thought: "They know what the problems are. Now they are the government, we'll get a piece of legislation very quickly and get this problem resolved." Well, we did not get a piece of legislation very quickly, and then when we got it, it was Bill 143.

I would be embarrassed to be part of Bill 143. It is not as though Bill 143 has come to us so quickly so they can say: "We're going to remedy the situation, so we've brought you this bill and we'll bring in some other bills later that will amend it and perhaps make it better." It has taken them 15 months to bring into this House a piece of garbage—I apologize for the ironic pun—that does not even deal with the garbage, a whole year of delay.

Let me talk a little bit about what this delay means. Sometimes we can think there are some humorous parts to our responsibilities here in this Legislature, but for the most part most of us treat our responsibilities very seriously. In the case of the expansion of the Britannia landfill site, I would like to tell the honourable members what is involved.

I am going to tread on the toes, for a moment, of my colleagues in the Liberal caucus because they were the former government. They were the former government for five years, not without the help of these guys though, I must say. We all remember what happened that fateful summer of 1985 when we were the government. I actually sat on the government side of the House for six weeks, as I recall. In fact, the motion I moved was the motion approving the throne speech. I went down in history as moving the motion that was voted upon that defeated the Conservative Party after 42 years in office. It is not something in Hansard I would have wished to have read that way, but that is how history evolved.

Following that defeat of our government in June 1985 we had this accord where the two opposition parties decided, because together they had more seats than we did, that they would choose between them who would be the



government. Not much of a choice, I suppose, because obviously the Liberals had more seats than did the NDP, so the Liberals had to become the government through the signing of this accord or this coalition.

Then we had five years of the Liberal government. In the five years of that Liberal government we never did have a new landfill site established in Ontario. But in the meantime, while the Liberal government was doing its thing, the region of Peel was certainly doing its. The region of Peel councillors were being very responsible. The regional municipality of Peel was going through its own site selection.

There is a unique situation in Peel. There are three municipalities that make up the region of Peel: Mississauga, Brampton and Caledon. There is an agreement in the region of Peel that the location of the landfill site will rotate within those municipalities. Caledon had one, Mississauga now has one and the next one is Brampton's turn. So the site selection was going ahead in the region of Peel for the next site in Brampton. In fact, as of today it is not an exaggeration to say that over \$5 million have been spent by the taxpayers of Peel to establish a new landfill site—not \$1 million, \$5 million.

At one point during that site selection, which is now all going to you-know-where in a handbasket with this Bill 143, one of the sites was owned by a company called Ronto Development Corp. If members really want the interesting part of this story they would have to look up who one of the major owners of Ronto was at this period. Peel had narrowed it down to this particular site and everybody was in agreement more or less. There were certainly some concerns by the city of Brampton on the elimination process of the site and the actual location of it and so forth, but for the most part Peel regional councillors had agreed.

This site was going forward to the environmental assessment hearing—not, I may say, under the Environmental Protection Act, but under the Environmental Assessment Act. The people in that community who might have been concerned about whether this site in Brampton was suitable did not have to be concerned, because at least they knew it was going to have a full public assessment under the Environmental Assessment Act.

Do members know what happened? At the midnight hour, we got the notice of an order from the then Minister of the Environment, the member for St Catharines, who was in the House here a moment ago. He issued a notice of order to stop that site selection going to the environmental assessment hearing. He put the whole train that was going down the track to solve the problems of waste management in Peel on hold. Suddenly Peel was brought to a total stop. The reason I say it is interesting is that we have always wondered if it was a coincidence that the site was owned by Ronto Development Corp. That would be something only the former Minister of the Environment, the member for St Catharines, could answer. I have never actually asked him that.

1710

In any case, here is an example of a regional municipality in Ontario doing what it is supposed to do, looking after its own garbage. There was nothing in the books anywhere in this Legislature in those days that said the

province was responsible for garbage. The regional municipalities were responsible for garbage. The region of Peel was taking its responsibility very seriously, I suggest. If you are spending \$5 million of taxpayers' money, I think you are taking the responsibility pretty seriously.

Interjection.

**Mrs Marland:** I have just received a note from my House leader, and I always do what my House leader tells me. I do not want to disappoint the members opposite, but the note does not tell me to sit down.

Here we were in Peel assuming the responsibility that we needed to assume, or that they needed to assume as regional councillors. I was part of that process at the beginning back in 1983 and 1984, but from 1985 on, when I was here, the region of Peel was still going forward and doing what it was supposed to do.

Now the Liberals say: "No, you can't proceed to an environmental assessment hearing on that site. You've got to go back and re-evaluate all the other sites." Members do not need the details of that, but in any case that is what happened. Peel was stopped.

In the meantime, the active site, which is Britannia, of course is filling up. The other aspect of this that is very significant is that there is an agreement between the city of Mississauga and the area land owners around the Britannia landfill site that the site would close in 1991. We are standing here on December 9, 1991. The site is still open. The site has already had one extension to August 1992.

That agreement between the region of Peel, the city of Mississauga and the property owners neighbouring the Britannia landfill site was not just an internal document. It was not something where a few pals got together and on the back of a serviette said: "If you let us open this landfill site, it'll be open for only 12 years. We promise you it'll be open for only 12 years. Then it'll be full and then it'll be closed. We'll be quite happy to make sure it doesn't go on beyond 12 years."

It was not a casual agreement, Mr Speaker. It was a written contract. Furthermore, it was confirmed by the Ontario Municipal Board. There may be some members in this House who have not worked with the Ontario Municipal Board and do not fully understand that it is a quasi-judicial body. But when a document is confirmed by the OMB, we would always have thought it was enshrined and safe. I do not know of OMB documents similar to this one that have been reopened and the signatories to them then betrayed by a further piece of legislation. I do not know of a situation like that. I certainly know the people who signed that document on behalf of the region of Peel and the city of Mississauga signed it in good faith with the people who live around that site.

The funny thing about landfill sites is that I do not think we would have nearly the problem we have siting them if we could say to people, "Yes, you're going to have a landfill site here beside you, but it's only going to be open for so many years and then it's going to be closed, and then you won't have the trucks going up and down past your streets and past your schools." It could work if we could say to the public once and for all, "We all generate



garbage so we all have to share in the solution of what to do with garbage." There is no question that every citizen in Ontario knows he or she generates garbage. Everybody who is responsible is willing to take his or her share.

But the city of Mississauga has taken its share. A landfill site that was to be open for 12 years was open and has already had one expansion. Now we come along with this bill and we say to those people in Mississauga: "I'm sorry, but that agreement that was confirmed by the Ontario Municipal Board is worthless. I'm sorry, but you know, we've got a garbage crisis in Ontario today and we can't afford the time to give you to go through an environmental assessment to find another site. We've got to expand your site; we've got to expand Britannia."

That is what Bill 143 says. That is what it says to the people in the city of Mississauga who live adjacent to this landfill site. It says it does not matter what went before. But worse than that, it not only says it to the people in the city of Mississauga; it says it to the whole province. This act amends the Environmental Protection Act. This act says it is okay for Big Brother government to come in with its big claws and do whatever it wants to do. They can claw out existing agreements. They can ignore whatever has gone before. This is no gentleman's game. This in fact is a total sham. This piece of legislation takes away the rights of individuals, it takes away the rights of municipalities and it totally nullifies pre-existing agreements. This piece of legislation is unbelievable.

In the case of Peel, the irony even deepens. What this legislation does is, after it takes away the authority for waste management from Peel—and of course the other municipalities, but I was speaking about Peel—this Big Brother socialist government comes in with its big claws and says to the municipalities in this province, "Okay, we are here now. We are going to control everything that goes on in these municipalities. We have the power. Okay? We have the power."

1720

This bill says: "It doesn't matter about any pre-existing agreements. It doesn't matter about the Environmental Assessment Act. It doesn't matter about the Environmental Protection Act. It doesn't matter about any of the previous acts, the Planning Act, the Municipal Act. It doesn't matter about any of those acts." This bill will have precedence. This bill will be the big claws that come in and say, "Okay, we are in control."

That is one thing it does. But the irony is, after they come into the municipalities and strip them of the power, remove them totally from the control of the management of waste in those municipalities, then they turn around and say: "We've done that. Here's the bill. We'll tell you what you can do, we'll tell you what you can't do, we'll tell you what you will do, but we won't pay for it."

What this legislation says to the municipalities is: "We're the boss. That's the way it's going to be now in our new Ontario, our new Russia-with-love, under our socialist government." To tell the truth, I think you are probably better off in Russia today than you are in Ontario. At least—

Interjections.

**Mrs Marland:** Oh, I am glad I am getting a reaction. Come on. I think it is wonderful. Not only are the government members in the House, but they are awake. It is wonderful to hear them, I say to the government members. It is great. As soon as they hear the truth, they react.

Is that not great? I am grateful, Mr Speaker. I do not want you to stop the interjections. I am actually grateful for them because it shows two things. It shows, one, that they are awake. Second, it shows that when you say something that is the truth, they cannot take it. They cannot take the truth.

The fact is that the people of Ontario really do not need me to tell them. The people of Ontario know full well what is going on with this socialist government. They also know what is going on in the eastern European countries and they know that the people in Russia-with-love, I say, are probably going to be better off in the long run, because this government continues to put industry, commerce and business out of this province.

Job losses, people who are hungry, all of these issues, how are we dealing with them? The Premier is off in France, drinking wine, turning his back on the people of this province. We can tell by the number of ministers that are in the House today.

If they want to prattle about hearing the truth, I can prattle right back with them. If they cannot take it, they should not vote for Bill 143. They should stand up and believe in the act that this bill takes precedence over. They should think about what the Planning Act means in this province, if any of them might know anything about it, about what the Environmental Assessment Act and the Environmental Protection Act mean.

**Mr White:** It looks like your party has abandoned you, Margaret.

**Mrs Marland:** I say to the member for Durham West this is the bill that before he was elected he would have shuddered to think about. He is here because he gained some respect and notoriety, I guess, from the people because he was concerned about a landfill site. Yet I am quite sure this member is going to stand up—I cannot presume—I might guess he is going to stand up and vote in favour of his government's bill.

He is concerned right now because of the things I am saying. He along with the other members just had this wonderful outburst which stirred everybody up. It is 5:30 in the afternoon and catnaps are finished. It stirs everybody up to say, "Oh, no, you're wrong, you're wrong." We will see who is wrong about this legislation. We will see the ramifications of this legislation. It will not be on my voting record and it will not be on the voting record of any one of the people in the Progressive Conservative caucus.

I will tell members what will be on record tragically. This socialist government, as I have said, that takes away the powers—

Interjections.

**Mrs Marland:** Are interjections really in order, Mr Speaker?



**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Order, please. Interjections of course are not in order. It would be appreciated if the honourable member for Mississauga South would address her comments to the Chair and the people who have interjections can participate in the debate when their turn comes up.

**Mrs Marland:** When this socialist government strips away the powers of the municipalities in terms of waste management and then turns around and hands them the bill and says, "I'm sorry, this is what you have to pay to do what I'm telling you to do," it is going to be very significant.

I would like to talk about something that is not directly a bill to the municipality but is very much directly a bill to the people within the municipality. I would like to tell members what happens when the Britannia landfill site is expanded. That is one thing. I would also like to tell them what happens between now and then and what has happened for this whole past year since this government froze the land development around the Britannia landfill site.

First, the number of acres around the Britannia landfill site which have been frozen are approximately 1,200; not 12, not 120, but 1,200 acres. Mr Speaker, I know with the experience you have personally with land management you probably know better than anyone who is in the House right now what a volume of land 1,200 acres is. I am quite sure most of the members in this House might be able to imagine what 1,200 acres is like. But 1,200 acres in the city of Mississauga, 1,200 acres right in the core of this greater Toronto area are frozen at a time when people are living on top of each other because we have no property for development. These 1,200 acres are frozen.

At a time when we are talking about the shortage of housing, this is where the numbers become very significant. The total number of housing units on hold is 5,000. There are 5,000 housing units that could be built on this acreage but have not been able to be built because this socialist government has frozen the land.

1730

Interjections.

**Mrs Marland:** As the member for Mississauga North says, is it not significant that the members opposite, and I particularly hear the member for Durham West and the member for Durham-York, are exchanging their brilliance in comments and laughter at a time when we are discussing something as significant as 5,000 housing units on hold?

But now I come to what I think perhaps some of these members might be interested in, because it seems that no matter what we get up in this House and discuss, no matter what subject it is, all we hear from them is: "We must save the workers. We've got to save the jobs. Whatever we do, we've got keep people working." That is what they say. Mind you, they do not bring in any policies, business incentives or encouragement to industry to make that happen. They just bring in proposed labour law reforms that drive industry and commerce and business out of our province. But I am telling you what they say, Mr Speaker, so we get this picture very clear. The thing is that all they

want to do is interject because they do not want to hear what is being said.

Under Bill 143, we have 1,200 acres surrounding the Britannia landfill site on hold, 5,000 housing units not being built and—the point that I think might be of some interest to these people who say, "Save the workers, save the jobs"—the total employment lost or delayed is more than 10,000 person-hours.

Perhaps the members who are listening do not care about those 10,000 person-hours. I can tell members that the member for Nipissing, the leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, cares a lot about those 10,000 person-hours that are lost. He cares a lot about the jobs.

Interjections.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Order, please. The honourable member for Mississauga South has the floor. You will have your turn to participate in the debate immediately upon the member for Mississauga South completing her remarks.

**Mrs Marland:** We in the Progressive Conservative Party care about keeping people working in this province. We care about every job opportunity that is lost in this province because of actions by this government. If this government says one thing out of one side of its mouth and something else out of the other side of its mouth, that is on its shoulders. It will be on their voting record. It will be there for the people of this province to clearly understand come the next election.

What will be on our record is what I am saying this afternoon, which is that we are concerned that 1,200 acres of land are being frozen around the Britannia landfill site while this government waffles back and forth about where it is going to put the garbage.

I say to the members opposite who are asking where Mississauga is going to put its garbage, the city of Mississauga had a site; indeed the region of Peel, if it had been left alone doing its own business, which it was doing. Today, as I stand in this House, I tell members that the responsibility for the management of waste in this province is still on the shoulders of the regional municipalities. Probably these members do not even know that. Today the people who live in Peel are in—

Interjections.

**Mrs Marland:** Mr Speaker, I do think they are being a little unfair.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Order, please. The honourable member for Mississauga South still has the floor.

Interjection.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Order, please. This is not question and response time; it is debate.

Interjections.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Order, please. The honourable member for Mississauga South has the floor. Rotation will continue and participation can then be undertaken. Thank you.

**Mrs Marland:** Ten thousand person-hours is a great number of jobs; \$5 million is a phenomenal amount of



money, even to this government with its \$10-billion debt. I suggest that even they might understand \$5 million. Five million dollars is what the people of Peel who pay property taxes have already paid to get to the approval of a new landfill site in Peel. We have taken \$5 million out of the pockets of the people who pay property tax in Peel with the promise that we would have our own landfill site. That is all out the window.

While it is out the window and while this government has been in its big black hole of indecision for the 16 months it has been the government, where it has not done anything about waste management until it brought in this Bill 143 that we are debating today, it is not only costing the region of Peel continued thousands of dollars, but the options about what we get to do with our garbage in Peel are running out. At the same time, we are not building 5,000 housing units when we need housing; we are not allowing to provide for the employment involving 10,000 person-hours. If the members opposite do not care about jobs and they think it is okay to freeze land around the landfill site—

**Mr Jamison:** Speak on the bill.

**Mrs Marland:** It is funny; they do not understand, Mr Speaker. When they say, "Speak on the bill," that is the thing that makes me sickest of all. When the members of the government say in this House, "Speak on the bill," I say to them they do not have a clue what is in this bill. If they did, they would know that I am speaking on this bill. If they understood what this piece of legislation says and the implications of this legislation through all 35 sections of it—I say to them, "Read the bill." If they say to me, "Speak on it," I say to them to read it, to recognize what the implications of this bill are.

The 10,000 person-hours that have been lost have been lost this year. Those contractors, builders, bricklayers, plumbers, electricians, you name it, those people have not worked this whole year because the government has held up the land by freezing it around the Britannia landfill site in Peel for this past year. If members opposite do not care about them, I am just saying we care about them. We care about those jobs that have been lost.

1740

I will tell members one thing, finally, about the freezing of this 1,200 acres around the landfill site while this government fiddles away the months and months and months. The information I have says at least 25% of that development was already committed and would have been taking place even in the current recession. Even in the current recession, I say to members, we could have had people building those houses which would have given those people jobs, and equally important we would have had people able to move into houses because they had been built and were available.

I have a letter here on the letterhead of the regional municipality of Peel and it is over the signature of the regional solicitor, whose name is R. Kent Gillespie. The date of the letter is just over one week ago; it is 28 November 1991. I will read the letter because the implications are very grave for the region of Peel and the people who live

there. it pertains totally to Bill 143. The letter is to Mayor Hazel McCallion.

"Dear Mayor McCallion:

"The following is an overview of Bill 143, the proposed Waste Management Act, 1991.

"Background: Bill 143, the Waste Management Act, 1991, received first reading in the provincial Legislature on October 24, 1991, and is in the process of receiving second reading.

"The bill deals with the following subject matter: the Interim Waste Authority Ltd, waste disposal sites, long-term site search by the Interim Waste Authority, implementation of the minister's report under section 29 of the Environmental Protection Act, amendments to the Environmental Protection Act.

"Highlights of Bill 143: The comments that follow highlight the provisions of the bill in order of the abovenoted subject matter.

"The Interim Waste Authority and long-term waste disposal sites: Parts I and II of the bill provide a statutory framework to allow for the activities and environmental assessments in relation to the long-term waste disposal sites as undertakings of the Interim Waste Authority. The legislation is retroactive in respect of prior work of the IWA. The undertaking of the IWA in relation to the regional municipality of Peel is defined as 'one landfill site located in Peel, having as its primary function the disposal of waste over a period of at least 20 years.' The IWA is given the status of a crown agent and is given the power to expropriate."

Let's just talk about this for a moment: "having as its primary function the disposal of waste over a period of at least 20 years." What municipality, what community, what area within a community is going to want to have a landfill site that is described as "its primary function the disposal of waste over a period of at least 20 years"?

That is what I was saying before about the Britannia landfill site. There was a contract that the site would be open for 12 years.

If this government really cared about people, it would not be coming in here with a proposal to have a landfill site for "at least 20 years." Who wants to be next to a landfill site for 20 years? Nobody does. If this government really cared about people, it would make the decision that in giving direction to the Interim Waste Authority there would be consideration to have landfill sites established for a period of, say, 10 years, maybe even eight.

I realize the acquisition of land is very expensive, but I also realize that if we developed a policy where there was an equity of sharing the responsibility for where waste goes and for who has to tolerate the intrusion into their community of the operation of that landfill site, it is possible we would be able to convince people more readily to accept a new landfill site in their backyard as long as it was established through a complete environmental assessment that the backyard—I am using that just as a description—the location was environmentally safe, that the adjacent properties would not be at risk, and that the pleasure of living in that community would not be detracted from, because it would be a well-managed site and they



would know the transportation of the waste would be limited to certain roads, possibly major arterial. I do not need to go into the details.

In any case, if we as people responsible for deciding where landfill sites should go said: "Okay, we all generate waste. We all have to take our turn. We are all responsible for the disposal of waste but we are going to do this equitably. We are going to put a landfill site here. It is going to be environmentally assessed and it is only going to operate for eight years, maybe even six"—I do not know what is feasible. I am not the Minister of the Environment. I have not had the opportunity yet to serve as a minister of the crown. I say "yet" because I am sure there will be some members in our caucus who will have that opportunity after the next election. Because I am not on the inside looking at the books, I simply do not know what length of time is feasible to operate a landfill site. I do know, however, that the region of Peel must have been a feasible project and it was only 12 years.

Here we have a government saying to this waste authority it has established that the new landfill site would be responsible for the disposal of waste for a period of at least 20 years. Is that not something? It is called the Interim Waste Authority—"interim" being the key word—and it is told that the landfill site in Peel will be responsible for waste for 20 years. If somebody could tell me that 20 years is interim, I would be very interested. I would say that three or four years might be interim, but I do not think a 20-year site can be described as interim.

I think it is unfair to establish the Interim Waste Authority, which is the new crown agency of the government. The government could not make any decisions about the management of waste. That was another thing. How long did it take them before they established the Interim Waste Authority? It seems to me it was something like 10 months. I cannot remember the date the authority was established. It was announced in the throne speech; I do remember that. It was announced in the throne speech a year ago but it only came to fruition this summer. I know; I was at the first meeting the Interim Waste Authority held, the first public meeting it held in Mississauga. I was there with half a dozen people.

1750

Here we have an Interim Waste Authority that is responsible for establishing these new landfill sites. They are told the landfill sites have to last for 20 years. You would have to be Alice in Wonderland if you believe anybody is going to say with open arms: "Come and put your interim landfill site in my backyard. I know it's going to be there for 20 years. I'm going to love it. For 20 years I'm going to have it in my community." That is not being realistic.

If this government was sincere in resolving the waste management crisis in this province, it would start looking at justice. They would start trying to develop ideas and policies that would work. They would not start by saying all the new interim landfill sites are going to be for 20 years. I wonder how many years the long-term landfill sites are going to be. If an interim site is 20 years, perhaps a long-term site would be 40 years; it might be 50 years. Heavens, what a thought. Maybe by then we will be back

to another socialist government in Ontario. It might be long enough that we might have come full circle again. In any case, what kind of government gives an authority that kind of direction, an interim site of 20 years?

If this government would realize that the people in this province are just as bright or brighter than it is and treat them with the kind of respect the people of Ontario should be treated with, it might say to them: "We're going to site landfill sites. We have to put them somewhere. We won't have the trucks rolling past your door for 20 years. We'll make it reasonable—six, eight, 10 or whatever it is that is the shortest period of time to make it economically feasible." That should be the criteria, not: "Gosh, we've finally got a site. We're going to keep it open for 20 years and call it an interim site." An interim site should be an interim site, and it is not 20 years.

This is the other thing this letter from the solicitor at the region of Peel says: "The Interim Waste Authority is given the status of a crown agent and is given the power to expropriate." Let's talk about expropriation. Do members know who pays when the Interim Waste Authority expropriates land? I bet there is not one person sitting opposite right now who can answer that question. The reason I know there is not a person opposite who can answer that question right now is because the people opposite are the people who have been saying to me for the last hour and a half, "Speak on the bill." But they do not even know what the bill says so they do not know whether I am speaking on it. The fact is that if they did know what was in this bill—this draconian, regressive legislation—they would not say, "Speak on it"; they would know I was speaking on it.

I say to them, for their pleasure, do they know, when the Interim Waste Authority expropriates land for a landfill site, who pays for it? Do they know who pays for the expropriation? Suddenly we are all busy signing our Christmas cards. They do not have the answer, but I will tell them. It is the same people from whom the powers are stripped to manage waste. It is the same people who, as I said earlier, are handed the bill for everything to do with that landfill site selection and management.

It is a funny thing. The Interim Waste Authority was established, I think, in June or July, finally.

**Mr Stockwell:** Yes.

**Mrs Marland:** It was announced in the throne speech—the member for Etobicoke West confirms that for me—last year, but it took another nine months to become a reality. When it became a reality, the Interim Waste Authority was given \$17 million to help resolve the problem of landfill sites in the greater Toronto area.

Do members know how it works? They go to the municipality and they do the work out of this \$17-million pot they have been given by the Treasury, which, I hasten to add, the people in the greater Toronto area have already contributed to. They use that money for soil tests and lots of consultants. In the region of Peel, as I said, we have already spent \$5 million on consultants and other associated costs of selecting a landfill site. But now the Interim Waste Authority is going to come in, hire more consultants



and do more work on researching where would be a suitable landfill site. Then they are going to turn around and bill the people in that municipality.

Talk about paying through the nose. The people in this province are paying through the nose twice. The people in the region of Peel, who have paid \$5 million, are now going to be billed again for the next step in this regressive process. The Big Brother socialist government in Ontario does not leave a municipality alone to resolve its own problems, but comes in and takes over and says: "That's okay. We can bill the residents of Peel again."

What do they think the residents of Peel have, some kind of bottomless pit where all we want to do through our property taxes is pay and pay and pay, and we still do not have a garbage site; we still do not have a new landfill site? How long can this go on?

The member for Oakville South is not in the House at the moment, but he is a representative of a municipality within the regional municipality of Halton. I know they spent something like \$10 million or \$12 million before they got their new landfill site. In fact, they spent \$8 million or \$9 million alone shipping it to Niagara Falls, New York, to be incinerated. Perish the thought: incinerating their garbage in Niagara Falls, New York, so it could blow back over southern Ontario. But they did not have a choice. I say that with respect to the regional councillors of Halton. They did not have a choice, but those regional municipality residents in Halton paid a very dear penny of their property taxes for this big void, this big vacuum in waste management. The worst of it is that we have paid more than half of that now in Peel, and under this legislation we are going to be billed all over again for it.

*[Report continues in volume B]*



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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

First Session, 35th Parliament

## Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Monday 9 December 1991

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Première session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

## Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le lundi 9 décembre 1991



Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers





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## Table des matières

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Il existe un index cumulatif des numéros précédents. Les renseignements qu'il contient sont à votre disposition par téléphone auprès des employés de l'index du Journal des débats au (416) 325-7400.

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Monday 9 December 1991

[Report continued from volume A]

1800

## WASTE MANAGEMENT ACT, 1991 LOI DE 1991 SUR LA GESTION DES DÉCHETS

Continuing the debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 143, An Act respecting the Management of Waste in the Greater Toronto Area and to amend the Environmental Protection Act / Projet de loi 143, Loi concernant la gestion des déchets dans la région du grand Toronto et modifiant la Loi sur la protection de l'environnement.

**Mrs Marland:** The Interim Waste Authority has the power to expropriate. They not only have the power to hire consultants; they have the power to expropriate. I would say to members that when we are talking about 1,200 acres of land around the Britannia landfill site that has been frozen while they decide whether it is going to be one lift, two lifts or how much land has to be protected, boy, if we get into expropriation, I have no idea where it might end in terms of cost to the taxpayers because of the government's inaction.

In the 16 months that it has been the government and that it has been totally inactive in solving the problem about where to put our garbage, I wonder if the government has any idea how much the end cost of this site has increased by the delay that it has caused.

We are not even there yet. By the time we get there, we will probably be talking about at least two or three years that it will have been the government. The worst part is that when we do get there, under this Bill 143 we will not have had a full environmental assessment.

We are going to have the expansion of garbage dumps in this province and we do not care about the environment. We do not care if the expansion of any of these sites puts the environment at risk. We do not care about the Oak Ridges moraine that the Keele Valley landfill site drains into. This socialist government is so two-faced about betraying the people in this province that if these landfill sites are established, if they expand existing sites, it does not care if there is not an environmental assessment.

It is like stepping back over 100 years, and I might as well mention that while we step back 100 years in terms of caring about the environment, we certainly are managing, with this socialist government, to step forward 100 years in four years in terms of our provincial deficit. It took us 125 years to accumulate the provincial debt and in four years we will have doubled it. It is a nice thought if you want to be depressed.

This letter continues:

"It is clear by the legislation that the Interim Waste Authority is the proponent for the purpose of any environmental assessment to be undertaken under the Environmental Assessment Act. The IWA is not required to consider as alternatives anything beyond reduction, reuse, recycling or the use of other sites outside of Peel.

"Accordingly, the environmental assessment need not examine as alternatives possible sites such as Kirkland Lake, one site serving the whole of the GTA or require a comparative examination of the other sites to be provided by the IWA in other regions.

"As well, the environmental assessment to be prepared by the IWA is not required to evaluate as alternatives, (a) incineration; the legislation appears to be comprehensive in attempting to shut the door on incineration by ensuring it is not raised as part of the consideration of the alternative waste reduction, reuse and recycling."

I may interject there to say I totally agree with the government on item (a). I am totally opposed to incineration until we know we have a system that does not put the environment at risk.

"Item (b), transportation of waste beyond Peel, and item (c), multiple landfill sites; this would, for example, appear to remove from possible argument over alternatives the consideration of the equitable sharing of the waste disposal burden by the establishment of a number of sites."

This is what I was talking about. This legislation does not even give the possible argument over alternatives for the consideration of equitable sharing of the waste disposal burden by the establishment of a number of sites. That is what I was saying. If we could say to a municipality, again, "Let's have short-term sites"—or "interim" sites, you would think would be a good enough word—but not 20-year sites, and "Let's spread it around." If people think their property values are depreciated or there are other things they personally feel they are at risk from because a landfill site is established, at least if there were options to have more than one site, we could possibly establish it for a much shorter time and it would be a more equitable share.

"A smaller site that met the siting criteria but fell below the capacity established by the minister's estimates could not be considered.

"It would appear that the Interim Waste Authority is to be guided in the environmental assessment by policies to be established by the minister."

Is this not great? The Interim Waste Authority is to be guided in the environmental assessment by policies to be established by the minister. Is that not just bully? The Interim Waste Authority is not going to be guided in the environmental assessment by the Environmental Protection Act or the Environmental Assessment Act that this province has fortunately had for 20 years; it is going to be guided by policies to be established by the minister. In other words, we do not know what the guidelines are going to be. We have no clue what this minister or this socialist government is going to set out for an environmental assessment. There is no security whatsoever about how they are going to deal with this. What an irony. For 16 months they have been the government and 16 months later the policies still have to be established by the minister. We have a bill for which we do not even know what the policies are going to be.



The legislation specifically states that the corporation must use estimates of waste reduction, reuse and recycling provided by the minister. "Estimates provided by the minister." If they are as good as their estimates of what their deficit was going to be, we are in big trouble, really big trouble.

I am continuing to read the letter from Mr Kent Gillespie, the regional solicitor:

"It is unclear, however, whether the minister or the Interim Waste Authority will have the responsibility to establish and justify gross waste generation figures. Moreover, while the IWA will be planning capacity for the waste disposal site based on waste diversion targets established by the minister, there is a discrepancy between the mandate given to the IWA to plan on the basis of at least 20 years."

Is this not something? For example, the Interim Waste Authority must determine the period for which the site is to provide disposal 20 years and beyond, and the fact that the estimates are to be provided for a 20-year period.

1810

So here we are. We have estimates for a 20-year period, and they are only estimates, but the period for the landfill site is 20 years and beyond. That is like trying to play dominoes in the dark and trying to figure which one of the dominoes has fallen over. I do not think people understand what they have in this bill. Maybe this bill is written like Bill 121. Bill 121 is not on the order paper today; it is in the standing committee on general government committee. Bill 121 is a bill of this government, and they had more amendments to that bill than they had original sections. Now we have a bill that I am sure when it goes out to public hearings the government will bring in more amendments to it as well because obviously this legislation, after 16 months, is drafted in such a hurry it does not even make sense because it is so poorly drafted.

I do not particularly blame the staff because I can imagine how the staff have been scurrying around once the minister and the cabinet decide: "Wow, we'd better get on with this. We've been here 16 months. Now we'd better get something on. It's nine months since we promised the Interim Waste Authority. Oh, yes, we'll give them \$17 million. We'll get them going. We'll recover that money by double taxation again on the municipal residents."

I think this is really significant, the fact that there is a discrepancy between the mandate given to the Interim Waste Authority to plan on the basis of at least 20 years and the fact that the estimates are to be provided for a 20-year period.

The person approving the undertaking under the EAA, presently the minister, the Environmental Assessment Board or a joint board under the Consolidated Hearings Board, must make its decision consistent with the statutory provisions and have regard to the waste diversion estimates and the environmental assessment policies established by the minister. Again, the legislation is unclear what weight is to be given to those policies and estimates. That is the thing that is so ludicrous. As Mr Gillespie says, the legislation is unclear what weight is to be given to those policies and estimates. If you are going to plan something on an estimate and it is something so significant, would you not think perhaps the minister might have

the policies at least in place now? But they are not. This is really quite shallow. It is quite a show. It is a piece of legislation without policies.

There is a provision in the legislation for participant funding within the environmental assessment process. Section 16 of the bill contemplates that the policies of the minister to guide the environmental assessment will deal with the participant funding in the environmental assessment process. Participant funding is defined to mean funding to assist persons to participate in any part of the environmental assessment process to which the Intervenor Funding Project Act, 1988, does not apply. It, in effect, refers to funding of the process prior to the actual hearing. Actual details to what comprises the funding will have to be elaborated by regulation or ministerial policy. There again we have a section: "This is what we're going to do, but we don't really know what we're going to do yet because we've still got to establish the regulations and we've still got to establish the ministerial policy."

Explicit statutory authority is given to the contents of the minister's report under section 29 of the Environmental Protection Act. The EAA is not to apply. The minister may also amend or revoke her report. This presumably was provided to allow the minister to respond to changed circumstances. So we really do not know what we are getting. We have no idea what Bill 143 will be in the end in terms of its latitude of power and its latitude of impact.

If the Environmental Assessment Act is not to apply and the minister may also amend or revoke her report, where are we going here? We have a government which is saying: "Okay, pass Bill 143. Come on, we'll hold your hand. We'll go off for this walk down in the woods." Well, I can tell members that there are risks for us to decide that it is okay to go walking in the woods today. This is not a teddy bears' picnic. The implications of our being asked to vote blindly in support of Bill 143—even with all the gaps in it in terms of regulations and policies we are still being asked to support it. Yet the minister still has that final power. She can amend or revoke her report.

Peel is to comply with the minister's report, notwithstanding that an approval may be required under specified acts. The approval or consent that may be required by an act is deemed to be given. Peel must comply even if to do so would require the contravention of the agreement with Mississauga or of those specified acts. Compliance by Peel with the minister's report is deemed not to be a contravention. This part is really great. Here we have a situation where Peel may go one way and the city of Mississauga may go another, and there is no requirement for approval or consent.

Whatever happens when this bill goes through, Peel must follow. We have no powers at all. A hearing may not necessarily be held under section 30 of the Environmental Protection Act. The possibility of a hearing is left open, but it may not necessarily be held. The legislation contemplates as an alternative that submissions may simply be received by the director from the public and involve the municipalities. No hearing is required in respect to the submissions. Is that not great? No hearing is required in respect to those submissions.



Which avenue is pursued is presumably dependent on the time available before the exhaustion of the landfill capacity. Well, there we are. So if we are out of landfill capacity, we do not have any hearing at all. Now, that is the scariest part of all. Whether or not, in fact, there is a process here depends on how much time there is before we are out of landfill capacity.

I want to tell members we will be out of landfill capacity in the region of Peel in less than nine months from now. It may be quite a bit less. I do not want to be an alarmist, but the fact we are saying that this will be the process and these things will happen, that which avenue is pursued, whether we can have this much of a hearing or this long a submission or whether the submissions will be read or will be considered, all of that is dependent on the time available before the exhaustion of the landfill capacity.

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I say to the folks out there, it is pretty bad. There will not be any process; we will not be hearing from anybody. We will not be considering anything if we are out of landfill capacity. Thanks to this government, we have just lost another 16 months of landfill capacity. Thanks to this government, we have just lost another 16 months when we could have gone through some public process and evaluation.

The certificate of approval that would issue may contain terms overriding the agreement with Mississauga. Clause 18(2)(c) says the certificate of approval may contain terms "imposing any conditions that a regional, metropolitan or area municipality might have imposed under" the Municipal Act and the Regional Municipality of Peel Act and the Planning Act. What that section is saying is, with all of these other acts that have been in place for a long, long time—and if we talk about the Planning Act, we are not just talking about a piece of paper; we are talking about millions of dollars; when we talk about the millions of dollars that are spent on planning under the purview of the Planning Act in this province, we are talking about every planning department in every municipality in Ontario—suddenly, this bill is going to have precedence over all of these so it does not matter what agreements and what existing certificates of approval exist under those acts. It is not going to matter because this socialist government bill is just going to steamroller right over everything. For people who think they are protected by the Planning Act, is this not a laugh? Under the Planning Act, municipalities are able to establish secondary plans and official plans. They are able to designate zoning, designate land uses and in fact zone and rezone land under the Planning Act.

Is that not great? All those people who bought property anywhere in Ontario and thought they were safe because under the Planning Act there was a secondary plan and an official plan in place for their municipality and the land use designation was written out in those acts, suddenly they have no security at all. If they bought their property next to vacant lands that were zoned for a specific land use or designated for a specific land use, now this bill is saying: "Sorry, folks. The way things are, you know, we have to solve the waste management crisis and we may have to override those existing acts."

I do not think anybody in his worst nightmare could have dreamed up a worse piece of legislation than this. I do not think anybody would ever have thought that the Planning Act, into which millions of dollars have been poured in the execution of the planning acts around this province, would ever have been made vulnerable to another act saying: "Forget it, folks. There is vacant land there. Sure it was zoned for a park or maybe it was designated under the official plan for a future subdivision. Maybe you live in this subdivision and maybe there are acres and acres beside you that under the official plan have a land-use designation that is quite compatible to where you live, quite acceptable. You bought the house because you knew there was going to be a park there and maybe a shopping plaza there and maybe a school or maybe even different types of industrial-commercial or retail use, but at least you knew what was there and at least you were secure if the land was zoned for that purpose, zoned under the Planning Act."

Now we have a bill that says, "Sorry about that, folks, this new act can revoke the Planning Act and the Regional Municipalities Amendment Act and the Municipal Act. In other words, we have no security at all. This government, as I said earlier, comes in with its big claws, strips the municipalities of all their powers, takes the power away and says: "There's the bill, folks. That's the bill." The bill for some individuals may be the loss of real value of their property because the Planning Act that protected them with vacant land beside them, is now revoked.

This is where we get to the best part of this bill. It gets worse as we get further into the bill. Again I am reading from Mr Kent Gillespie, the regional solicitor of Peel's letter:

"If injurious affection results from implementation of the minister's report, an affected person is entitled to compensation in the same way as if the municipality had expropriated land from the person. The definition of injurious affection is used in the legislation in such a way that Peel may be liable for damages resulting from the use of the lift as opposed to simply construction of the lift.

"The only beneficiaries of this section will be the developers owning land surrounding the site. I would anticipate that these owners will make substantial claims for business losses. These claims relate solely to the speculative economic losses arising out of the continued operation of the landfill site past the date of its previously expected closure. They in no way relate to impacts upon the surrounding lands which could be mitigated by the region and over which the region has any means of control. To tip the scales so drastically in favour of the development industry is highly questionable. One might call the bill the 'Developers' Guaranteed Profit Act.'

"The region has already offered compensation on a without-prejudice basis for impacts which are in the nature of a nuisance to adjacent residential occupiers. A claim for injurious affection under section 19 will not give them the compensation which the region has offered. Injurious affection is limited to loss of market value, personal and business damages. It is quite probable that there is no loss of market value by the adjacent residential owners in view of the temporary nature of the landfill use. These owners suffer no business damages. The legal interpretation given



to 'personal damages' is limited to personal injuries. It will not support the kinds of compensation offered by the region.

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"The adjacent residential owners will be given no compensation under this section for the kinds of environmental impacts that they may experience. The only group that will benefit and the only group that will be able to obtain compensation will be the adjacent land developers.

"I would strongly recommend that this section be deleted from the bill. As a precedent, it could have province-wide implications for the entitlement to compensation for injurious affection, not only for waste disposal sites but also for other projects, including waste reduction, which will have an adverse effect on their implementation. A very great portion of the revenues from these sites will be diverted to compensate for speculative business losses by adjacent land developers. If you are in a position to support this recommendation, I would very much appreciate your communicating it to the senior ministry staff." This is a letter to Mayor Hazel McCallion.

Mr Speaker, this is where we get to compensation. If a land owner adjacent to the Britannia landfill site has property rights taken away—which is their right to develop their property—because of this legislation, frankly, I think they are entitled to compensation.

Where the irony deepens in this bill is, guess who pays for the compensation? It is not the socialist government that brings this legislation in. Oh, no. It does not pay for the implications of this bill on the property owners adjacent to the landfill site. The people who pay the cost of this bill are the taxpayers of Peel, the same taxpayers who have already paid \$5 million to find their own landfill site, who are well on the way to doing that. That was all resolved right to the week before their environmental assessment hearing was to start.

Here we have a bill that now says that if there are damages to the owners of the adjacent properties of any type of injurious affection—in other words, if they have lost business because they were not able to sell their lots, build their houses and make a profit—we do not only have the compensation of the land cost and land value; on top of that, we have the compensation for the business loss.

It gives all this power to the province, but the province does not pay the bill. This socialist government that seems to think it believes in the rights of people and campaigned for the rights of people does not even understand what this bill says.

This bill says: "We'll tell you what to do. We'll tell every municipality in this province whether or not it has to ignore the Planning Act. We'll tell every municipality whether or not it has to ignore the Municipal Act." And if there are costs associated to that, if it affects the land owners—in this case that are adjacent to the Britannia landfill site—because they cannot do anything with their land, their land is frozen—

As I said earlier, we have 5,000 housing units on hold. We have 10,000 person-hours of people not working, who could be building these 5,000 houses that are needed for people, but obviously this government does not care about that. And all of the costs of not doing business because this

government does not know how to manage waste, does not know what to do to solve the garbage crisis in the province—all of those costs, instead of being right at the feet of this government, and in particular, I suppose, at the feet of the Minister of the Environment—but somebody else is helping her make those decisions. I assume the cabinet has discussed this bill.

I wonder if the cabinet has discussed this bill. I wonder if, when members come to vote on the bill in cabinet, they realize the implications of it. Right now there are three cabinet ministers in the House. I doubt very much whether they could stand up and debate the contents of this bill. I doubt very much that any one of the three cabinet ministers in the House at this moment knows the implications to taxpayers of their policies and their directions in this bill. I doubt very much if they know that, after they take over all the power with these big claws that come in and grab the municipalities and strip them of control, they then turn around and say: "But you pay. We're going to tell you what to do in the municipalities in the greater Toronto area, we're going to tell you where to expand your sites, we're going to tell you where new sites will be, but you're going to pay for it." These are the people in Peel, at least, whom I know of, who have already paid for it. As I said, they have paid for it through the nose.

Now we have something different here. We have "injurious affection," to use a legal term from Kent Gillespie. We've got a little job here now that goes even further. We're really in trouble now. We're saying that not only will we not let you do what you want to do, region of Peel, but we're going to make you pay for what we want you to do. We're going to tell you what to do, and we're going to make you pay for it.

"Developers' Guaranteed Profit Act"—strong term. The developers have lost a right to develop their lands while their lands have been frozen for this past year around the Britannia landfill site. I am sympathetic to that. I am also very sympathetic to the people who are out of work who could have been building those houses. I am most sympathetic to the property taxpayers in the region of Peel who are going to have to carry the total cost of this legislation.

It is only the cost of process. That is the terrible part. If we have to start paying compensation to the land owners around the site, which I respectfully suggest will be millions of dollars, what will we have at the end of it? We will have a bill at the end of it; that is all. We will not have a landfill site. We are talking about an extension. We are talking about adding a lift to the Britannia landfill site. We will not have a new site. Would it not be wonderful to think that we have already spent \$5 million to \$8 million in Peel on a landfill site? We do not have a new one. We are going to spend some more money, pay some more bills at the direction of this socialist government, but we still will not have new landfill site. We will have an existing landfill site whose capacity has been extended by allowing it to build higher, totally in violation of an agreement with the neighbouring community and approved by the Ontario Municipal Board.

All of that is bad enough, but on top of it, we are now going to pay another bill. It is called compensation. The



risk to the property taxpayers in Peel, who cannot afford this government's policies as it is, the people in Peel who find that their Hydro rates are going up 14.5% next year because of the initiatives of this government, the people of Peel who find that their cost of survival is going up every day because of the policies and initiatives of this provincial government, now have yet another bill on their property taxes, to fund the implications of this legislation. The power that this legislation that is before us today gives to the area takes from the area municipalities.

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Now let's talk about section 4 of this November 28, 1991, letter to Mayor McCallion from Kent Gillespie. It deals with amendments to the Environmental Protection Act.

"Under this part of the bill, the minister is given the power to:

"(a) establish waste management systems, waste disposal sites and programs concerning the reduction of waste or the reuse or recycling of materials that are or could become waste,

"(b) make grants for the planning and operation of programs to encourage reduction of waste and the reuse and recycling of materials, and,

"(c) establish and operate waste management systems or waste disposal sites.

"Any of her powers may now be delegated to the director."

Let me say right off the top that I agree with everything to do with recycling, reduction and reuse. It almost makes me laugh to think about the number of hours that I have sat in this House with the present Minister of the Environment. We have sat on this side of the House and we have agreed on all of these things. We have agreed about the urgency of resolving the need to establish new markets for recycled products. We have agreed to the need to reduce waste before it begins; for example, to reduce packaging. We have agreed in opposition about the need to reuse materials.

But in the 16 months that this government has been in office, have we see any initiatives where it is bringing forward new policies to reuse, reduce and recycle? The answer is no. They cannot even get their act together about what percentage of refillable bottles we should require of the soft drink industry. Everything this minister stood for in opposition—I do not know where it has gone. I do not know whether when she sits at the cabinet table, she maybe has her hands tied behind her back. Maybe she wants to say all the same things she said when she was the critic for the Environment at the same time that I was critic for the Environment for our party. Maybe she does.

I have never sat in a cabinet meeting and I have no idea how it works. I assume somebody chairs it. Perhaps they rotate the chairmanship. Perhaps they take turns. Maybe there is a hierarchy between senior ministers and more junior ministers and junior portfolios of who gets to speak and comment on the items on the agenda. All I know is that this minister is not the same person she was when she was on this side of the House as critic for the Environment. She is not.

We have a piece of legislation here, Bill 143, that gives her tremendous powers, powers to override all existing

statutes that are of significance to the operation of municipalities in this province and, I may add, to the rights of the people who live in those municipalities. It is like she is now inside some big box. She has not stepped into a room with windows where she can still see outside and relate to the real world. It is like she is on the inside of a big, black box and is not relating to the real world.

If we are talking about the fact that she will have a power to establish recycling, reduction and reuse of materials—ha, she has that power today. She is the Minister of the Environment. She does not need Bill 143 to improve her powers in terms of the 3R programs in this province. She had those powers for 16 months and we have not seen anything.

I remember this minister was very upset, as I was, when the former Liberal government established the tire tax. Now, is that not an example for members, where we were told that we would all pay \$5 a tire for tax and that it was a good thing? The \$5 tax was going to go to the disposal of used tires, whether through recycling or some form of reuse, but in any case a safe disposal of tires, environmentally speaking.

I remember placing an amendment where it would be part of that bill that the \$5 per tire would be designated for environmental programs, for the safe disposal of used tires, so that \$5 would not be lost in the great black hole of the general revenue fund. I also remember very well that the Liberal government chose not to accept my amendment, so everybody paid the \$5 tire tax, thinking it was going to go to programs for the safe disposal of tires. Now it is almost two years later and I understand that the amount of money that has been taken in is over \$200 million and we still do not have a tire recycling or safe disposal program.

That minister was concerned about that when she was over here. I know she was. I have not taken the time to look up the Hansards, but I could have come in with a stack of Hansards and read into the record all kinds of quotes about the concerns this minister had about the same issues that I am concerned about as an environmentalist and that the people in this province are concerned about. When we are dealing with the subject of waste management, sure, the best thing we can do to save money and work towards a resolution of the crisis of what to do with our garbage is to reduce it. We all know that. But this minister cannot even make a decision on what percentage of reusable containers the soft drink industry should be required to provide.

It is almost as though she becomes mute at the cabinet table or, worse, a piece of legislation like Bill 143 comes in and nobody discusses it. All the other ministers are busy. They all have their own portfolios and their own bills they want to get through and their own concerns. I can perhaps respect the fact that they do not have the time to get into this legislation, but they certainly should be briefed before they agree that a piece of legislation like this, which strips the rights of the people of this province, comes into this House. I do not know how they could support this legislation being tabled on 24 October 1991.

Now we read that any of her powers may be delegated to the director. I do not have any difficulty with the powers



that make grants under the Environmental Protection Act for planning and operating programs to encourage reduction of waste or the reuse or recycling of materials, etc, but we do not need this legislation for that. Not only do I not have any difficulty with it, I support the 3Rs, as I said, 100%.

However, it also says, under the amendments to the Environmental Protection Act, "Under this part of the bill, the minister is given the power to establish and operate waste management systems and waste disposal sites." Here is the crux of the matter. They have the power to establish the sites and they have the power under this bill to put municipalities through redundant re-examinations.

Mr Speaker, there is not a quorum in the House. I do not think we should continue.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Clerk, is there a quorum?

**Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees:** A quorum is not present, Speaker.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan) ordered the bells rung.  
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**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** A quorum being now present, the member can resume debate.

**Mrs Marland:** Thank you, Mr Speaker. The problem with the 74 government members is that, other than about 14, they do not know the kinds of gamesmanship entered into during debate when their party was speaking in opposition to bills similar to Bill 143.

The concern about the establishment of waste disposal sites is, who pays for them? The province has the power now and tells the municipalities totally what they have to do and what they are responsible for doing, but who pays for it?

"The definitions of 'waste,' 'waste disposal site' and 'waste management system' are much broader. For example, 'waste' now includes materials designated by the regulations and 'arrangements' for the management of waste are part of a system. In fact, the definitions are such that it is difficult to delineate the difference between a 'system' and a 'disposal site.'

"A new section 29 has addressed specifically the powers contemplated by the old section 29 and at the same time has delegated the power to the director. For eg, the bill gives clear authority to the director to direct Peel to accept waste from places outside Peel. Arguably, the powers have been expanded. The director may specifically direct that a municipality undertake waste management planning and to implement the plan. Of note is the fact that an order by the director may direct a municipality, not only to accept, but to transport waste from a source outside the boundaries of a municipality."

I have just had a note placed on my desk, I think very dramatically, by the government whip. I do appreciate the fact that the government whip would bring me a note. It is the first note I have had from a government whip. It is handwritten and, I am sorry, I cannot read it. I can understand by her body language that whatever the note says, it is probably not a compliment, so I think I will choose to read it when I am able to read it. It is funny, is it not, how cross people get?

As I say, the government members are at a disadvantage. I cannot accuse them of having short memories, except those members who were in this House prior to their election as the government. They know quite well what long debates are about.

The debate on Bill 143 is significant because of the fact that the bill strips the right of the people of this province to protection. It strips the right of the environment, never mind the people, to be protected.

"In fact the definitions are such that it is difficult to delineate the difference between a 'system' and a 'disposal site,'" the letter says. "A new section 29 has addressed specifically the powers contemplated by the old section 29 as I was saying and at the same time has delineated the power to the director.... Of note is the fact that an order by the director may direct a municipality, not only to accept, but to transport waste from a source outside the boundary of a municipality."

Can members believe that? Can members believe that this legislation gives the power to the director—it does not have to be the minister, just the director—to say to a municipality, "Not only must you accept waste from outside your boundary, waste that is generated from some other municipality, but you may even have to transport it as well." And guess who pays: the local area municipality within whose boundary the landfill site exists.

"The legislation provides a statutory framework for regulations to be passed on packaging and the disposal of products. The packaging provisions are quite broad given that it is an offence to even use any packaging or container or dispose of any product contrary to the act and the regulations, including any product that the regulations declare to be products that pose waste management problems."

That is fairly straightforward. That could have been brought in 16 months ago. It did not have to be tied into this. It is funny, is it not, how some of these sections are quite straightforward? I am sure it did not take 16 months to think them up.

**Hon Mr Ferguson:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I am wondering if the opposition could make its points in a little more concise, succinct manner. We have a number of pieces of legislation to get through the House between now and when we break for Christmas.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** The member for Kitchener does not have a point of order. The member for Mississauga South is speaking to the topic and may continue.

**Mrs Marland:** Thank you for your ruling, Mr Speaker. I appreciate the comment from the member for Kitchener, the same Minister of Energy who imports \$7 million worth of lightbulbs from the province of Quebec for promotion by Ontario Hydro. Hardly a base from which to make any comment. Certainly one would think a minister of the crown knows what a point of order is, and obviously he does not know what a point of order is.

Interjection.

**Mrs Marland:** Anyway, the fact remain that the lightbulbs came from Quebec to be distributed by Ontario Hydro.



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Interjection.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order, please. Member for Mississauga South, please direct your comments to the Chair; you will find there will be less controversy. I would ask all members of the House to please follow the rules of order.

**Mrs Marland:** Thank you, Mr Speaker. I am glad you are here because I needed you earlier today when there were even more interjections than there are now. I appreciate your being a firm person in the Chair.

The regulation-making power under part V of the act is now extended. Under the present regulations the minister can prescribe standards for waste management systems and for the location, maintenance and operation of waste disposal sites. Under the new contemplated regulations, the minister may prescribe requirements for waste management systems and waste disposal sites in relation to, among others, planning, siting, public notification and consultation, establishment of facilities and staffing.

Is this not something? The minister is going to be able to do everything to do with waste management—everything except pay for it, right down to staff. They are now going to tell us how many staff to hire. This is really neat. They are not only going to tell us from a planning perspective, a siting perspective, the establishment of what kind of facilities, public notification and consultation, and they are going to tell us how many staff to hire, but they are not paying for it. The operation of facilities, the maintenance of facilities, the monitoring of the facilities, record-keeping and the reports of the director—why do they not take over the whole thing? I do not understand this.

When the responsibility for waste management was given to regional municipalities around this province, there was a reason for that. It was because at the same time regional municipalities were given the responsibility for planning so the regional municipalities could decide where was the best place to have a landfill site. They could decide that this was going to be their new corporate-industrial area, for example, and a landfill site would not be appropriate beside it.

We have large corporate headquarters of two major corporations in Mississauga. Glaxo, one of the largest pharmaceutical companies in Canada and in fact, I understand, in the world, is in the riding of the member for Mississauga North. Across the road is Syntex, another major pharmaceutical company. There are other major corporate headquarters that are built in the northwest quadrant of the city of Mississauga. There is also vacant land around them.

Is it not wonderful that we now are giving the power to the provincial minister responsible for waste management about where we are going to site our facilities? We are saying, "You can plan your cities however you like, but we will tell you where to put your landfill sites, we will tell you where your garbage dumps go."

I do not know how this government thinks it can get away with this legislation, frankly. When these municipalities have spent the millions of dollars that they have—I can speak from experience with the city of Mississauga; I was

on that council for seven years, and I know how much we spent on planning—we do not need a piece of legislation to tell us to hold public meetings. We hold all kinds of public meetings in the city of Mississauga. It is the most open government. This socialist government could learn something from the Mississauga city council, both past and present councils, I would say.

We do not need this government to tell us how to be fair to land owners, because we plan land use in a way that is fair, equitable and relative to existing land uses adjacent. But not now with this legislation. We have got a minister who is going to come in and has power over everything: what type of facilities, how they are to operate, as I say, how many staff we hire. That also is pretty scary. The way this government works, it is likely to tell us to hire twice as much staff as we need just to keep its union friends in work. That will probably be the outcome. It will probably make sure that everybody who works for us is replaced and everything that is operated meets its quota system.

We know what their labour law reforms are all about. I am sure when they can control our staffing through this legislation, that means their labour law reforms are going to go with it too. They are not only going to tell us who to hire and how to hire, they are going to tell us how long they are going to work and what kind of job they are going to do, and if they go on strike whether we can replace them. As I say, they are going to have control over everything to do with the management of waste except pay for it.

Therefore, in addition to conditions imposed by a certificate of approval, the regulations may prescribe additional requirements on a waste management site. The new regulations would include specifically the ability to prescribe requirements for the planning of waste management systems and requirements in relation to public notification and consultation. Of importance is the fact that the regulations could govern the manner in which municipalities carry out the financial management of their waste management activities. This would include regulations pertaining to how the waste reserve funds of municipalities are handled.

Provincial officers would be able to inspect such records required to be retained by the act or the regulations. Now, we are not only saying to the regional municipalities, "You must pay for everything." Under this section of the act, we are going to say to them: "We want to know how much money you've got. We want to know how much money is in your reserve funds and we're going to have regulations." We—not we in opposition but we the government, we Big Brother, those socialists sitting over there—are going to say to area municipalities: "Open your books. We want to know how much money you've got in your reserve funds."

What about responsible municipalities like the region of Peel and the city of Mississauga? The city of Mississauga is debt-free. How many municipalities in North America can say they are debt-free? The city of Mississauga is debt-free. So here we are. We have got municipalities both in the region of Peel and the city of Mississauga—I cannot speak for Brampton or Caledon, but I see the member for Brampton North coming in and he will speak well and eloquently for Brampton, I know.



He also had the inside track because he was parliamentary assistant to the then Minister of the Environment.

But here we are now. We are going to have regulations pertaining to how the waste reserve funds of municipalities are handled. We are not only going to say to these municipalities, "How much money do you have in your reserve funds?" but we are going to tell them how to spend it. They are going to take the money that the taxpayers have already paid and that is in a reserve fund. The reason it is in a reserve fund, I should say, is because we have been paying very wisely to establish a reserve fund for the cost of establishing our new landfill site. Now we have got this Big Brother socialist government again coming in with its big claws, saying, "We'll not only tell you how to do it, where to do it, how many staff to hire, but we're also going to tell you how to spend your money."

When I said earlier this afternoon, "Welcome to Russia, with love," it really was an incorrect slam on Russia, because Russia does not have that kind of junk any more. Thank goodness for the benefit of people who have lived under socialism in the eastern European countries and in the USSR. They are fortunate now because they do not have to have that kind of stuff any more, that kind of doctrine, that kind of policy, that kind of control that we do in Ontario. That is what we have to look forward to in Ontario.

This government is going to go into a municipality and say: "We want to see how much money is in your bank. We're going to tell you, through our regulations, how you can spend it." That money has nothing to do with this government. That is money that the taxpayers in the region of Peel and the city of Mississauga have paid through their property taxes. It has nothing to do with this government. They have already paid it all out of one pocket in their property taxes. They have already given everything out of the other pocket to the provincial and federal governments through their income tax.

1910

Now we are going to have a situation where provincial officers would be able to inspect such records required to be retained by the act or the regulations. A colleague of mine in this caucus, the member for Etobicoke West, often stands up in this House and holds up this sign that says, "Call Police." He usually holds it up at the point where we hear that there has been yet another inquiry into opposition offices that are being inspected by the police as to how they received source documents. Maybe the source documents have been received in their offices by the plain brown envelope route, and they may have been confidential, relevant documents from the cabinet meetings—perhaps. Even on this subject of waste management, we have had some, shall I say, leaks from the government.

Now here we are with a situation where we do not have to worry about whether we are going to be investigated or whether we are going to have to give over the books of the region of Peel about how much money we have in our waste reserve funds. It says it right in the act. Provincial officers will be able to inspect such records. Is this not something? There is no question. We have got it right now. We have got the—what shall we call them? The garbage police? Actually, I need the member for Etobicoke

West in here to give me the suggestions for the names of these so-called provincial officers. He probably will come up with a really good name.

**Mr Chiarelli:** It is a police state all the way around.

**Mrs Marland:** That is true.

**Mr Harris:** Except when it comes to policing.

**Mrs Marland:** I think the member for Ottawa West has just said it. It goes to confirm that we are getting closer and closer to a police state all the way around, except, as my leader the member for North Bay—

**Mr Mills:** No, no.

**Mrs Marland:** Pardon me, the member for Nipissing. My apologies to the member for Nipissing for not giving the correct name of his riding.

As my leader says, yes, we have a police state, except for what we really need and understand as policing.

**Mr Harris:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I do not think the NDP care very much about this bill. I am not sure there is a quorum present in the House.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Will the Clerk check the quorum please?

**Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals:** There is a quorum present.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** A quorum is present. The member for Mississauga South will continue.

**Mr Chiarelli:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I hear comments that there has been an agreement between the House leaders with respect to the nature of this debate. I am just wondering whether or not—

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order, please. The member does not have a point of order. There may be some information you require, but it is not a point of order.

Interjection.

**Mrs Marland:** The member for Durham East yells out, "We had an agreement that we were not going to call quorums during supper time." I want to say that the people in the region of Peel and the city of Mississauga could not care less about whether the people in this Legislature break for supper. What they care about is the \$7 million, \$8 million, \$9 million or \$10 million that this bill is going to have to be paid for by them on their property taxes.

There will be people in the region of Peel, I suggest to the member for Durham East, who will not be able to afford supper, never mind have time to eat it. We are all elected to work in this Legislature and I think we are into some kind of gamesmanship here where the member is more concerned about having his supper—

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order. We can put an end to the gamesmanship immediately if the member for Mississauga South will address the bill.

Interjections.

**Mr Harris:** We have all these interjections and she is going to have to respond.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order.



**Mr Harris:** If you can control the yapping from the NDP members, the member for Mississauga South will be delighted to address the bill.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order. Will the member take his seat, please. The Chair has already ruled. The member for Mississauga South has the floor.

**Mrs Marland:** In speaking to this bill, and since the time is now 7:15 and I have been speaking for almost three hours, I think it is fair to tell you that I did receive a note from the government whip that said: "There was an agreement not to call quorum during dinner. Do you have a problem with that?" Signed, "Shirley."

My own whip has just told me that there was no such agreement. I did feel, in fairness, that while I was speaking, when all these trained seals over here were yapping about, "You shouldn't call a quorum because we have this agreement," it was unfair for the government whip to place this note on my desk when there was no such agreement.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan):** Order. It is in order for any member of this House to call for a quorum at any time. I ask the member to put this behind us and to get on with the topic of the debate that is before us.

**Mrs Marland:** I will get on with the debate. It is ironic that with 20 in our caucus and 74 in theirs they are so upset when I called a quorum.

New clauses 136(4)(k), (l) and (m) would provide general authority by regulation to require those matters that the director may also direct under the new section 29 of the Environmental Protection Act. The new regulations could also require municipalities to submit plans concerning waste management, which would be prescribed by regulations, to seek any approval required to implement those plans. Clause 136(4)(r) also states that the regulations may regulate the waste management activities of municipalities.

Authority is provided for the anticipated regulations that will come into effect to mandate source separation. We do not even have the regulations, of course, because it is always the same deal: We have to get the legislation through and then we get the regulations. Of course, the shroud that everybody hides behind in terms of regulations is, "We can pass whatever kind of legislation they want, but the real implications are in the regulations." The travesty of this system—the system was established before they were the government of course—is that when we pass legislation in this House, which we do get to debate, the implementation of the legislation is dependent upon the regulations and we do not get to debate the regulations.

1920

"Clause 136(4)(t) may deem a certificate of approval to exist in respect of a waste management system or a waste disposal site." This particular clause provides the basis for the permit by rule provisions which are being developed by the ministry.

"There are two broad policy issues created by the legislative amendments to the EPA:

"(a) The potential dichotomy between the waste management responsibilities of municipalities and the control over that municipality; and

"(b) the uncertainty created for municipalities by the amendments."

That is exactly what I have been saying for the last three hours. Here we are, the potential dichotomy between the waste management responsibilities of municipalities and the control over that municipality. The fact is that the uncertainty for municipalities can be created by amendments. Municipalities are never going to know what they are doing. They are never going to know when the game changes. They are never going to know when the rules change. All they are going to know for sure is that these police—they are called "provincial officers." I am still waiting for the member for Etobicoke West to give me the proper name for these provincial officers. I really think we should call these provincial officers the garbage police, because the garbage police are going to come into the municipalities and tell them how to do everything, including: "Open your books and tell us how much money you've got. We'll tell you how much to spend."

Bill 143 does not amend the regional acts. At the present time, the waste disposal power and the statutory obligation in respect of the management of waste reside with the regions. The powers given to the IWA are permissive only. Section 3 of the legislation simply states that certain powers are given to the IWA "for the purpose of establishing landfill waste disposal sites." It appears that a discussion paper will be forthcoming on the role of municipalities in waste management, including its relationship between government and the private sector. Is this not great? Now we have this bill—

**Mr B. Murdoch:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I do not believe we have a quorum here, sir.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Farnan) ordered the bells rung.  
1926

**Mrs Marland:** Now here we have the situation where we are going to pass this bill, okay? We are going to pass Bill 143. Then we are going to get a discussion paper on the role of municipalities in waste management, including the relationship between government and the private sector. So we are going to pass the bill and we are going to tell the municipalities what to do and we are going to make sure the local property taxpayers pay for whatever we tell them to do, and then we are going to have a discussion paper and go and talk about the role of municipalities in waste management. It is unbelievable. After we have passed the legislation that gives all kinds of power to the minister, we are then going to have a discussion paper and go and ask the municipalities about their role in waste management.

What are we doing here? Is this government so confused that it does not understand what this bill is doing, that it does not understand what it is about? The government cannot take over the business of waste management from the municipalities and then ask them to be part of a discussion paper on their role. It is like saying to a child: "Now look, you've been really bad. You're not responsible and you'd better go to your room for an hour." Then after he has been in his room for an hour, you go back to him and say: "Okay, now let's talk about your role, your being bad. Let's talk about the role now, and the responsibilities."



The people of Ontario do not have time for this nonsense. It is an insult to the people of this province—a total, absolute insult. It is not a solution; it is a complication. It takes away the rights of people, it takes away the rights of municipalities and it wastes money. That is the worst thing, because it spends money without a solution and it makes people pay twice. We do not have time for this, but unfortunately this government is bound and determined to pass this legislation.

Is it not nice? They are going to have a discussion paper about the relationship between government and the private sector. What have they been discussing for 16 months? What has been going on for 16 months? Certainly we know what has gone on in this session. I do not know how many bills have been passed in this session—nothing very significant.

Do members know what is going to happen? We are now into night sittings. Right now it is 7:30 at night. We are sitting till midnight tonight and every other night before Christmas, and the reason we are doing it is that this government has been in office 16 months and it has decided it had better get some legislation through. The big sham, the big betrayal of the people of Ontario is that they are going to say to us—I have not been in the House leaders' meeting for a while, but we all know how it works: "If you pass these bills, we won't make you sit XYZ, we won't call the House back. If you don't pass these bills, we'll make you sit every night between now and Christmas because we want to get these bills through."

Their bills are so great they think the public does not need to know what is going on. They do not want to have the public know what is going on, so they will start ramming stuff through.

This is my seventh Christmas here. I know how it works. It worked with the previous government the same way. Suddenly they decide, "Well, we had better look like we've done something, so we'll bring in all these bills," and the government House leader insists that bills so-and-so and so-and-so get passed. That is what we are doing with this bill. We are passing this bill and this government does not even understand what it contains. They do not even understand the implications for the future of this province.

"Assuming, however, that Peel continues to play an operational role in waste management, Bill 143 represents what may be considered an unprecedented and fundamental intrusion of provincial control over the actual waste management responsibilities of Peel."

This letter is not written by a politician. This letter is not written by somebody elected to office who is taking a partisan position. One of the many good things about the region of Peel politicians in all the municipalities—in Caledon, Brampton and Mississauga—is that they are not partisan. They do not vote in a partisan way.

In any case, this letter is written by the regional solicitor, R. Kent Gillespie, to Mayor Hazel McCallion. This young gentleman has no reason to make a partisan statement. He is simply making a statement of fact. If it were not a statement of fact, he would not have it in his letter, because his professional ethics would not permit him to make this statement. Again, this is what it says:

"Assuming, however, that Peel continues to play an operational role in waste management, Bill 143 represents what may be considered an unprecedented and fundamental intrusion of provincial control over the actual waste management responsibilities of Peel. The province will now be regulating extensively in program planning and implementation, not just in setting facility standards and in granting approvals. The province will be regulating, for example, waste management planning, including control over when to seek approval and implementation of facilities and the manner of financial waste management. In fact, the bill states that the regulations under the legislation may regulate all waste management activities.

"The minister is also given power to establish and operate waste management systems, waste disposal sites and programs concerning the reduction of waste or the reuse or recycling of materials that are or could become waste. This would represent 'residual power,' even if all waste management was statutorily assigned to upper tier municipalities.

"Uncertainty is created by the breadth of detail that is left to the regulations." And here is the crux of the matter: "The regulation-making power has been broadened considerably but with a scarcity of information on what is intended by the legislation and in the absence of determining the appropriate division of waste management responsibilities amongst the levels of government."

This is what I said a few minutes ago. It is not Bill 143 that is before us today in the House; it is not what is printed in here—we are concerned about what is printed in here, but what we are really concerned about is what is not printed in here and what is not even written yet.

If this Minister of the Environment is the same as the Minister of Housing, who, when we were dealing with Bill 121, said, "I am still thinking about it"—I asked her some questions and she said, "Oh, well, there are some parts of that bill I am still thinking about." What a gall. What an insult to the people of this province to bring forward legislation that they say they are still thinking about.

I will say one thing: The people of this province will still be thinking about this kind of regressive, draconian legislation when the next election comes around. The people of this province will not sit back and see their local area municipalities stripped of all the control of what goes on in those municipalities. They will not forget. The people of this province are too bright and too sophisticated not to know what is going on. They may not know today, while we are talking about this, because I am sure that for most of them this is very boring. It is very technical and they do not understand the implications. But when they get to pay their property tax bill and the dollar figures are there, they will understand. They will understand why their property taxes have gone up because of the policies and some of the lack of initiative by this socialist government.

We talk about a breadth of regulation, and we are reading a letter written by someone who is not a politician. It is simply a reporting letter. This is not a policy letter. It is not a partisan letter. It is not anything except a reporting letter from the regional solicitor of Peel to the mayor of the city of Mississauga. "The regulation-making power has been broadened considerably but with a scarcity of information



on what is intended by the legislation and in the absence of determining the appropriate waste management responsibilities amongst the levels of government." Even with this Bill 143, we still do not know what level of government is really going to be responsible for what. We just know that this socialist government is coming in and stripping away the powers. We still do not know what the responsibility will be of the area municipalities, except the responsibility to pay.

As I keep saying, the bill is here. "Mr Property Taxpayer, the bill is here. You pay. We direct. You pay. You don't have any say, you don't have any rights, but you pay."

All waste management activities could be regulated. That means everything that is not in this bill can be done by regulation. I again say that my colleagues in the Progressive Conservative caucus do not have an opportunity to debate the regulations. It is almost like it is under the table. Some of the regulations are still in the mind of the minister, I suppose, because we do not know what they are, and when the regulations are written, we will not have any opportunity to debate them.

For example, regulations could be passed prescribing requirements for waste management systems and disposal sites, and those regulations may add a layer of regulation to the conditions established by a certificate of approval, including changes to those conditions. In other words, regulations can do anything.

What is really interesting is that, through regulation, this government could require the region of Peel and therefore the city of Mississauga taxpayers and the city of Brampton and town of Caledon taxpayers to have all kinds of waste management systems. The world is its oyster. It could require any kind of waste management it wants. It may decide, "This is the best waste management system, in our opinion, and this is what you are going to do in Peel and this is how you are going to do it." But who pays for it?

Again, I come back to the fact that, through regulation, the government can control everything we do, but the taxpayers in Peel pay for it.

"Uncertainty is also created by the extensive delegation to the director. Under the new section 29 of the EPA, for example, the director can order a municipality to prepare a waste management plan, to seek approval for a plan and to implement the plan. Such an issue should be governed either by legislation in its own right or comprehensive regulations on waste management planning." Is it not incredible that a director—we are not even talking about the minister here; we are talking about an agent of the minister. We are certainly not talking about a piece of legislation. We are talking about a person at the director level. He or she can order a municipality to prepare a waste management plan and can order it to implement that plan.

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There is nothing this director cannot do, really. No matter what the cost, no matter whether it is—I say to some of the rural members from some of the smaller municipalities around this province that they had better be worried about this. They had better be very concerned about this, because whether they have money or not in their local municipality, this all-powerful director can come in and tell them what

to do, how to do it and to go ahead and do it—not only that they have to plan it, but that they have to implement it as well. Such an issue should be governed by legislation, not by a directive from the staff person. It should not be left to ad hoc decision-making by the director.

"Another example is the ability of the director under the same section to order a municipality to accept, process or otherwise deal with waste that is specified in the order." That is the part that all these people who do not understand what is in this bill will be shocked about when they get to know what the bill contains. There is an ability within the legislation to force a municipality "to accept, process or otherwise deal with waste that is specified in the order."

On the surface, it sounds like the expansion of Britannia is only going to deal with Peel's garbage. That is the first step. The same with Keele Valley—just the first step. But once this piece of legislation goes through, we do not get a chance to debate the next step. If we do not have a solution to the garbage crisis a year or two or three or four years from now, "Welcome to Bob Rae's socialist Ontario, where we tell you what to do, and you pay." That is what it will be.

All this acreage of land that I talked about that surrounds the Britannia landfill site, the 1,200 acres of developable land—I am sure this government is pretty excited. It is probably thinking: "We won't have to worry about where to put the landfill site. We'll just keep expanding Britannia. Why wouldn't we? It's not like Britannia is surrounded by houses and development." There are 1,200 vacant acres, essentially. There are a few houses on those acreages, but the fact is that those few houses are owned by the developers.

Now, if you do not think, Mr Speaker, that when we get into that box of whether we pile the garbage in the tennis courts or the parks or the schoolyards, and whether we expand Britannia into this 1,200 acres of vacant land, that this is not an option they will consider. When we get down to a greater emergency than we have now, regrettably, I think this is an option they will be looking at. If I am a developer and I cannot build my houses on my land, I might as well sell it and let the garbage dump expand.

Guess who pays? Guess who will pay for the expansion of that site and the purchase of that land? The same people who have already paid the compensation for the loss of business because those developers have not been able to build those homes. This is all able to happen at the word, at the whim, at the direction of a director—not a minister, not even a deputy minister, but a director.

I know we have different ranks of civil servants, but I think when we are talking about millions of dollars of taxpayers' money, I am sorry, with all due respect to directors—and I know many of our directors in the Ontario civil service are highly qualified, capable, committed people. I feel sorry for them right now, of course, working for this socialist government.

I do not detract from their individual abilities at whatever level of appointment they serve, but I simply say you do not give this job to a director to direct multimillions of dollars and put at risk the financial stability of a region or a municipality that is debt-free. You just do not allow it to



happen. But this bill allows it to happen and the fact is that if another municipality is in trouble, perhaps our municipality, with its 1,200 vacant acres, might have to accept another municipality's waste.

There is no security. I might as well take this glass and pretend it is a crystal ball, look into and say, "Oh, tell me, crystal ball, what's in the future for the management of waste in Ontario?" That glass can tell me how much security there is for the future of waste management in this province. This bill cannot tell me that—a big fat zero. I can see right through that glass. I cannot see right through the bill and, worse than that, I cannot see the regulations, because the regulations have not yet been written.

The bill decides that a director has certain power, but the regulations are going to decide how garbage is going to be managed in the future in this province. The only thing that is in the bill is that the local property taxpayers pay.

"The ability is not circumscribed by any conditions as to the existence of an emergency or to the reasonableness of the order."

What that says is, "We can order you to accept waste from other municipalities at a cost, but it does not have to be an emergency." While the decision of the director may be appealed to the Environmental Appeal Board, which may substitute its decision for that of the director, the final decision is outside that of the municipality and is at the discretion of the Environmental Appeal Board in its consideration of the public interest.

If that is not the final nail in the coffin, what that says is that the director may give orders to a municipality about what it will do, what it will plan, what it will implement and so forth, all the stuff I have already talked about. The municipality may say: "Wait a minute, we don't like this. This isn't going to work in our municipality," or more seriously, they may say it is not affordable. "We can't afford it. We don't have any waste reserve funds." They do not have the history of strong financial management that the region of Peel and the city of Mississauga have. They say, "Just a minute, we don't agree with you, as a director," so they appeal it to the Environmental Appeal Board.

Then the Environmental Appeal Board, in its discretion, has to consider the public interest. We can be sure that if we have something like the Britannia landfill site sitting there in the city of Mississauga with 1,200 vacant, developable acres around it, and they have garbage piling up in the vacant lots and parks, tennis courts, schoolyards, whatever, in one of the Metropolitan Toronto municipalities, there will not be much choice about where the public interest is. The public interest will be to get that garbage buried and get rid of the risk to human health which exists when garbage is not treated and managed properly. So the Environmental Appeal Board now becomes the body making the decision in the public interest.

In closing my comments, having now completed the reporting letter from Mr R. Kent Gillespie, the regional solicitor, regional municipality of Peel, dated November 28, 1991, if we are really talking about the public interest and we are talking about the future of this province, I say to all members in this House that they should be ashamed to vote for Bill 143.

I say to members and to the member for Etobicoke West, I was looking for a name for these provincial officers who can go in and inspect books, and I was not able to come up with a good name for them—

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**Mr Stockwell:** Waste watchers.

**Mrs Marland:** They are more than waste watchers; they are money watchers as well.

I simply say that to pass Bill 143, knowing how bad it is in some of its sections and knowing the implications and the risk of stripping away the rights of municipalities, is one thing, but what is even worse is knowing that through this legislation we empower the minister to bring forth all kinds of regulations over which we have no control and which we no opportunity to debate. This bill is not the solution—

**Mr Stockwell:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I do not believe there is a quorum.

**Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals:** A quorum is present, Speaker.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** A quorum is present. The honourable member for Mississauga South has the floor.

**Mrs Marland:** I say simply that this legislation, which is entitled An Act respecting the Management of Waste in the Greater Toronto Area and to amend the Environmental Protection Act, is not that. It is respecting the management of waste in the greater Toronto area, but the irony is it is not about the management of waste in the greater Toronto area. It is about the loss of democracy in this province. That is what it is about.

It is not about a solution for the waste crisis. It is not about finding an answer to what to do with our garbage. It is about changing history. It is about ignoring statutes that have stood to serve the people of this province for many years and the fact that we now are deciding priorities based on urgency but not on the environment. This government cannot talk to me about urgency when it sat for 16 months before it brought this legislation in.

Even now, we cannot see through the legislation into the regulations. Municipalities which have been good managers of their resources, like the region of Peel and the city of Mississauga, are going to be thrown into the hopper with everybody else and treated in this draconian way: "We'll tell you what to do, and you pay."

I look forward to the public hearings on this bill. I do not, however, look forward too optimistically, because if they are like the public hearings we are having on other legislation—Bill 121 is a good example, where the government members on that committee are not at all supporting amendments from the opposition—public hearings become an exercise in futility. It does, however, permit the public—and in this case, I am sure it will be a lot of municipalities and environmental groups—to come forward and state their major concerns and their major opposition to this bill. They will get on the record, but I am not very optimistic that we will see very many changes to this bill.

Closing the barn door after the horse is gone is a perfect example when we hear that after all this is over they are then going to have a discussion paper on the role of



municipalities in waste management. They could have had a discussion paper any time in the last year and a half, but this is the way they want it to be. I hope those people who have concerns with this legislation will be able to be scheduled for the four weeks. I understand we are having three weeks in the greater Toronto area and a week outside the greater Toronto area for the public input to that committee.

Bear in mind, Mr Speaker, that, as with all the standing committees of the Legislature, the majority of votes on that committee are with the government members. I am sure we will have the same thing as we had this afternoon in this House, which is a total vacuum of knowledge by the government members about what the bill contains. Unless they do a cram course between now and the public hearings in January, we will not get any more interesting or relative input.

When I say "relative," I mean relative to the crisis that this bill does not address, relative to their understanding of what the crisis is about and, more important, their comments relative to understanding what happens in our province as a result of ignoring the Planning Act, the Municipal Act and the other statutes—the Environmental Assessment Act, the Environmental Protection Act—all these acts and some others related to them that suddenly do not stand for anything.

This is not described as an omnibus bill but it should be, because it is all-powerful, it is all-encompassing, and as I have said a number of times, the scary part is, in some cases, it gives all that power to a director. Who is accountable here? I really feel that the minister should have retained the powers. If she is asking for them in the bill, why does she not retain the powers? But she is not even doing that. She is designating it down to the level of a director.

Mr Speaker, I thank you for your attention this afternoon and for helping us make these comments on this draconian, depressing, regressive legislation. I know the people of Ontario will well remember the implications of the government's taking their money but not keeping the power: taking the power and paying the bill in the future, whenever the next election is called.

2000

**Mr Mills:** I think we all recognize that there is a problem with politicians about a degree of cynicism, and I think it has been exhibited very well here this afternoon. People stand up in here, speak for a length of time and ramble on repeating stuff over and over again. The people of Ontario who watch this nonsense must become very cynical at the whole political process. It is a complete waste of time.

I am sure we have about 400,000 people who watch the proceedings in this House on TV, and they are turned off because this is an absolute disgrace, to waste time, to hold up legislation in this House, to delay important legislation in this House. That is what the members opposite are trying to do. There is no doubt about it. It is disgraceful behaviour and absolutely diabolical.

On another note, the reference where the member for Mississauga South likened Ontario to Russia is absolutely

disgraceful. It should be withdrawn. It is an insult to the people of Ontario to be likened to the people in Russia.

While we are on the subject, the emperor gods that sat over there with the Conservative Party for 42 years, it was racked with patronage and scandal the whole 42 years it was there. The members opposite had the audacity to stand up here and talk about the socialist democrats. They should be ashamed of themselves.

**Mr Chiarelli:** I want to compliment the member for Mississauga South for pointing out, in her own meticulous and plodding way, that Bill 143 is another NDP act of legislative terrorism.

It is a very draconian bill, as the member has pointed out. It gives excessive powers of expropriation and land freezes. It guts the Environmental Protection Act and the Environmental Assessment Act in a major way.

Part IV of the bill gives a director powers to impose on any municipality in Ontario the right to take solid waste from any other municipality or to prevent it from importing waste if it chooses to do so, such as Kirkland Lake.

The member for Mississauga South has taken a long time to point out some very significant inadequacies in this legislation. She had to undergo the harassment from the government side and the last comment in particular indicating that she is wasting the time of this Legislature.

There have been other instances of legislative terrorism by this government. When Bill 4 was introduced, they had to backtrack on it. When the wage protection bill was introduced, they had to backtrack on it because it was very draconian. It was the opposition who through debates such as this forced this government to backtrack, and the member for Mississauga South and other members of the opposition will take the time to convince the people of Ontario that this is a draconian bill, that it is very heavy-handed.

I think it is very inappropriate for the members on the government side to use heavy-handed techniques and hard-headed tactics to try to shut up the opposition on major pieces of legislation such as this.

**Mr Stockwell:** It is a very telling day when the socialists at Queen's Park listen to a speech that I think was fair. It was aboveboard. It spoke to the issues and expressed many concerns of the local constituency. I look to the Minister of the Environment, and I know her constituents very well. They would be very disappointed in this minister if they knew the full impact of this bill that has been introduced in this House.

What is very telling, what really aggravates the people of this province and certainly the opposition benches is that the best defence this government can come up with to defend this piece of draconian legislation is that the members opposite talk too long. That is the best defence they can come up with.

There is no defence. They should be simply ashamed of themselves, as environmental protectionists, that they would ever introduce a piece of legislation that cuts out the one very important factor involved in any piece of environmental legislation. The group they have cut out is the public. There is no public participation in this. There is no public



participation in Keele Valley expansion. There is no public participation in Mississauga or in Peel at Britannia.

That the members opposite can sit there and suggest the member for Mississauga South has spoken too long for their liking is absolutely sickening. They have no defence for this piece of legislation; they should be absolutely ashamed of themselves.

I am prepared to listen to any member across this floor defend this piece of legislation. None has come forward so far, and to suggest the member for Mississauga South spoke too long as being the best defence they have certainly points out the flaws of this government and its total incapacity to deal with the issues facing the people of Ontario.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I listened to not all of the speech by the member for Mississauga South, but I certainly heard enough of it to get the tenor of her remarks. I listened with some dismay to a member for whom I have had a great deal of respect and with whom I have worked with a great deal of co-operation on a number of environmental issues, and heard a rather extravagant—to put it at its mildest—interpretation of a piece of legislation.

However, what prompted me to join in this debate was a phrase that I heard her say as I came back this evening. It was the fact that this legislation would change history. This legislation is changing history because it is doing for the first time in this province what has been needed for many decades. It is putting forward an integrated waste management plan, a systems approach to a problem that has plagued successive governments. It is putting forward an integrated approach to dealing with our waste as opposed to the previous approach of seeking the biggest hole in the ground and burying it all. It is putting forward legislation that will be the basis for reduction, reuse and recycling, the kind of legislation that does not exist in any province in this country.

Also, it is doing what we all regret we have to do but what we are doing decisively and in a way that allows for the greatest possible amount of general consultation, even if not the extent of public consultation we would all have wished. The third part of the bill is dealing decisively with a crisis, a crisis not of our making, a crisis not even of the previous government's making, a crisis that has been building up for 40 years and then seven years because of inaction, no planning and no guts.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** We now have reached the maximum participation in questions and/or comments. The honourable member for Mississauga South has two minutes in reply.

**Mrs Marland:** The only response I have to the member for Durham East, who said that to liken Ontario to Russia is an insult, is to say that I actually agree with him; it is an insult to Russia.

I appreciate the support from the member for Ottawa West for his comments, but I think the most telling comment of anybody's response in the last eight minutes has been from the minister herself. If I could have wished the minister to make any comment whatsoever, I probably would have written for her the words that she actually used. This minister stood in this House a moment ago and

said, "It is changing history," and we agree with that. We agree that it is changing history, but we do not agree that it is a good change.

There is another thing the minister said that is so significant—and Hansard will show these comments tomorrow. The other thing this Minister of the Environment, this minister responsible for the greater Toronto area, said is, "We all regret what it is we have to do." This minister stood in this House and says she regrets her own bill. There is nothing more I can say than that. If I had written the lines for her, that is what I wished she would say. She regrets the bill because she understands what is wrong with this bill. Otherwise, she would not stand in this House and say she regrets what we have to do. The fact is the minister is admitting that this bill is regressive, it is changing history, it is not fair to the people of this province and if I were that minister, knowing her background, and what I said this afternoon about her and I and what we stood for, I too would regret her having to bring this bill in.

2010

**Mrs Mathysen:** I am most pleased that I finally have the chance to speak to Bill 143, known as the Waste Management Act.

The introduction of this act illustrates the NDP government's commitment to effectively deal with and manage the waste management crisis that has developed because of years of neglect by previous governments. Clearly, this government has had to make tough decisions, decisions that those other governments were afraid to make.

This government has taken a number of significant steps which will ensure the wise management of our resources and our waste. The Waste Management Act is but one example.

This legislation has two major thrusts: dealing with our waste on a province-wide basis and dealing specifically with waste within the greater Toronto area. There are many compelling reasons why it is necessary to pass the Waste Management Act.

I think it is useful to examine the situation that we currently face in the province of Ontario in regard to waste and waste management. The total amount of waste that has been generated in Ontario in 1989 from residential, industrial and commercial sources totalled 10 million tonnes. Households in Ontario generated 40% by weight of this total. Containers and packaging accounted for 21% by weight.

In the province of Ontario there are approximately 1,400 active landfill sites. Of these sites, approximately 100 will close within two years. Within the next 12 years, it is expected that over 250 landfill sites will close. This will create many problems for many municipalities around the province.

Recently, Elgin county, near my own riding of Middlesex, had to close its landfill. This has resulted in higher garbage disposal costs. For far too long we have failed to recognize that it is uneconomical to continue producing and disposing of unnecessary waste. Companies that have reduced the amount of waste that they produce are finding that waste reduction is cost effective and has, in fact, helped them to decrease their operating budgets.



For example, an article appeared in the London Free Press last month with the headline "Companies Discover Cutting Waste Pays." Another headline in the Financial Post reads, "Ontario Waste Plan May Lead to Savings." The Financial Post article states that as a result of the Ontario government's waste reduction plan, some companies could realize big savings in the long run.

I would like to read a section:

"Large companies with waste reduction programs already in place have realized sizeable savings. Peterborough, Ontario-based Quaker Oats Co of Canada Ltd saves about \$1 million a year, mostly through reduced tipping or dumping fees and improved operating efficiency. IBM Canada Ltd saved as much as \$150,000 in tipping fees last year by diverting more than half of its waste from landfill."

These are just a few examples that this legislation will help to ensure that companies remain competitive in the changing marketplace. Waste reduction practices will contribute to economic renewal.

This legislation gives legal force to the progressive regulatory initiatives that have been announced by the Minister of the Environment: initiatives designed to reduce the amount of waste that we produce. We have all heard the minister speak about the government's aggressive 3Rs initiatives. Evidence suggests that people are beginning to rethink the way that they dispose of their waste materials.

Interjections.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Order, please. The honourable member for Middlesex has the floor.

**Mrs Mathysen:** I do indeed have the floor, Mr Speaker, and I hope the gentleman opposite would have the courtesy to acknowledge that finally, after two and a half hours of patiently listening, I have the floor.

**An hon member:** Three and a half.

**Mrs Mathysen:** Is it three and a half? Thank you. We have all heard the minister speak about the government's aggressive 3Rs initiatives. Evidence suggests that people are beginning to think that the way they dispose of their waste materials is not necessarily advantageous. In fact, just the other night I was watching the CBC news. A very wonderful and informative show it is too. It has a series on power and politics. In the segment on the environment, there were several great examples of what is going on in this province because of our government, I might add.

For instance, there is a new environmental project called Waste Wise which accepts recyclable and reusable waste from consumers and then sells or distributes it to corporations. This project has proven itself to be a tremendous success.

There was the example of what an individual can accomplish. A woman in Georgetown separates all her garbage. She puts out only one small shopping bag of garbage every week and she has a family of five.

Examples were also given of municipalities that are implementing effective waste reduction schemes. Municipal politicians told of how waste reduction and separation programs are saving local taxpayer dollars. Those are hard-earned taxpayer dollars. I am glad that municipalities are able to save the taxpayers some money.

These examples, and of course there are many more, illustrate that the waste reduction initiatives announced by this minister and this government are working. They are working because people are beginning to rethink their old habits. This is a change in the right direction.

Despite the bold, positive steps that the people of Ontario have taken, there is still a great deal of work to be done, especially in the industrial, commercial and institutional sectors. This is another of the reasons why this legislation is so very important.

Our government has put forward a program that illustrates that it is willing to manage, and is capable of managing, our waste crisis. In the past, governments have not wanted to deal with the waste issue. It was easier to simply keep dumping garbage in our landfills without having to think about the consequences of such action. If people have been listening this evening, it has been easier to criticize, easier to go on and on about how inadequate things are.

The reality is that this government has taken a different approach, an environmentally responsible approach. We have implemented a waste management plan. We have stated provincial waste reduction targets of 25% by 1992 and 50% by the year 2000; announced a conserver action plan that is designed to move the province from a consumer to a conserver society—this plan places emphasis on reduction and reuse of materials; established the Interim Waste Authority to establish long-term disposable capacity for the residential waste after all efforts to reduce have been made; announced a waste reduction plan to reduce the amount of garbage produced in the province through an aggressive 3Rs strategy; banned all future municipal solid waste incinerators in Ontario; announced a review of existing incinerators, and announced regulatory—

Interjections.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Order, please. Interjections are out of order, particularly when members are not in their seats. The honourable member for Middlesex has the floor. Please continue.

**Mrs Mathysen:** Thank you, Mr Speaker. Because the message is so important, I hope they will pay attention after all or eventually.

We have announced regulatory measures to achieve our waste reduction targets. I am proud that this government is showing leadership and is managing our waste crisis.

This legislation is important because it will provide the legal instrument to implement the proposed regulations that will require municipalities to implement recycling and leaf and yard composting programs as well as requiring industrial, commercial and institutional sectors to recycle, conduct waste audits and prepare waste reduction plans. These proposed regulations are fully described in Initiatives Paper 1: Regulatory Measures to Achieve Ontario's Waste Reduction Targets.

2020

I am pleased that there are also a number of important amendments to the Environmental Protection Act contained in this legislation. These include broadened powers to regulate all types of packaging, an expedited approval



process for 3Rs facilities, such as composting and recycling, and changes in certain definitions.

Another really important element of this legislation is that it provides the Interim Waste Authority, whose job it is to find three long-term disposal sites within the greater Toronto area, with the opportunity to acquire land and access property for site testing. At the same time, the rights of residents will be protected. This is a very important function, as the Interim Waste Authority plays an integral role in the waste management plans for the GTA.

Members of the official opposition and members of the third party have made remarks during this debate which I find quite disturbing. Opposition members seem to think we are removing people's rights. At least, that is what they say in their rhetoric. They have suggested that this government is going to assume the right to go on someone's property whenever it wants for whatever reason it wants to do whatever it wants, to survey, assess and test in a manner far beyond anything that has ever happened before.

The record needs to be clarified here. The record needs to be set straight because this simply is not the case. Bill 143 is a comprehensive bill that illustrates that this government is committed to managing the waste crisis in this province. This bill is one component in an overall waste management strategy of which the 3Rs play an important part. Opposition members have criticized the right of entry in this legislation. This is rather ironic. The right of entry is not unique to Bill 143. It is found in many other bills, such as the Environmental Protection Act, the Ontario Water Resources Act, the Pesticides Act, the Occupational Health and Safety Act and the Health Protection and Promotion Act.

In fact, we have taken extra precaution in Bill 143 to protect people's rights. For example, even when the land owner is willing to allow the inspection, seven days' written notice is required. In no other act is such notice required. This piece of legislation may serve as a model for rewording older acts in terms of protecting people's rights.

There is another serious concern in connection with remarks made by members opposite. We have heard in the last hours members opposite speak in praise of both incineration and the export of Metro garbage to the north. One member even went so far as to characterize incineration as progressive technology. The reality is that incinerators spew out contaminants like dioxins and furans that invade our valuable agricultural land. As a member from rural Ontario, I have to tell members that we have precious little agricultural land. We certainly cannot be allowing incinerators to spew out filth on that land. This is not progressive action; it is irresponsible action they are advocating over there.

The notion that Metro can solve its garbage problem by shipping it out of sight is equally unsatisfactory. We in the government are not alone in this point of view, I might add. I have two letters here from which I would like to quote. The first is from Mr Doug Fraser of Haileybury, Ontario. Mr Fraser has addressed his remarks to the member for Markham, in the third party, and the member for Brampton North, from the Liberal caucus.

He writes, "I am quite dismayed at your outdated criticisms of several aspects of this bill," meaning Bill 143.

**Mr Cousens:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: According to our standing orders of this Legislature, in the rules of debate under subsection 23, if one "in the opinion of the Speaker, refers at length to debates of the current session, or reads unnecessarily from verbatim reports of the legislative debates or any other document," that person will be called to order by the Speaker. I wonder whether you have been aware of that section and whether that is something you would like to follow through on, Mr Speaker.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** I appreciate the honourable member for Markham, who brings a valid point of order, but in the Speaker's opinion the honourable member does have the right and the privilege to refer, from time to time, to text, which she does. The honourable member for Middlesex has the floor.

**Mrs Mathyssen:** Thank you, Mr Speaker. I appreciate that, in recognition of the fact that previous members did nothing but read from other people's material. At least I brought my own speech.

Anyway, getting back to the letter from Mr Fraser, he writes:

"I was quite dismayed at your outdated criticisms"—and these are of course outdated criticisms by the Liberal caucus and the third party—"of several aspects of this bill. Although it is true that steps have been included to expedite the finding of an appropriate site within the GTA and to take necessary steps to prepare for any 'disposal gap,' surely these are well-reasoned and essential measures!

"It would seem that your only 'out' is to avoid the problem completely by making it someone else's problem—either the residents of northern Ontario or all who would be downwind from an incinerator. This is analogous to burying your head in the sand. The first rule of ecology is a simple one: There is no such place as somewhere else."

I will be brief in reading from these letters and go on to the second, from Mr Brennain Lloyd of Northwatch, which "is a coalition of 20 environmental and citizen groups across northeastern Ontario with an active interest in environmental issues impacting on this region." The letter from Mr Lloyd states:

"The options of incineration and/or export are neither environmentally sound nor socially acceptable. To be frank, it is very discouraging to have this discussion of Toronto's garbage crisis return to these unreasonable options again and again.

"Does the considered consensus of the environmental, non-governmental community, which has so decidedly rejected incineration as a waste management option, hold no weight in your party's measurement?"—meaning the Liberals and the third party. "The citing of the exclusion of incineration and export as key criticisms of this legislation indicate to us either a lack of substance or a lack of understanding and does grave damage to your credibility. Are you concerned with waste management legislation, or just throwing stones?"

**An hon member:** Who was that letter written to?

**Mrs Mathyssen:** That was written to the Liberal caucus opposite and to the third party.



I will just conclude. I trust this clarifies some of the misconceptions that have been fuelled by opposition members. I am also glad that we will have further opportunity to address some of those misconceptions regarding this legislation during committee hearings.

I am pleased to support the Waste Management Act. Bill 143 illustrates that our government is capable of providing the leadership that is necessary to effectively manage our waste crisis. This legislation plays a very important role in assisting in the changing of old habits. We have no choice but to change from a consumer to a conserver society. We all have a responsibility to reduce, reuse and recycle the waste that we produce. This legislation will help to ensure that our vision becomes a reality. Thank goodness we have a government that does have a vision.

**Mr Cousens:** I feel constrained to make at least a few comments on this presentation. First, I want to say it is one of the rare times that someone from the governing party has stood up to speak on the bill. For the large part, the people over there do not comment. I think it is a credit to this member that she at least made some comment on the bill.

I notice that the honourable member for Middlesex really does not convey anything of the true intent of this bill in the way in which it is going to remove the rights of municipalities. What does she see happening to municipal rights, the rights of the municipalities in the greater Toronto area which are affected by this bill, which will lose the right to call upon the Planning Act, the Municipal Act, the regional municipality acts and the conservation acts? This bill will singlehandedly remove the application of those previous pieces of legislation, which took years of accumulated knowledge to put into effect. Now, whenever dealing with landfill sites under this bill, it will not be necessary to refer to that previous legislation. I ask the minister to comment specifically on the removal of those rights of those municipalities and the rights of people that are affected.

2030

The second point I touch on is that the member talked about the Expropriations Act. Why is it that when the government considered this bill and talked about expropriation rights, it did not consider something of the long-term implications on those people who are adjoining a site that is being expropriated?

I believe the honourable member has failed to call this bill what it really is. It is a desperation act, an act of desperation by a government that is not willing to listen, not willing to talk, not willing to table its real views for what needs to be done to resolve the landfill crisis in the Metropolitan Toronto area.

**Mr White:** I would like to join my colleague the member for Markham in commending the member on her excellent contribution. In a short, 10-minute speech, a speech replete with the wisdom, experience and energy she has obviously dedicated to her position as a parliamentary assistant, she has demonstrated study and thought. Her knowledge of the entire area has been demonstrated, particularly her knowledge of Bill 143.

I think she has demonstrated that the bill is a landmark piece of legislation dealing effectively—perhaps

the members opposite would say precipitously—with a crisis of waste and environmental degradation that has been brought on by the contributed neglect of 47 years of waste by opposition governments.

The speech the member gave contrasts dramatically with the two-and-a-half-hour verbose waste—

**Mr Mills:** Three and a half.

**Mr White:** My colleague corrects me. It contrasts dramatically with the three-and-a-half-hour verbose waste of time when the member opposite spent two and a half hours reading a single-page letter, a feat in and of itself.

**Mr Mills:** Claptrap.

**Mr White:** By contrast, my colleague gave us many different contributions and of course pointed out the importance of this bill towards economic renewal in the reduction of waste and how those two goals go hand in hand.

I want to conclude my remarks by again commending my colleague on her excellent contribution.

**Mr Offer:** In the time permitted, I would like to respond to some of the comments made by the member for Middlesex; I should say, the comments she read. The problem the member has, as well as her colleague right beside her, is that is not listening and recognizing what the facts and the reality are all about.

I heard the member beside the member for Middlesex, the member for Durham East, refer to the comments and the speech of the member for Mississauga South as claptrap. That is what that person said. The fact of the matter is that the comments by the member for Mississauga South and other members on this side, in terms of opposition and the third party, dealt with the bill at hand and the reality of the facts at hand. They talked about how the people in the areas are being affected and what those people are saying.

Let me tell members that it is not claptrap but a serious and deep concern about how their communities are going to grow, about the way in which landfill is going to be disposed of and about previous promises made by the the now Minister of the Environment and the now Premier who stated, when in opposition, during an election, that there would not be an expansion of any landfill site in this province without a full environmental assessment hearing.

What we have with the Britannia landfill site is an expansion without any hearing. When the residents of that area said to the Minister of the Environment, "Please, we want to talk to you. We want you to hear our concerns. We want to hear from you and we'll do it in the privacy of your own office," what did the Minister of the Environment say? She said no.

When members of the government talk about consultation, it is just fatuous. There is no substance behind it and there are 600,000 or 700,000 people in the region of Peel who know that for a fact. The minister should be ashamed. Finally she is getting the picture that this is a matter of very deep concern to the members of the opposition and the third party. It would be wise to read the act and how it affects the people.

**Mr Stockwell:** I think the important fact that has been lost on the member for Middlesex is that she can quote the figures and the tonnage all she likes. Those were the figures



and those were the tonnages when the NDP came into power. When they came into power they had a full understanding of the issues that were faced in the waste and landfill disposal issue.

The problem they have is that their Premier and their Minister of the Environment were on the record long before they came to government. They were on the record as saying, "There will be no expansions at Keele and Britannia without full environmental assessments." The question that must be asked is, why has the government done an about-face at the expense of thousands and thousands of residents? They consider this to be a very important issue. Their homes are near these dump sites and they got commitments from the NDP's Premier and from the NDP's Minister of the Environment that they would not have expansions without full environmental hearings. Now they have gone back on their word.

The other point that they must address, and that the Minister of the Environment still has not addressed, is that 11 months ago there was no garbage gap. Everything was fine. Their own minister suggested that there was no necessity to go forward with any new initiatives because their 3Rs would resolve the problem and there would be no garbage gap. Members opposite cannot blame the Liberals. When the NDP government came into power, it said there was no gap, that the waste disposal problem was resolved. Now, a year later, the NDP minister reads her reports, decides there is a garbage gap and blames the Liberals. What was she doing for those 11 months when she said there was no garbage gap? Members opposite cannot have it both ways. They should either tell the truth or not stand up and make us put up with this kind of stuff.

**Mrs Mathyssen:** First of all, I would like to address my remarks to the member for Markham and tell him that the intent of this bill is to deal with the waste management crisis. The right of the people of this province and of the greater Toronto area to a clean environment is paramount. The protection of the environment is paramount. The member opposite would abrogate the rights of members of northern communities by foisting GTA garbage on them and I say to him that is clearly wrong. I believe the people of the GTA are citizens quite able to take responsibility for the waste they create. For the member opposite to insinuate that they are not is most insulting.

I would also like to say to the member for Mississauga North that the communities of the GTA will grow, and they will grow in an environmentally responsible way, because now they will reduce, reuse and recycle.

Finally, to the member for Etobicoke West, when we came into government, into power, we did have a serious waste problem because of neglect. As a new government, we pledged to resolve that problem, and we have. Bill 143 fulfils the pledge that was made.

2040

**Mr Curling:** It is indeed a pleasure to stand and address my comments directly to Bill 143, An Act respecting the Management of Waste in the Greater Toronto Area and to amend the Environmental Protection Act. I do not come to this debate as an expert on garbage, but I do come to the

debate with a recognition of the fact that I do represent people in Scarborough North, who are extremely concerned about this act and the direction it is going in.

Before I do so, I would like to pay tribute to two people to start with. One is the former Minister of the Environment, the honourable member for St Catharines. As members know, in his endeavours as a minister he had an award given to him by the United Nations on the blue box project. That is no achievement that one can just smile about; it is a tremendous achievement that had a lot of work and dedication. No one could question the dedication of that minister at the time.

As a matter of fact, I have to give credit to another person who kept him on his toes, someone we respected tremendously when we were the government of the day. Oft-times, as we listened to the manner and the discipline, the way that the member for St Catharines carried out his duty, we watched the honourable member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore who, as a critic, seemed to understand what the environment was all about.

Although we smarted a bit in the loss of the election and thought this province would be in terrible hands, we consoled ourselves that there was a minister, an individual over there who understood the environment because of the way she dogged the approach and the ways of our minister, who was doing a tremendous job, being awarded by the United Nations. She was regarded as someone who would not put up with nonsense and who would make sure that we were on our guided path, a very responsible Environment critic. I had no fear when she entered the cabinet that the portfolio would not be in good hands.

I have been in cabinet and I know how difficult it is at times to get everything you want at the cabinet table, but I also know that if you are quite expressive and knowledgeable, they cannot shun away from the needs. So members can understand that I pay tribute to the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore, but alas, upon becoming the minister—I had waited to see some wonderful things happening to carry on the great work of the former minister on the concern we had about garbage, especially in the region of environment. This was an area that would be looked after very well.

I was extremely disappointed as we waited in opposition to see some of the policies and directions of where the minister would go. I am afraid that as the critic of the Environment she was extraordinary and as a minister a bit disappointing, the matter becoming worse, disappointing to all of us here.

I fear that the capability of the minister now is not due solely to herself. I think it is because of her government, because of her party, because of the fact they had made all these promises. Members are quite aware, quite familiar with this wonderful document that they put forward in the campaign, something that we read rather carefully, An Agenda for People. "NDP NPD"—they said it twice here, in English and French. I am sure the honourable member followed very carefully the script and the mandate that was set forward here of the commitment in regard to the environmental rights. They outline them right here on page 7, as they follow me along. I see them all digging for their—if they are not, they will be going into their desks in a



moment, because I know they have a copy here. It is supplied to them regularly to remind them of the promises that were given during the campaign. Now that they are government and of course they are honourable people, they will follow through on their promises.

"Rights to a clean environment," it states here. I know the Speaker is quite familiar with this but, just for emphasis, I think I should read a bit of it. I know too that the government members know it without even going to their desks at the moment. It says: "Pass the environmental bill of rights immediately." There is no explanation. It is self-explanatory. "The NDP's environmental bill of rights has been before the Legislature since 1986."

How they waited and waited to be in government. And on that day in 1990, did it dawn upon them that they would be the government? Shocked they were, as we were. In 1985, we were the government. We pulled ourselves together with not even enough members to form a majority and we signed an accord with the honourable members there and carried forth the duties and the things that had to be done for this province, to have a better province.

**Hon Mr Hampton:** And did pretty well by it.

**Mr Curling:** We did extremely well, as the member said, because what we did was we carried through that agenda and beyond.

It goes on: "Three times the Liberals have approved it in principle and three times they have refused to let the bill become the law in Ontario." In other words, they are saying that each time they brought it forward, the Liberals were not sincere, because this is three times that they have put it forward and they refused to bring that bill of rights.

"Citizens want more rights" they continue, and it is important for me to complete this, "to take action for a cleaner and safer environment when government and industry don't act." When government does not act. This government itself has acted very well in reneging constantly.

That is only one aspect of it. I will not go through this great manifesto of An Agenda for People that is written in a way to say, "This is the way to go."

We know also about employment equity. They put that bill forward and did not come through, and then they said they had to go for consultation.

Here we have Bill 143, this act that I think is almost a disgrace, save the fact of opposition government, save the fact that we have an opposition that will not tolerate this actually obscene act. It is obscene because of the power-grabbing aspect of this act, the way the minister herself feels, and I think too her cabinet, not only to renege on what they had all promised, but also to take power into the hands of this government which has now smelled power and feels it does not need people any more. They just need themselves, as a power unto themselves, to make laws and administer them without any consultation whatsoever.

The bill of rights—nice, fancy words, as we always use. A right for all the citizens of this province to participate in what we have seen today, a right to direct the government to know exactly what the people want. But as soon as they have known the smell of power, they would say, "I can do it. I don't need the people any more."

I have heard debates here talk about areas that have been affected by this bill, but I would like to address my comment, too. I will come back to the bill and some of the things it has done and would have done if we were not here as an opposition to make sure they hear of the concerns we have. I was appalled, too, and I am sure you were, Mr Speaker. I want to commend you for the very adequate way in which you handled the House when the member for Mississauga South spoke in detail, patiently went through all aspects of the act, to point out—it took her three and a half hours or more, and I am sure she could have continued for five or six hours if it took that time for them to listen.

2050

Interjection.

**Mr Curling:** Our comrade says it was two and a half hours. I presume he may have fallen asleep for one hour of that, but she spoke for three and a half hours, pointing out meticulously aspects of the bill that the government must look at and change. As a matter of fact, it would be easier to just get rid of the bill and start all over again.

I know, as I mentioned earlier on, how frustrating it is for the minister, who has been in this House as a minister for over a year and has not brought in one act yet in regard to the environment, has not done a thing, and now is hurriedly trying to bring this bill through. As the member for Mississauga South spoke, the criticism and the abuse that she had to put up with because she was putting it in detail—they said she spoke too long. This democratic party felt that this member here has no democratic right to speak on behalf of her constituency as the critic for her party and should not speak that long. I commend her for standing fast on the issue.

I want to commend also a member from my party, the member for Oriole, who also emotionally expressed her concern about this bill. I do hope—because the New Democratic Party members consider themselves compassionate people, people of concern, people who listen and people who act. She then pointed out in detail what her concerns were.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** Why don't you speak about the bill?

**Mr Curling:** I am sure some of the members here would be forward enough to feel I cannot address this bill. Again, that is the audacity they bring forth in this House. I want to tell the member for Windsor-Riverside that this bill has a dramatic effect on people within our region.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** You don't even know what's in the bill.

**Mr Curling:** I recall at election time that the then leader of the NDP, now the Premier, visited Whitevale. He stood there at the time with many of those who had not yet declared themselves as NDP candidates to run in the election and he repeatedly talked about the "promise to ensure" that the Whitevale site would remain farm land and not become home to about six million tonnes of trash between 1992 and 1996.

I say to the honourable member for Windsor-Riverside, who feels I do not know what is in the bill, that what is in the bill is threatening Whitevale. What is in the bill is threatening the Rouge Valley, but the government members all stand there and talk about the protection of it all.



Members will recall the very famous Rouge Valley, which is still there. The Premier of the day, Mr David Peterson, made a statement to preserve the Rouge Valley. Soon after, many of the members here were criticizing the fact that there was not a strong enough commitment with regard to the Rouge Valley and preserving that beautiful land and the beautiful wildlife that is still there. The concern, of course, was that a dump site should not be placed around the Rouge Valley, or an expansion of a dump site.

Today this new bill threatens that. It threatens that the Rouge Valley may not have the freedom it so deserves from that kind of expansion and pollution of the dump site.

I just want to mention who was there at the time. There was my colleague Norah Stoner, who was then the member for the riding of Durham West. I am glad that the honourable member who is now the sitting member for Durham West was there. He himself made some rather profound statements there. He talked about the protection of Whitevale. He talked about the fact that there will be no expansion of the dump site. As long as he was there, there would not be any dump site or expansion of Whitevale.

I do not hear him. The Premier was there at the time. As the press stated here in a report of August 1990 in the Oshawa Times: "Flanked by Jim Wiseman, would-be candidate for the NDP in Durham West, and Durham Centre NDP candidate"—at that time the comrade Drummond White—"...Rae said that as long as new dumps are found—"

**Mr White:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I believe it is customary in this House to refer to members either as "Mr" or "the deputy from." My friend may feel he has some comradeship with me; however, I would hope he would express that in private elsewhere.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Thank you. Yes, it is customary, as the honourable member for Scarborough North knows, to refer to the honourable members by their riding name, please.

**Mr Curling:** I am sorry, Mr Speaker. I thought the socialists would like to be associated with their proper titles, but I stand to be corrected.

My comrades here in the House, most of them who go by titles over there, were flanked by their leader at the time. The member for Durham West, a good comrade there: "As long as the new dumps are found, there is no incentive for reducing garbage."

Where are these members now? I do not hear them advocating at all the preservation of the Rouge Valley or the protection of the type of dump site that they want to put in that area. I have not heard one of them. I call on them all. I will be so proper that I will call them by their titles.

Where is the member for Durham-York? The member for Durham West, as I said, I do not see advocating for and protecting that area. Where is he? When my colleague Norah Stoner was fighting in that light, she paid the price. The member for Oshawa, the now Solicitor General—I did not hear a peep out of him, or any of those members. And our good friend the member for Durham East, who so emotionally stood up and spoke—at one stage, I was concerned about the cardiac arrest he might have, he was so emotional about it. I have not heard him defending the area

of Whitevale that falls right between his region. I have not heard a peep out of our other colleague, the Minister of Agriculture and Food, from Hastings-Peterborough, in regard to support of the Whitevale or the Beare Road dump sites.

My good friend the member for Scarborough East, my neighbour, the Rouge goes through his constituency and he has no concern for this Bill 143 and the manner in which the minister is going to conduct it. It seems that if the Whitevale or the Beare Road site is expanded, that is of no concern whatsoever, but there they were in the election fighting about the protection of the Rouge. I can see they were all words, and no meaning to them all.

My other neighbour—you said I cannot call them comrades, Mr Speaker, but they are comrades in every respect—is from Scarborough Centre. Where is he today? I have not heard one remark out of him in protection of those two sites.

2100

These are comments and observations made by people. This is the observation made by Christy Chase of the Oshawa Times staff: "For the second time in two months, NDP leader Bob Rae has thrown his support behind the people of Whitevale." Now I am wondering where his support lies in regard to that area. I am concerned. I am tremendously concerned, because in those days when it was politically wise to get votes, he leaned to that side.

As a matter of fact, even our mayor, Joyce Trimmer, at one stage when we were fighting for the protection of the Rouge, thought that maybe we should build executive houses on these sites. Today of course, when it is politically wise, we are all behind the Rouge. I commend her for changing her position, for seeing the light. I have not seen one thing done by this government that has that kind of concern about the situation we face today.

I want to speak a little bit about the bill itself. I wanted first to raise those concerns really about the Rouge Valley because it is one of those things people have talked about not only in Canada—I was as far away as Germany in 1988 when someone asked the delegation that I took to Germany about the Rouge Valley and commended us for taking that action in preserving and protecting the Rouge Valley.

This bill is about not protecting the Rouge Valley. I would like the members to know that. The minister may deny that, but I would like her to know the people within that area are extremely concerned with the dictatorial attitude, the power-grabbing aspect and the way she will carry out this bill. They feel that it is their input into it to tell again their story about how this bill will damage the Rouge Valley by going about in a process of the selection of the dump sites there.

I know the minister has criticized this government and I cannot understand that. She said we are not giving her the authority she requires, the power she requires for the expansion of current landfill, and she wants that power; second, for not allowing her to go forward with her reduction regulations. Because we do not hand all this power over to her, because we want her to respect the democratic process, this bill, as I see it, is a power-grabbing bill.

This bill is set out in four parts. I do not know if the bureaucrats have written it for her. I am sure she directed them that these are the powers she wants and to write it



accordingly. When it comes back in written form, I urge her to go through it in detail and ask the basic questions: Are people being protected in this process? Is the democratic process being recognized in this process? It is important. Although democracy may seem to be rather slow, I think it is one of the best processes we have today, because what it has done is allow people to participate, to control their own destiny and to feel they are a part of the system.

We know there are mistakes that will be made, but they will understand why. They will not in any way feel this has been dictated by them or by the directors she will be appointing to give this total authority to do their jobs, without, of course, any recourse for the people.

We know the four parts of the bill. Part I appoints the Interim Waste Authority Ltd. We know the kind of powers it gives in expropriating land just for the purpose of establishing three long-term landfill sites. We can understand that there are needs to find landfill sites, especially in Durham, Peel and York. There is the other part that I talk about, Metro Toronto. These powers, which I will speak about later on, are of quite great concern to me.

We know that part II went about outlining the criteria for the long-term site selection process.

Part III, as we know and are extremely concerned about, is one of the most controversial parts of this bill. That is the part I spoke about earlier on, this expansion of the minister's emergency powers where she will order Peel to expand Britannia landfill and Metropolitan Toronto to expand Keele Valley.

Here is the crunch: It can be done without any environmental assessment and no opportunity at all for the participation of the public. This is the part I wrestled with. Have they gone out of their senses? Is this the same opposition, now the government, that used to lecture us about consultation and the representation of the people? Is this the same opposition, now in government, that locked people out of public participation, that locked me out of participation, and when I was allowed in, I was not able to speak? At that time, of course, 31,000 people cast their votes so that I could represent them and represent all the 110,000 people in Scarborough North. They locked me out; then I was allowed in but was not able to speak.

Have they gone out of their senses in saying, "We will not give the public any opportunity for hearings"? If I have this part of the bill wrong, the government will please correct me, because I stand to be corrected. I would not be disappointed, of course, because I expect public hearings from a socialist government that advocates full participation by the people.

People have died for this democratic process. People have gone to war or they have sent their sons and their husbands, and now even women have fought for that right to go to war to protect the democratic process so they can participate and determine their own destiny, so they can feel a part, that this country belongs to the them. They elect people who they feel will speak for them; who, when they draft up bills about protecting them in the environment or finding landfill sites, whatever they do, they feel will articulate the things they are saying and feeling.

2110

Alas, in less than a year—a couple of months in power—they took the power upon themselves and said: "Now that you have elected us, we don't need to hear from you any more. We don't need any input from you, the public. We don't need it at all. As a matter of fact, we are the almighty. We have all this power, with which we know exactly what you are thinking. Therefore we know exactly where landfill sites will be. Even the bill of rights will come later on, when we give you a chance, maybe."

The minister said she wanted a bill of rights immediately, when she said in 1986—and I can recall of course in 1989 that the member, now the Minister of the Environment, presented a bill of rights. It is all gone. It has all changed now, and she will not ask the people to participate. That is the kind of democracy we have. So when I call them comrades, I call them comrades because these are the same types of people who go around the world and talk about participation and say, "Let the people speak." But I think what they meant about the people is, let them do the speaking and the people shall go wherever they want to, "because we know what's right for them."

It is a sad day. It is a sad era. They came into government at a time when most of the world was going through some rather recessionary times, especially in North America, when people are tightening their belts and wondering what is happening to them.

When you look, Mr Speaker, they would also like to say to the government they elect and the people they elect, "Can you speak for me?" When they come to my office and say, "I would like to speak on behalf of the concerns this Bill 143 has"—it is a public document now, so they have read it—they are concerned.

They said to me: "This will affect us. Can you go through this with me?" I said: "Listen, I'm not a full expert on all this, because, you know, sometimes this technical way of writing"—but when we went through it all, they were right. They said, "We'd like some input on this." I had to go back to those people and tell them this minister and this government will not have them participating at all. Although the government tells me the opportunity I have, I will use the one opportunity to come into this House and tell the government that the people are not happy with this.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** What do they expect when it is you who knows the act?

**Mr Curling:** The member for Windsor-Riverside said I do not know what is in the bill. The audacity of him. He knows it all. The government knows it all. If I do not know what is in the bill, it is the government's responsibility. If the people of this province do not know what is in this bill, it is the responsibility of the government and the members here to make sure that what is in the bill is something that will affect them. How do they feel about it and where can they make their concerns be heard?

They have told me they are not happy. They have told me they would like to have an opportunity to say that they are concerned.

The leader of the party sat down, the House leader sat down, and I have to commend the House leader of the



opposition party. I would like the people to know that it is due to the hard work and the commitment to democracy of the House leader that forced this bill to be debated early.

Thanks for a democratic parliament and thank you, Mr Speaker, for allowing all of this to happen because, if you should cast your eyes elsewhere and if you should somehow tune out for a few moments, they will grasp additional powers, as we heard today, telling the member that he cannot call a quorum, taking power so that the people will not be heard. They are upset that they will not be heard and they want to be heard long, loud and in detail and they want the bill to be explained to them and the minister to justify it. If the action cannot be justified, then they want it to be changed.

In the meantime, as I take a breath here, I would ask for a glass of water. There is a lot more that I want to say. I hope this water is not affected if we do not have environmental assessment; I hope I can drink it with confidence. I hope by the time we have the power control here I can sip this water and feel good about good Ontario water.

Part IV of this bill outlines the Environmental Protection Act which, of course, they say broadens the definition of waste. It will now include all materials and it will give the minister the power, which this government likes to use, to implement her waste reduction regulations.

Garbage has been around a long time. It is not new. We have started thinking about it lately. We may think it is too late. It is not too late, but it will be too late if they grab the power and decide to do with it as they would want without any input. I think this is a great opportunity, as a matter of fact, to have each member coming from a different region. What an opportunity. I want to go back to that same democratic process because I think it is so important to this bill. Although it is only, as it says, addressing the greater Toronto area, it is going to have a great impact on all of Ontario. It will have an impact on how we deal with things and how we deal with garbage.

I recall when I arrived in this country, the things that people throw out. This is a throwaway society, we throw everything out. We feel that as soon as we have finished with it we can put it on the sidewalk, on the curb, and the garbage truck will come along and it is out of sight, it is gone, it is the responsibility of those who picked it up and the municipality. We feel very pleased about that because we have moved into a neighbourhood where we did not know where it went, but by golly, some of that garbage goes to other people's neighbourhoods. It comes back to haunt you.

There is an old saying that says the chicken will come home to roost one day. The garbage has come home to roost now. As we put it on the sidewalk and ignored it for years, today it has come home to roost. I hope it has not roosted in the water yet, because some of those waters are contaminated. It will come home to roost and the rude awakening of a resident whose house I think may have been blown up because of the gas that was built up in a garbage area. The gas had fermented there for a long time and it blew this house up. The chicken has come home to roost.

2120

The chicken has come home to roost because we find that diseases and things that we threw out did not leave us at all. The sea and the rivers and the lakes we felt were there, and if we threw the garbage in there it was carried away into some wonderful garbage heaven so that nobody saw it. It has come home to roost because gone are the days when we could go to the water and drink from the river or the lake; now they are polluted. No longer can we fish for dinner. The chicken comes home to roost on our dining table as we eat a fish. It comes home to roost with the meat that we eat and the cattle that feed on the pollution that is around. It comes home to roost with our children, and with our health being affected by the way we dispose of our garbage. We sent that chicken out and it came home to roost, the way we dispose of our garbage.

That is why full consultation, full involvement of all the people is so important. The structure of this Legislature is such that people from all parts of this province can say what impact it has, what type of garbage has affected them and how we should go about it. But if we decide to turn our heads away and, as members in this House and this opposition, not to do our job, to criticize and tell the government when it is going wrong—I think many colleagues I see over there who have been in the House a long time, understand that it is an honourable thing to admit mistakes, to take guidance and to say, “Yes, it was not thought out properly,” or, “The bill is not written in a way that cannot be changed, because we can adjust it accordingly.” Not to grasp this power, not to feel that “We do have the power; we don’t need the people”—the government is losing a great opportunity for that input.

I urge members and the minister herself, that the fortunate part of it—as I mentioned early on in my speech when I commended the honourable member, the former Minister of the Environment, the member for St Catharines, for the knowledge he has and brings to this House and shares it with the minister—was that she used to listen just as he listened to her at times. I will tell members that. There is no secret at all in my caucus; when he came to caucus he said: “The honourable member made a very good point. She’s right here and we should adjust it.” And many times members can see in the interchange that happened between 1985 and a part of 1990 how much respect he had for her. I ask her too now, in the interest of all Ontarians and the environment, and the interest of the chicken that we send out that will come back to roost one day, I ask her to listen and amend, and not feel that “I have all the power now and I do not need in any way to listen. I have this power and I will do what I must do,” because that chicken will come home to roost another day.

While my other colleagues from the western part of the greater Toronto area appeal to her, I appeal to her too, for the extremely sensitive area that we have in the east. I appeal to all the comrades that I called out here earlier over in the eastern part who are now enjoying the sweets of victory in the last election, who stand with their leader in article after article denouncing this government for not taking a stand, to my colleague, Norah Stoner, who lost an election standing up for her rights there, like my good



friend, the member for Durham West who said she did not do sufficient in protecting the environment there in the Whitevale dump site.

I searched the Hansard. I have yet to find a word about defending the Whitevale dump site. I want them to continue, as they said in the election, to fight for that. Now I want them to take the opportunity as this bill moves to its second reading to say, "Well, I will continue to fight and I will talk to the minister." I am sure they have good discussions in caucus. I sure that each member tells her their point of view—the member for Hastings-Peterborough, the member for Scarborough East, the member for Scarborough Centre, the member for Oshawa, the member for Durham Centre and the member for Durham-York, all those members—to fight for what we so much want to preserve.

The minister had a report written and she needs it to be implemented. Within the bill it is described as part III. I keep going back and I know that when she looked at all the environmental acts—the Environmental Protection Act, the Environmental Assessment Act, the Ontario Municipal Board Act, the Municipal Act, the Planning Act, the Regional Municipality of Durham Act, the Regional Municipality of Peel Act, the regional Municipality of York Act and the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act—it is here within those parameters that she wants to exercise her power.

The minister states that section 17 of part III requires that the regional municipality of Durham establish a waste management system. It says it must consist of at least one transfer station to ensure that it has the ability to transport, she said, wastes to Keele Valley when the Durham landfill site reaches capacity, and I think she anticipates that capacity in 1992. There has been no consideration given to what this project will cost. There has been no talk at all about the cost factor of this to the region, and I understand, according to Durham, that this transfer station will cost the region over \$49 million in capital costs and \$26 million in annual operating costs.

2130

Members should just think of the individuals in Durham region now. A bill just came down, and that will increase the costs, as I said, to \$49 million in capital costs and annually, additional to that, \$26 million. Members should work that out; householders will have an additional cost of about \$250 to \$300 on their municipal tax bill. With all the taxes that are coming down today, these are the same people who said that the Liberal government should be regarded as a tax government. They do not want to impose any more tax on the people, I am sure, but while people are losing jobs, while people are having it very difficult in this recessionary time, the Durham municipality will find itself forced to pass on an increase in the tax bill of those householders to the tune of about another \$300. That is a sad note for the people in Durham, because they are hurting. They are hurting in every form. They are hurting in their mortgage payments, and those who have homes there are hurting, of course, in their tax bills already. The additional \$300 tax will be maybe that straw that will break the camel's back.

People are losing jobs. The confidence of the business sector is waning. Many businesses have left the province because they are not quite sure of the policies of this

socialist government, which seems to direct most of its energy into the labour area; that area needs some support, of course, but not all the support of government. Government represents all people, business and labour alike. But the business community is not pretty happy with the government; I would say, in milder form, it is not impressed at all with how it conducts itself.

As you pointed out, Mr Speaker, what has this to do with Bill 143? It has to do with Bill 143 because I am seeing their concern and householders will be seeing \$300 more on their tax bills after they have implemented this \$29-million annual operating cost in that area of the landfill site.

The ministerial order—my colleagues here spoke very well on it and my other colleague will have a lot to say on this—requires that the municipality of Peel extend the Britannia Road landfill site in 1992 when that site is scheduled to close, and that the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto expand Keele Valley in 1994 when it is also scheduled for closure.

As you are quite aware, Mr Speaker, and I know you have been kept quite informed about it, Britannia is requesting for a lift of 2.5 million cubic metres and Keele Valley is to be prepared for a lift of 4.2 million cubic metres. It is unlikely that the long-term sites will be identified and approved prior to 1997.

It seems to me that Britannia will be forced to accept more garbage and waste for five years longer than originally agreed upon, and Keele Valley will take about three years longer, as we know, than anticipated. It is poor planning on behalf of the minister. We will point things out to you that need to be looked at very seriously, and my colleagues who are personally affected in that area will speak in much more detail about it.

Under section 17, Mr Speaker, as you direct me of course to this bill, it states that the Environmental Assessment Act does not apply to any undertakings in order to comply with the minister's order. I read it about three times to see if I had it right. It does not apply to any undertakings in order to comply with the minister's order. This is really in conflict with the promises made by the NDP during the election. But what is a promise in an election?

If I am going to base my argument on the fact that a promise is made in an election and they should carry it out, maybe my argument would be pretty weak, but it needs to be pointed out. It needs to be pointed out that they go and say, "This is our promise, and we will adhere to that promise." Now of course so soon after the election things have changed dramatically.

Subsection 17(8), as I go into detail on this bill, orders the municipalities to comply with the minister's order, even if to do so contravenes "an agreement that is binding on the municipality or the Planning Act."

That is what it is all about: power. It does not matter at all that it is laid out here and it says that the minister is the one who has the almighty power to do so.

There are many others, Mr Speaker, as I go through this; you will be appalled yourself to find out that the bill was drafted in a manner of such power. Subsection 13(1) states that the Minister of the Environment will advise the crown agency, which I mentioned earlier in my speech, as



to the amount of waste that will be diverted from landfills due to the 3R program.

I suspected somehow that they did not have a plan. When the leader of the party, now the Premier, was asked about his detailed program, I think what he mentioned was something like, "Of course, we can work on the reduce and recycle aspect of things." In other words, that was his program. I suspect that he had not had much of a program ready.

2140

In the same section, subsection (2) states that the agency in determining the required capacity for each of the landfills will use the estimates provided by whom? Members have guessed it right. They will be provided by the ever-powerful minister. Again she will determine where it will go.

These parts of the legislation undermine the independence and the expertise of the agency. Of course, the government will give the agency the power, but from time to time the minister will step in and overrule all that with the power she had grabbed along the way here in this bill if we do allow her to do that.

I can empathize with the minister, as I said. I know that the bill was drafted hastily. I know that the minister is anxious to get a bill in because, as I stated, she comes to this House with great respect from the opposition, because we did respect her very much when we were in government, but she has nothing to show for her work. We would like to help her, because in helping her we would be helping the province. The province comes first. We feel that the province must have one of the best bills that can be provided, and our job is to do that.

While we are trying to help her through all this process, we are keeping in mind the people of this province. We are keeping in mind, as I said, that when the chicken comes home to roost it does not poison us, it does not come back at us and kill us. We must have a good bill, something that the people can live with, because the fact is it is one that we are completely concerned about. That will happen if we do not get the attention of the minister and the government to go in that direction.

As I said, subsection 13(2) and subsection 13(1) and other aspects of it undermine the independence and the expertise of the agencies that were given the power to determine the long-term landfill needs in greater Toronto. The waste authority is doing its analysis on the surface areas to be served. It will study the potential population growth and the business development in the regions and determine the capacity of disposal area required for the next 20 years.

The government has somehow distanced itself from the process by establishing this independent body to conduct the site selection. It has in some way, in a token manner, involved itself, as I said, in dictating to that authority the capacity that would be required of each landfill. The minister, although giving that power, will come to this authority and say: "That's the capacity. That's what I'll do." I am saying I do not understand that. The government gives that authority the power and allows it to do its job, but the minister will determine the capacity of the landfill sites.

It will be based, as she said, on the best estimate of the effectiveness of its 3 Rs over the next 20 years and will

require the Minister of the Environment to prejudge the effectiveness of its own forthcoming waste reduction regulations. This exercise will be conducted more objectively, I feel, by an independent body—without the interference of the minister—a body that would carry out all the studies and analyses, as was stated earlier on. But what we have is the minister overpowering, or putting her authority over and above this authority: She will do her own evaluation and make her own assessment outside the power she has given this authority, this board.

Subsection 16(2) of the bill deals, of course, with the intervenor funding, and I know the Speaker has watched and read very carefully about intervenor funding.

As we deal with this greater Toronto area management of waste, I question what this has to do with Bill 143. Given that the Intervenor Funding Project Act, 1988 clearly applies to the Environmental Assessment Act, it seems to me there are some ulterior motives behind all this and I would like the minister in her statements or during the time we debate this bill, to explain why it is she is putting it on to this. Maybe she is not planning at all. Maybe those are the cuts that may happen and maybe she is not planning at all to renew the Intervenor Funding Project Act when, of course as she knows, it sunsets next year. I do not know her plans. I know that there are many cuts that the Treasurer plans to make and maybe that is one of them; there are some savings here.

I know many of my colleagues would like to speak on this. In wrapping up, I just want to say—speaking directly through the Speaker to the minister, and I am glad she is here—that the concern of the people in the Durham area, although they are quite well represented in Parliament here and in the government, may feel cheated if those members do not speak in defence and in support of that area, the Whitevale and the Beare Road area. They are disillusioned at what they have seen so far, but they think there is still hope. They feel that if the bill is only in second reading there is hope.

They feel that if I could get through to the senses of the Minister of the Environment there would be still hope. They feel that if the former Minister of the Environment, who is still in the House, can bring the minister to her senses about addressing the issue, there is still hope. They hope, like the member for Oriole who spoke so eloquently on the bill and pointed out in detail some of the concerns, that there is still hope. They hope, like the third party, the member for Mississauga South—who spoke at length and they listened—although through all the noise and the rattle and insults, that somehow if 10 minutes of that three and one half hours of speech got through, there is still hope.

They say that since they had elected one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight members of the government side in that area of Durham, there is still hope; that since within those members there are two cabinet ministers sitting at that table to bring the concern to the Environment Minister about the effect it would have, there is still hope. They hope, too, that with the little knowledge that I have but, I hope, with the passion I bring to the issue, the minister will listen, that there is still hope.



But when they go back to the Agenda for People, they find no hope. They find reneging. When they go back to the behaviour of some of the members here, they say they do not think there is hope. In general, while all the members like to be recognized, I, too, want to recognize them, to say to them in our province today, the people who are hoping that some of the things that can be addressed, that justice itself can be addressed, that they can be heard through this bill, that they can recognize themselves through Bill 143 and say the minister has listened, the government has listened.

I am a very optimistic individual. I am optimistic because I feel that all members come to this House to serve the people of this province and to serve them well. I want to protect the Rouge Valley. I do not need a great expansion of the Whitevale or the Beare Road. I need the members to stand up and speak on behalf of them. Bill 143 does not help the cause.

I want to thank you again, Mr Speaker, for allowing me the opportunity to bring those concerns to this House.

2150

**Mr Offer:** If time permits, I just want to take a moment to congratulate the member for his comments on the bill. I think he brings forward the passion that a great many people feel about this particular bill.

It is not just a piece of legislation; it is a bill that talks about some very serious changes and ramifications to communities and the way they are going to be able to plan. In a very real sense it usurps and steps on the local municipality's right to plan in its community. For instance, it talks about superseding any agreements that municipalities have entered into. That is something that directly affects the area which I represent, the city of Mississauga. It talks about superseding official plans and local bylaws. These things are very important aspects, as we all know, when we talk about the communities and how they are going to be planned. I think the member has brought forward, in a very real way, the concern that many people feel in areas that will be affected.

I think what is coming out in no uncertain terms is that it is not just the areas that have the landfill sites now that are going to be affected. Yes, they are going to be directly affected, but I think what is coming out in no uncertain terms is that many other areas—an incredible number of areas—are going to be affected by this particular piece of legislation. What this legislation does really is take local planning initiatives, of municipalities and of regional municipalities, out of their hands. Those are the people best able, best equipped to deal with these matters. This bill really tramples on their right to do what people have elected them to do. I congratulate the member for his comments on the bill.

**Mr Wiseman:** I would like to respond to a few comments from the member for Scarborough North. His recollection of history is a little bit wanting in terms of what he was saying about the landfill site search in my constituency and the P-1 landfill site search. The point that I would like to make is that the P-1 site in north Pickering sits on top of three aquifers, the headwaters of the little Rouge,

the Petticoat Creek and Duffin Creek. This site was chosen somewhat arbitrarily, probably at the whim of some minister and maybe the councillor from Etobicoke West.

They were going to run this, if memory serves me correctly, under an Environmental Protection Act hearing, not an Environmental Assessment Act hearing. What strikes me as a little bit interesting is that they complain about rights. There was no option, we believe, that this site could be rejected. They were prepared to put six to eight million tons of garbage on this site, which is hydrogeologically difficult in the first place, and which is prime agricultural land in the second, with an Environmental Protection Act hearing. They stand here in a very interesting turnabout decrying and saying that they are the protectors of people's rights. I have a great deal of difficulty with that.

**The Speaker:** Further questions or comments? The member for Scarborough North has up to two minutes to respond.

**Mr Curling:** I am very pleased that my comments have aroused and awakened the member, because I wanted him to say something about that area. Ever since the election I have not heard him saying very much. All I am saying is I am glad that this debate itself has allowed them to start speaking on the issue. If they lie dormant like this, places like Whitevale and the Pickering site will go through this and maybe, of course, expand the dump site there.

I want to tell the honourable member that my interest in that area, and I am sure he has a great interest in that area too, is that they do it right, that they listen. I am saying that the member is elected there, and the minister is in his caucus. I want him to carry the message. He has, as I pointed out to him, almost seven members in that area. He should speak to them in the same way when he stands up with his Premier, his leader there, and talks about protecting it. In one statement the member said, "People in Whitevale and through Pickering-Ajax are vehemently opposed to the dump and looked to Stoner, who got elected three years ago on an anti-dump platform, to help them." Let me hear the same thing from the member and all the members over there. I am telling them that this bill has been crafted in a bad way and if they listen we can save it and the chicken will not come home to roost.

**Mr Stockwell:** I have thought long about exactly how this speech will unfold and exactly the comments in the past that this government has made and exactly how far adrift this government has gone from its days in opposition. I think back to the time when the member for Durham West would come down and make deputations before Metro council. He was so eloquent in his speeches at Metro council in his concern for the environment and how strong he was about preserving the environment and environmental protection hearings and the Environmental Assessment Act.

2200

I thought long about the Minister of the Environment, sitting through many speeches at Etobicoke council and in the House here, hearing her comments in the House when she was in opposition to the then Minister of the Environment, the member for St Catharines, and how mixed the



message was today compared with the very defined, the very obvious positions and stances this government has taken in the past, when in opposition.

It makes me wonder exactly how power affects this government, exactly how the mantle of power weighs on their shoulders. Let me be very clear: This piece of legislation, Bill 143, will follow them around for the rest of their lives. They will never ever live this down.

**Mr Harnick:** Like a big albatross.

**Mr Stockwell:** It will be the albatross. It will be the weight around the government's neck. It will be the biggest mistake it has made as a government and the biggest mistake it has ever made as an environmental party.

It is very important that we go back a few years to the early 1980s and the debate at Metro council and other councils in the Metropolitan Toronto region when it became clear that we were involved in a garbage crisis. At that time, a kind of quasi GTA was formed. It was a very important step taken by Peel, Metro Toronto, York and Durham. At no time in the past had four regions in the Metropolitan Toronto area come together to resolve what we considered to be the greatest crisis we in Metro Toronto faced in the 1980s.

As we go back to those early 1980s and mid-1980s, the landfill sites were being filled at unbelievable rates. The expansion and growth of Metropolitan Toronto was second to none, I think, in North America, maybe even the world. We had incredible amounts of waste being sent or diverted to our landfill sites. Keele Valley was opened not many months before this and was projected to be a very helpful addition to our landfill concerns. We felt the Keele site, Maple as it was known then, would last 20 years, maybe longer.

Subsequently, it was very clear that it was not going to last. I believe it was then Chairman Flynn, also a man from Etobicoke, who sat on council with the Minister of the Environment and would remember very well her eloquent speeches at council about process and the environment, landfilling and development. It is hard to believe it is the same person I am looking at today but it was the same person. Mr Herrema, whom the member for Durham West will certainly remember, represented Durham and his council supported the Whitevale site. To make the suggestion that this was foisted on them by some provincial government is half-baked at best. The council in Durham supported that site, let members opposite make no mistake about that.

**Mr Wiseman:** Not the people.

**Mr Stockwell:** Not the people, the member for Durham West suggests. I suggest to the member that the people in Peel do not support the expansion of Britannia and the people in York do not support the expansion of Keele Valley with not a minute of public hearings. If the member is fighting for the people, he should vote against this bill.

The GTA members got together and searched for two things. They searched for a short-term site and a long-term site. The members of those councils, represented by their chairmen, agreed on one issue and one issue alone, that

each region would have to put on the table a short-term landfill site adopted and endorsed by the council.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** Who put Keele Valley on the table?

**Mr Stockwell:** If the minister will just hold on, I will finish. Peel put a site on the table, York put a site on the table, Durham put Whitevale on the table and Metro put the Rouge on the table.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** York put Keele.

**Mr Stockwell:** Metro council put the Rouge Valley on the table. The minister can twist it any way she likes. It does not surprise me, the way she is twisting the facts today. They put the Rouge Valley on the table.

When they put those four sites on the table for short-term dump sites, the sites were accepted by the councils, endorsed and supported. This all works within Bill 143. We must go back to find out how this government has reached this draconian level. This measure is so draconian that it usurps the rights of public citizens.

Those sites were put on the table. We debated at length. We had the NDP down at Metro council. I even believe that the now Premier showed up at one point to be a deputation to the works committee to talk about the dump sites and how unreasonable and unfair it was to the public to approve dump sites with only an Environmental Protection Act hearing, only a shortened environmental assessment hearing.

And 11 short months later, once they gained this power, they are attacking the Environmental Assessment Act, neighbourhoods, councils, planning acts, OMB decisions, Peel, York and Metro. They are attacking the people who have a right to be heard about something as important as a landfill site in their community. That is what they are doing.

As we go back in history, this particular process may not have been a perfect process. No one suggests it was a perfect process, but it was a damned sight better than this piece of legislation before this House today. That was the councils' role. They had to find short-term sites. Also in that role, under the then Minister of the Environment, the member for St Catharines, they were directed to do another thing. They were directed to find long-term landfill sites. Those long-term landfill sites were investigated and studied. Money was spent.

Members should bear in mind very clearly that a lot of money was spent on the short-term sites as well. On those short-term sites, the member for Etobicoke Lakeshore suggested that a shortened environmental assessment hearing would not serve the needs of the community. I just cannot believe she can stand here today and introduce this piece of legislation. This is worse than a fish on a beach. This is a total abdication of any principles and policy decisions this person stood for. It is unbelievable. She is not even recognizable today with this piece of legislation coming into this chamber under her name.

This minister is the environment's worst nightmare, the dirt kisser from way back who stood in this Legislature and around this province.

**Hon Mr Allen:** The what?

**Mr Stockwell:** The environmentalist, the dirt kisser.

**Mr Harnick:** It is the equivalent of a tree hugger.



**Mr Stockwell:** It is the same as a tree hugger.

**The Speaker:** Will the member for Etobicoke West take his seat for a moment, please. I missed the comment at first, but it has been repeated. It would be helpful if the member could find a different term to use for his description.

**Mr Stockwell:** It is much like a tree hugger. I will certainly withdraw.

This minister, who stood on many points in this House and outside this House and questioned the veracity of the shortened environmental process, is now instituting a bill that allows for absolutely no public input on the expansion of Keele Valley and Britannia.

We then reached the stage during this process when the councils supported the short-term dump sites, when the councils that were looking for long-term dump sites went about the province searching for a rational and reasonable site that would be, I might add, a happy host. That was one of the provisions within it. A couple of those sites were found around this province and investigated. Money was spent drilling those sites to see the worthiness of whether they would be acceptable landfill sites.

2210

This minister opposed that process as well. This minister suggested it would be improbable or impractical to deliver GTA garbage outside of the GTA. The same minister who sits here today knows full well that garbage from Metropolitan Toronto is being shipped south of the border. The same minister who suggested that you cannot go around shipping Metro garbage outside of the Metro region or the GTA, has simply acquiesced to the fact that Metro garbage is being shipped south of the border, as though the United States is some Third World nation that is allowed to collect our garbage but no one else is. Hypocrisy. It is very interesting—the new left, the new NDP and its new approach to the environment and environmental concerns and the people of this province.

This process went on for maybe seven or eight years. In 1990 they reached the stage of finding a happy host. That happy host was Kirkland Lake. It was well known that the people of Kirkland Lake supported the Metropolitan Toronto decision to make it a long-term landfill site—by some 79%, I believe. It could be 71%, but it was a substantial majority of the people in Kirkland Lake. Why did they do that? Because they were struggling. They had an economy that was not moving, a tremendous unemployment rate and needed an influx of capital to revitalize the community. Metropolitan Toronto was prepared to put in hundreds of millions of dollars to open up the landfill site and a recycling program as well, hundreds of millions of dollars to jump-start the Kirkland Lake community. I might add that the Kirkland Lake community endorsed this. Council endorsed this. The majority of people in Kirkland Lake endorsed this. There was at last a happy host to relieve the burden of the landfill site from Metropolitan Toronto.

The suggestion is that the government should not be shipping garbage north. There may be some debate and there is at least room for discussion. I am not opposed to that line of thinking; it is a rational thought. I think if the government could discuss it with the people of Kirkland

Lake and Metro Toronto, they might reach a compromise. But no, this minister would not even hear of discussion on this topic. She pulled it from the table.

What else did she do? The five or six years' worth of work, the millions and millions of taxpayers' dollars that were spent on seeking an alternative site within Metropolitan Toronto, within the GTA, that met with the guidelines of the Minister of the Environment—what did she do? She pulled those off the table—millions of taxpayers' dollars and years of work to try and resolve the short-term landfill crisis that we in the greater Toronto area were facing.

The real sham of the whole escapade is that this minister stood up in this House 10 months ago, maybe longer, and said she had analysed the garbage crisis, she had read the reports, she had spoken to the people she needed to speak to and she had decided, in her own wisdom, that there would be no garbage gap. With the 3Rs implemented by this government and the recession, she would not need to find an interim landfill site because her 3Rs would alleviate the need for a garbage gap.

Eleven months ago, she took an issue over from the Liberal government and said there was no problem. Do members understand that? She said in this House there was no problem, there would be no garbage gap. Yet today she stood in this House, pointed an accusing finger at the then Liberal government and said: "It's all your fault. You've mishandled this issue." But 11 months ago there was not a problem. Eleven months ago there was no garbage gap. I ask the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore, who mishandled this problem? Eleven months ago she did not have a problem and today she has a problem. May I suggest if anyone in this House has mishandled this problem, it is the minister. She has mishandled this problem. She has created this crisis. She told us 11 months ago that there was no problem, and in the same 11 months she is the only Minister of the Environment I know who created the new problem.

I ask this minister, when she responds, to discuss that statement, to discuss how she can go from no problem 11 months ago to a problem today and tell me that it is all the previous Liberal government's fault. That is shallow logic not befitting a minister in the province.

The next very distressing point that came along in this quagmire of errors, this disgraceful display by the socialists, this issue that they have refused to deal with head on, was the total destruction of absolutely any piece of legislation that dealt with the protection of the environment in this province today. These are the same socialists who in opposition would not allow a single change in the environmental assessment hearing because it would hurt the process. It would do irreparable damage. It would be unreasonable to expect neighbourhoods and people in areas to live around a dump site that did not go through a full environmental assessment hearing.

That was a noble position often put forward by the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore, the Minister of the Environment. But today we have a piece of legislation here, and the member for Durham West has the absolute gall to stand up here today and suggest that the Liberal government was going to shorten the environmental assessment process and make an Environmental Protection Act that



takes some five to seven years, saying it would be irresponsible and not befitting a government that would oppress his neighbourhood and his people.

The member for Durham West should sit down with his Minister of the Environment. Does he realize what Bill 143 does? Does he know what it does? It takes away absolutely any opportunity for the public in the regions of York and Peel to have input into the expansion of the garbage sites in their backyards.

In Durham they were going to give them five to seven years of hearings. The Minister of the Environment knew they were getting five to seven years in Durham, and she said that was not good enough. Yet under her legislation she is not giving them even 20 seconds of hearings, and she defends this public policy; she stands in this House and defends it.

I understand what we have here is a classic case of NIMBY, which is the most politically devastating acronym you can face today. NIMBY—not in my backyard. The member for Durham West cannot stop salivating to vote in favour of it, to hinder someone else's area and neighbourhood and homes. It is absolutely repulsive that he could take such a position.

The member suggests I do not know what I am talking about. I will be more than happy to go to his neighbourhood, to his riding, and go up to the York region in that riding and have a public debate on this issue. I will be happy to debate this publicly and bring in experts to find out exactly who does not know what they are talking about.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order. It would be helpful if the member for Etobicoke West could address his remarks to the Chair and if the member for Durham West could exercise a bit of restraint and wait for his opportunity to respond to the speech from the member for Etobicoke West.

2220

**Mr Stockwell:** I see the member for Durham West is having trouble staying awake. The people in York and Peel are not having any trouble at all staying awake now that the government has forced this down their throats with not one second of public hearings. The member should be ashamed of that, I say to my friend.

We then reached the stage where this minister suggested there was no garbage gap. Some 11 months later she stood in this House and said she made a terrible mistake; there was a garbage gap, and she was going to have to take emergency powers. The really sad part about it is we all knew 11 months before that when she stood in this House and said there would be no garbage gap that there would be one. Everybody knew it. Metropolitan Toronto knew it. Durham knew it. York knew it. Peel knew it. The members opposite knew it.

I know for a fact that members of the NDP on Metropolitan Toronto council knew it. Richard Gilbert, who is a known NDPer, was very public in his criticism about the shortsightedness of this minister. Dale Martin, a member of Metro council, also an NDPer, was very public in his criticism about the shortsightedness of this minister. Those are known NDPers who knew full well that there was

going to be a garbage gap and that this minister was not dealing forthrightly with the public in Ontario.

We now have a garbage gap. We now have no short-term landfill sites on the table because this minister pulled them all off; she pulled off years of work and millions and millions of taxpayers' dollars that went into those years of work. We have no long-term site to go to because that has been pulled off the table and the millions and millions of dollars of taxpayers' money that has been invested. Then she stands before us and says: "The Liberals messed this up. It's their fault. I don't know what happened."

If the minister did not pull the short-term dump site—

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I'd be in a worse mess.

**Mr Stockwell:** The minister knows. She said she does not know how she got into this mess; it was the Liberals' fault. If the minister had not pulled the short-term dump sites off the table, she would not be in this mess. If she had not pulled the long-term dump sites off the table, she would not be in this mess, and if she did not have such a shortsighted attitude to the garbage gap that was as plain as the nose on her face she would not be in the mess she is in today.

But this minister, the Minister of Shangri-La, chose to ignore the obvious. The minister who did not want to deal with reality chose to ignore the obvious. The minister who did not want to have to deal with some hostile neighbourhoods and hostile communities did not want to admit the obvious. The obvious was that there was a garbage gap and everybody knew it. The minister knew it because her own ministry was telling her there was a garbage gap. I dare the minister to show us one person who had any expertise in this field, who recommended to her that by implementing her 3Rs there would not be a garbage gap. I challenge her to name one individual who gave her that advice, because that individual does not exist. The only person who said there would be no garbage gap was the minister and that is how shortsighted this minister was on this very crucial and important issue.

What is the next step? We have a Premier who sits beside the Minister of the Environment who went around this province during the election and made very unfortunate and unreasonable promises, promises that no one could keep. He practically promised there would be no garbage. That was practically what he did, because every time he was at a landfill site or a proposed landfill site, he promised the people of that area that they would have to go through full environmental assessment proceedings and hearings to get it approved.

The socialist caucus should ask the minister about the last waste landfill site that was approved under the full environmental assessment hearing. The last one that was approved, as I recall, was a site in Halton. This was 1990. We were going to be out of landfill space by the mid-1990s in Metro Toronto. The Premier went around this province promising everyone that they would have to go through full environmental assessment hearings. The last site that was ever approved, and the minister knows this very well, was in Halton. Do you know how long it took to get that approved under the Environmental Assessment Act, Mr Speaker? Seventeen years.



The Premier went to all the landfill sites and made the promise there would be a full environmental assessment hearing on every single landfill site that he attended in this province. He was not being forthright. The Minister of the Environment was not being forthright in her criticisms of the previous government. To suggest to all parties that they would have to go through an environmental assessment hearing on any new sites meant that we were 17 years behind the eight-ball, and we only had four or five years left of landfill sites in Toronto. I ask the caucus members, do they think that they were stretching the truth just a little bit? Do they think that maybe they made it up as they went along? Do you think maybe, Mr Speaker, they were simply saying it to get some votes? I do not think that is a quantum leap.

The sad part about this whole process is that then one looks at the Agenda for People, because this is the party that produced this document that spoke about people being tired of governments that say one thing at election time and do something completely different when they are elected. I would like to ask the minister, when during the election did she tell the people of Keele and Britannia that she was going to expand their sites with not a minute of public hearings? When did the minister tell them that? When did her Premier tell them that? As I recall, they told them they would have full environmental assessment hearings.

The people of York and Peel deserve one thing for sure; they deserve a full public apology from this government for the misleading information that it gave them during the election of 1990. They were foolish to believe it, but they are so foolish now, because they are forced to accept an expansion to a landfill site that the government promised it would not do.

The ultimate irony was, I believe, in the first week of August. Their Premier, the member for York South, sat in that office downstairs and called the then Premier, David Peterson, a liar for not carrying out the promises he made in the last campaign. The absolute, unmitigated gall of this collection of socialists is absolutely beyond belief. The ones who suffer are the poor citizens who surround Keele Valley and Britannia.

This Premier—I want to emphasize this—did not call Mr Peterson a liar just once. You would think if he said it once, it might have been a slip: “Oh jeez, he shouldn’t have said that.” Or if he said it maybe twice, you would think: “He slipped twice. We can forgive him for twice.” He called them a liar five times. Once he called them a liar for not fulfilling his campaign promises on auto insurance. It is all collected in the agenda for power that they produced to buy votes from the special-interest groups to put themselves where they are today.

The most interesting part of this debate is—

**Mr Morrow:** You are wasting time.

**Mr Stockwell:** I do not think this is a waste of time, my friend. I do not believe this is a waste of time. I think this is a very important, public process that needs to be aired. I think the people of Peel and the people of York consider it to be a very important public process. If the member thinks I am wasting his time, I suggest he leave, because I think there are a lot of people around the greater

Toronto area, and in York and Peel particularly, who think this is a very important issue.

The next issue we must deal with is, why did this government make these promises that it could not keep, knowing full well it could not keep them? That issue has been dealt with over a series of debates in this House. The funny thing is, the member for York Centre—I think he is from York region—asked the Premier, which was really interesting, “When you stood on that site at the Keele Valley and you said you will not have an expansion here without a full environmental assessment hearing—you said those words, Mr Premier, because I saw you on TV”—he said to the Premier exactly that—“was that you, Bob? Who said that?” The Premier got up and he referred the question to the Minister of the Environment, as if she would know if it was Bob, because he was not sure if it was Bob.

2230

That is how sad this whole debate has gotten: The Premier will not even admit that it was him making these promises.

The Minister of the Environment got up and she got mad at the member for asking the question. The minister should know there are a lot of people in York and a lot of people in Peel who are asking the very same question. So what does that take us to? Public process. These were the champions of public process, as I look across. At any council I sat on, you could count on the socialists to bring forward the public process argument. Nothing could be approved without enormous public meetings, without enormous public input. If you wanted to build a semi-detached house, you had to have a public hearing. If you wanted to develop, let’s say, the motel strip—how about that one?—you would have to have public hearings for 25 or 30 years.

Here we are today with this government which approved the motel strip in about 20 minutes. They could not do it in 25 or 30 years, but they did it in about 20 minutes at a backroom meeting one night. We have this government which endorses public process—and I remember the minister’s speeches. They were eloquent on public process and never usurping the rights of the people to public process. Do members remember those? It was not just the motel strip but all developments.

Here is this minister, who sat on cable 10 in Etobicoke and made these wonderful speeches to the people of Long Branch and Mimico and New Toronto and Alderwood and said, “Public process is so important and it is me, the NDP member on this council, protecting your rights.” What the heck happened to public process? Where did she go wrong? What happened on the way down Lakeshore Boulevard and up University Avenue? There has been a conversion like I have never, ever seen before. The cable 10 show in Etobicoke about public process—there was always time for public process. Here we have Bill 143, a full expansion of landfill sites in Peel and York. There is not time for one minute of public process.

In fact, they have strayed so far from their ideology—they slipped on public auto insurance—they claim the recession had something to do with that. They have slipped



on their budgeting; they claim the recession had something to do with that. They do not have enough money. Their day care policy is gone. Non-profit housing is history, and all these promises they made, because of the recession. Members think they cannot possibly break another promise because they all cost money; then we have Sunday shopping. That does not cost them any money. They cannot use the recession as a cost for Sunday shopping. Then they give up on that one. You can shop in Ontario in the months that start with the letter D; that is what you can do in Ontario today.

So that piece of rigid ideology in Bill 143 falls into that. It has totally slipped, totally gone. The public process is no longer necessary. Do members know why? Because they know best.

[Applause]

**Mr Stockwell:** Some of the deep thinkers in their caucus applaud this. I will say categorically that there are a tremendous number of people in the region of York, there are a tremendous number of people in Mississauga and Peel, the GTA, in Metropolitan Toronto and in Durham and in Halton who would like very much to comment on this piece of legislation. Their own minister did not even want to send this out to public hearings. Did the member for Durham West hear that? At least at Metro council we had public hearings and heard his complaints. His government did not even want to send this out for public hearings. He should be ashamed of himself. This government should be ashamed of itself.

It forced this opposition party and that opposition party to negotiate a tough deal even to allow the public to comment on this bill. The government was the protector of the process; it was the protector of public input. What happened? What happened to its principles? What happened to its ideology? What happened to its commitment? Are the cars that big? Are the salaries that large? Is that the case? This government has sold out like no government has ever sold out in the past, ever.

This particular package will eliminate any need to have much debate about this come the next election. Why? Because this is the most damaging piece of environmental legislation ever to hit the tables in this Legislature. I cannot believe the NDP caucus can be so cavalier about this. I cannot believe its members think this is a good piece of legislation. I cannot believe, after reading this, that they think this is a good thing to do. I would love to see the defence. The defence is, "The Liberals left us a mess and we had to clean it up." But that argument is so fake, it is so false, because 11 months ago there was no garbage gap and there was no problem. So how come, 11 months later, it is the dirty Liberals' fault, when there was no gap 11 months ago? There was no need for a short-term deal—

Interjection.

**Mr Stockwell:** I ask the minister. I am not kidding, that is what the minister said. The minister said that; there was no gap. There was no need for a short-term site because the 3Rs that she implemented, recant—I am sorry, those are the wrong 3Rs. Reduce, reuse and recycle, those 3Rs were going to resolve the problem, and there was no

problem. Now 11 months later, there is a problem and it is all the Liberals' fault and they are, of course, liars. We heard that one back in election time because they did not fulfil their campaign promises.

So it has absolutely reached the stage where the socialists that I once knew, the proud socialists, the NDP, are totally unrecognizable; the protectors of the environment, the purveyors of process.

**Mr Hope:** The tree huggers.

**Mr Stockwell:** The tree huggers. They got arrested, for goodness' sake. Some of them even got arrested for protecting the environment. I cannot even recognize this government, this minister and this bill. If they honestly believe this is a proper piece of legislation, I invite all members of the NDP caucus, all members from outside the GTA, to please come to the public hearings in the GTA and hear what the people say. They should hear what the people say about the legislation, what the people think about not one minute of public hearings on this legislation and what the people say about the rights it gives the Minister of the Environment, or a director from the Ministry of the Environment. They should hear what the people have to say about that.

Let's hear what Pollution Probe has to say, or Greenpeace, or all the other socialist plans that came in on an ongoing basis to Metro council. We heard from them ad nauseam about the public process, about environment, about landfilling etc. It seems funny that none of these people is going to be given an opportunity to speak to the expansion of Keele Valley and Peel.

Does that not make the minister uncomfortable? Does that not make her feel difficult? Does it not make it difficult to talk to these people again? Does it not make her uncomfortable to stand up and defend this bill that she spoke about at great length in opposition, about how terrible these kinds of things were? Does she not feel uncomfortable? Does she not think that she has sold out? Does she not think that everything she stood for is now just a distant memory? Does she not think that at all?

Does she not think that, according to Metropolitan Toronto councils solicitors—here is a good one—the EPA, part V, is important? Does the minister not think the Aggregate Resources Act is important? Does she not think the Lakes and Rivers Improvement Act is important? Does the minister not think the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act and the Municipal Act are important? Does she not think those are important pieces of legislation put in place to protect the citizens' environmental soundness?

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Does she not think the Planning Act is important? This is amazing. The minister is bulldozing over the Planning Act. She used that more times in defence of opposing developments and projects in Etobicoke than there are members in this House. She is bulldozing the Planning Act. I cannot believe it. I swear she took the Planning Act to bed with her before. It was so important to her. Today, she is just bulldozing it. She does not want anything to do with the Planning Act.



Does she not think the Regional Municipality of York Act is important, or in fact the approval of Vaughan under subsection 66(3) of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act? Does the minister not think they are important?

Here is a really important question that needs to be asked of this minister. Does the minister not think that her environmental bill of rights is important? Does she not think that her environmental bill of rights is a piece of legislation that should be introduced to protect the people in Ontario from governments and from other—

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I hope to have your support when I do.

**Mr Stockwell:** I hope I can support it. But does the minister not think it is important that the act be given full weight? The very interesting part about this is, the first piece of legislation that this minister will bring in, besides this one, will be her Environmental Protection Act.

Do members know what the second piece of legislation will be when she brings that in? She is going to bring in a piece of legislation that will ignore the Environmental Protection Act and allow Keele Valley and Britannia to expand. That is the very second piece of information she has hung her hat on. She staked her political career on her Environmental Protection Act. She has introduced it in the Legislature at least once, maybe more.

The first act she is going to have to contravene when she expands Keele Valley and Britannia is her own Environmental Protect Act. Does the minister not think that is the ultimate irony? Is she not embarrassed by this? How can she hold her head up, when the first act she is going to contravene is her own environmental bill of rights? That is almost laughable. If it were not so serious, we would think it is laughable.

Here we go now. We are reaching a stage in our Legislature's rebirth, the rebirth of the socialists who have changed. I admit they have changed. They are trying to make themselves into, I guess, Red Tories. I really do think that. I think they all would want to look like David Crombie, if they could. I cannot get over the metamorphosis that has taken place right before our eyes. This socialist doctrine that they live by has been thrown out the window in the name of political expediency.

I think a few of the ministers have sold out big-time. There is no question in my mind that the insurance issue was a sellout big-time. That was probably a big fight in caucus. That is probably a big fight by the other members of caucus. It is understandable because when they went to the door, particularly in other regions of this province, there was quite an issue, I am sure, in insurance. That was a big fight.

That was a big fight, and then the budget was a big fight. They know \$10 billion must be a lot of money because a lot of people have spoken about it. So that was probably a big fight; maybe not a fight, but they certainly had some angst or a little concern about that kind of dollars being spent.

I think a few other issues that have come along have been a great concern, but what bothers me is I do not think this was a big issue in that caucus across the floor. I do not think this got 20 minutes, and the sad part about it is, I do

not think it got 20 minutes because I do not think they understand it.

It does seem rather interesting, but I do not really believe they understand it. I do not think they understand how wide-ranging and encompassing this piece of legislation is. I do not think they understand that the decision for a dump site gets taken out of anybody's hands and put in one person's hands. I do not think they understand that. I do not think they understand that there is no process for the government to appeal a dump site. None. No process. It is a decision that is made by the minister and director. If the government members think that is a reasonable, acceptable approach to governing the province, then I do not think they are truly socialists. I do not think they are politicians, because that is what they are doing with this piece of legislation.

I will say categorically that I still do not believe the members across the floor fully understand the ramifications involved in this bill. I think they do not understand them because, when this bill gets passed and we have public hearings, I think a lot of those members across the floor are going to change their tune. Maybe not the member for Durham West, because he sold out. He thinks that his Whitevale is off the table. Why is he going to change his tune? Because this minister right here before our very eyes, the Minister of the Environment, has a list. She has a list of sites around this province that she can open without any hearings, without any public process. Do the members know what is on that list? I am going to guess what is on that list. I think Whitevale is on that list. I think Whitevale is on that list, I say to the member for Durham West.

**Mr Bradley:** Is she checking it twice?

**Mr Stockwell:** She is checking it twice and she is going to find out who is a Tory and a Liberal and not a dipper. She is going to find out which ridings are in the opposition and which ridings are the dippers' ridings. She is going to keep as many as she can out of the dippers' ridings, but there we have to pare it. The member is doing a good job; he should get a raise. But the government is going to have to come up with a few in NDP-held ridings, and I would suggest that when that list gets made public, there will be some major fallout in that caucus, because they are going to realize their sacred political hide is on the line. People in their ridings are going to say, "Gee, we did not elect you to put a dump site in our backyard." The members are going to stand up and say, "Well, I am not going to support it," and the minister is going to say: "Tough, I can do it anyway. You passed Bill 143."

Jaws are going to drop and they are going to say, "Jeez, I knew I should have read that bill," but it will be too late. It will be too late for my friends from Whitevale, too late for my friends from Orillia, Marmora or Newcastle. It will be too late for them. It will be too late for the people from the Rouge, because they will be on the list. They are probably all on the list. Why do we not think the minister of the Environment will release the list? Because she does not want to tell any members of her caucus who is on the list, because she thinks they will start to think. When they start to think, they may oppose Bill 143. That is a quantum leap, but I think that just may happen.



So the question has been put a number of times, and I will take the opportunity to put it to her. Why does she not give us the list? What is she hiding? I guess any time a Minister of the Environment will not give a list of prospective landfill sites, one would have to think: "Gee, there must be a lot of landfill sites on there. Gee, there must be a lot of people who would be really upset if they found out. Oh, my gosh, even some of my caucus members might be upset, like the member for Durham West and his Whitevale dump."

Now, I really hope his site is not on there. I really hope that. But I think it is. I think the Rouge is on there. I think Newcastle is on there. I think there are sites—Orillia maybe, Newcastle; maybe those sites are on there. Maybe the minister will have a site for Kingston. Maybe she will have a site for Kingston to alleviate the problem they have about shipping garbage to Ottawa, but the minister will not tell anyone what is on the site.

Here we have a government that opposed the previous government and any shortening at all in the Environmental Assessment Act. So what do they do? They do not have any at all. They do not have an Environmental Assessment Act. They do not have an Environmental Protection Act. They used to oppose them for having secret lists; then they used to oppose them for having public hearings on these sites unless they were happy hosts. So this government has no act by which to measure the environmental soundness of certain sites, and it has a secret list it will not tell anybody about.

I remember sitting in this House when the announcement was made that there was no garbage gap, and I recall very vividly when I said: "You're kidding the troops, Madam Minister. You're kidding the troops. There's going to be a garbage gap." I remember much the same as the member across is doing now: "Oh, don't waste our time. We know you're wrong. There's going to be no garbage gap. We're going to implement the 3Rs—reduce, reuse and recycle." They are going to implement the 3Rs and there will be no garbage gap. They laughed and they joked and they made faces, much like the member is doing across the floor, because they were not worried. As Hazel says, the Great White Mother was going to look after them. But 11 short months later they found out that the Minister of the Environment was wrong. They do have a garbage gap and they are going to have to expand sites.

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They made the same kind of statements and muggings that they are doing today. It is rather humorous, because I will have a good belly laugh, I suppose, come five or six months, when they introduce the list of sites. It is going to be really, really interesting to see the fallout in that caucus when they introduce the new secret list.

We now have this draconian piece of legislation introduced by the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore—whom, if this was ever introduced when she was in opposition, we would still be peeling from the ceiling—that usurps all the rights, all the opportunities that any of the public has as far as public hearings and environmental process for the expansion of waste sites. It basically allows the government, minister or director to pick sites, allows the police into any

area on your land—totally draconian. If you do not let them on your land to investigate your land, then they get a court order and they can come on your land. This is a government which knows about calling the police, but here is another act about calling the police that they can use, all in the name of environmental protection.

Well, I challenge this government to go out in public, on tour, to debate and discuss this piece of legislation with the affected municipalities. I challenge them because I know full well that when the member for Durham West was in Durham and they were talking about shortening the Environmental Assessment Act, and the new Environmental Protection Act was going to be a few years long, that was not acceptable. That was not acceptable to the member for Durham West and not acceptable to his community.

Now the member for Durham West says, "This act"—that allows for no public input in the region of York and the region of Peel; it does not happen to be the region of Durham—"is acceptable." How does he square that with his community? How is he going to square that with his community when he finds out Whitevale is back on the list? How is he going to square that with this community when they are allowed to open Whitevale without any public process? How does he square that in his own mind? How does he square that—

**An hon member:** You don't know what you're talking about.

**Mr Stockwell:** We never seem to know what we are talking about, but I told the member for Durham West there was going to be a garbage gap. He told me there would not be and that I did not know what I was talking about. I told him they were going to have to expand the two sites in Keele and the site in Britannia. I told him they were going to have to expand, and he said I did not know what I was talking about.

It is funny how every time I do not seem to know what I am talking about, they are wrong. Maybe they should listen up a little bit and they might learn something. It is going to be really interesting that this government will have to go to the public and square it with the public—

Interjections.

**Mr Stockwell:** I did not. We have a couple of dreamers across the floor here, members.

It is going to be really interesting when this government goes out in public hearings and tries to square this with the constituents and public in the affected areas, because I do not think for a moment that if this government were in opposition, it would have accepted expansions to Keele and to Britannia with no public hearings.

So it comes up to a brief summary, to allow my friends in the official opposition an opportunity to speak. The brief summary is this:

This government that opposed any changes to the Environmental Assessment Act to expedite the concerns in the GTA for waste has now approved a process that allows for no environmental assessment hearings. This government that told us 11 months ago there would be no garbage gap, this government that suggested in opposition that any change or designation or variant from the EAA would not



be accepted by them, this government and its Premier—who, I will remind members, called then Premier Peterson a liar downstairs five times—they are going to coddle the member from Durham; he is obviously nervous. This government that sat here or stood on the site at Keele and Britannia, this government that said it would never allow Keele to be expanded or Britannia to be expanded without a full environmental assessment hearing, was in my opinion telling untruths. It was misleading the public.

Interjections.

**Mr Stockwell:** I will not retract, Mr Speaker, because there are communities out there that have been developed abutting these dump sites on the provision that there would be no expansion. Those agreements were legal, binding contracts entered into by the regional government and the local government, entered into by Metro council and Vaughan. Those were contracts signed that said there would be no expansion. The NDP Premier, during the election, stood there and said he would not expand it without a full environmental assessment hearing.

In summary, there have been a lot of promises that this government has sold out on, but this will be the most damaging. It has done more damage to this government, it will do more damage to this government, and in three or four short years when they are back on this side of the House, they will never, ever have any credibility when it comes to the environment because of Bill 143. They will have no credibility with Bill 143 because they sold out. When they sold out, they sold out the citizens in the region of York and they sold out the citizens in the region of Peel. Eventually, depending on how long that list is, they will sell out a whole bunch of other citizens in Ontario.

The other note that is very important to mention—it is kind of interesting how both of these sites, Keele Valley and Britannia, only affect opposition members. It is kind of interesting how those are the two sites they expand. Not the sites—they had a couple of sites they could have gone forward on that NDP members were on.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** You have a very conspiratorial mind.

**Mr Stockwell:** Maybe the member is right, but it is kind of curious that the sites they are expanding are the sites held by opposition members. Members would almost think they planned it. I am not going to say they planned to break their promise, because I do not think they thought they would win. I just think one would almost think they planned this position some 10 or 11 months ago when the minister said there would be no garbage gap.

It is left up to this government to go out and defend this to the people in the province. I honestly believe the Minister of the Environment should attend public hearings. I think it is really important that the minister know this, and I think Peel and York would like to see the minister attend public meetings there. I think it is very important and that they would like to hear from her. They would like to hear her, and I think it would be very important that the Premier also attend those public meetings, because they have an undertaking that they have broken with these

communities. They have an undertaking they have not lived up to with these communities.

I think it is incumbent on them to go out to these communities and explain why they could not fulfil their undertaking. I do not think it is necessary to have the backbenchers, because I think they still have not read the legislation, which they will not understand. I think it is more important to have the Minister of the Environment and the Premier, the two members of this government who made the commitment that there would be no expansion without a full environmental assessment hearing. That is important. That is the least these people deserve. If the minister is going to do this to them, they deserve an opportunity to be heard. I think that, under any other process at any other level of government, she would agree to this. I think they deserve the opportunity to be heard.

2300

I was a little lengthier than I thought I would be, but I think it was important that we recap the history of this issue. I think it was important that we recap the history of this issue as it relates to the Minister of the Environment and her complete and utter reversal on this issue. I think it is important that we recap this history and how it relates to the Premier and how he completely broke his promise. I think it is important how we relate it to the backbenchers because this issue is not dead. This issue has just begun.

When that list comes out, I would love to be in the NDP caucus, because there are going to be jaws hitting the table faster than you can see that list being delivered. That will be very interesting. As I said before, the history will be needed when they figure out that they should have read this bill and did not. They gave away any opportunity for public process. They gave away any opportunity to oppose. Worst of all, they gave away the rights and the privileges of the people they represent. They gave them away in the name of partisan, socialist policy.

**The Speaker:** Questions or comments? The member for Cochrane South.

**Mr Bisson:** There we go, we got our mike back tonight. Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. What do you say after somewhere around an hour and a half or two hours of verbatim comments on the part of a member from the Tory party? I think the member has nothing to give in regard to this House in regard to an example of what he is talking about on this issue, because quite frankly I think he is very much mistaken in his interpretation of what this bill is all about. That, however, is not surprising, taken from the member opposite. I have yet to sit in this House or sit at home, trying to listen to what he is saying, and appreciate it for any kind of seriousness.

He has talked about saying he would love to be a member of our caucus in regard to being able to listen to what our caucus would have to say at one point. We would not have the member anyway. So with that, that is my two minutes.

**The Speaker:** The member for Brantford. Folks, make up your mind. The member for St Catharines.

**Mr Bradley:** It was kind of my colleagues to allow me a few minutes. I just wanted to comment on the speech by the member for Etobicoke West, because in the Legislature



there are often speeches delivered that are worthy of favourable comment and not simply because of the content but also because of the style and the background brought to the House.

Whether anybody agreed or disagreed with the member—I happened to agree with a lot of what he had to say this evening—I think it was a very helpful intervention. I know other people in the government who hear this kind of intervention by a member of the opposition will assume it is simply an excuse to waste time or take a partisan shot at the government. Certainly there was a degree of partisanship, as there should be in this House. Certainly it does extend the debate, but I think if the members of the Legislature listened carefully to what the member for Etobicoke West said, they would recognize that he has some considerable experience on local council in dealing with these problems.

He has also exposed the fact that when one gets into government, it is much more difficult to deal with these issues than when one is dealing with them from this side. I have had experience—eight years in opposition previous to now—and I know how easy it was when I was in opposition to suggest that the government was doing something wrong and how the solutions that I proposed, if I ever had to propose them, were solutions that perhaps I would not have to implement.

What we are seeing are a government and a minister confronting a very difficult situation. As a former minister, I have some sympathy with any minister who has to deal with this problem, but I think the debate on this bill has been enhanced by the participation of the member for Etobicoke West. I want to take this opportunity, because we do not compliment one another enough in different parties in this, to say, “Well done.”

**Mr Wiseman:** I would like to correct one item in the two minutes I have available to me, and that is the comments that are continuously made that there will be no chance for consultation for the Keele Valley and the Britannia landfill sites.

The minister indicated on November 25—it is in Hansard—that she had instructed these municipalities to undergo certain criteria: site survey, leachate collection control and disposal, contaminant plume, ground water contamination in the buffer, gas generation and management, storm water management, line of performance, final cover, buffer assessment, site operation, monitoring and after-use plan.

The minister has also requested that Peel and Metro develop public involvement processes to include the public in the studies and the assessment of the safety and soundness of the landfill sites and has also indicated that the landfill extensions will not be done if they cannot be done safely. I think these are important things to remember. Furthermore, Metro Toronto is also preparing a proposal for public involvement which will make the public even more involved in the future.

I think that the comments that the public will be excluded from this are a little farfetched and grasping at straws. There is an element in here that I find extremely gratifying to see, and that is the potential that if they are

not safe and cannot be done in a reasonable manner, they will not be done at all. I know, from personal experience with the Brock West landfill site, part of which collapsed into Duffin Creek about 12 months ago, that these are very important considerations indeed.

**Mr Conway:** I have sat here most of the late afternoon and all of this evening listening to this debate. I do not profess to understand all of the intricacies, like many of the people who have spoken before me, but I want to make a couple of observations. I agree with the member for St Catharines. Quite apart from where one stands on the issue, and I can appreciate how there are different points of view on this very contentious policy, I want to congratulate the member for Etobicoke West for giving a very lively, spirited and engaging speech. We hear all too few of these kinds of addresses in this House. I personally and deeply regret the growing tendency for people walking in here with prepared texts that in some cases—it is a criticism I think we can apply on all sides—they have not even written and read with not very much effect or with much commitment.

**Mr Wiseman:** Just consulting extensive notes.

**Mr Conway:** I say very directly to my gum-chewing friend from Blind River that the member for Etobicoke West has favoured us tonight with a very lively, entertaining, informative and combative speech. That is what I came to Parliament to be part of. As well, he brings to this discussion a very useful historical perspective.

I will not rethresh some of the straw around what my dear friend the member for York South committed the government to, from Britannia to Marmora and from Whitevale to Keele Valley in the last electoral campaign. I understand the exigencies of office, the problems of the discipline of power, but from what I have heard, it seems to me what we have in Bill 143 is a Trojan horse out of which will issue in the not-too-distant future some component parts that I think will make the lives of my friends from Marmora and Durham West, among others, lively, to say the least.

**Mr Stockwell:** I would like to thank the member for St Catharines and the member for Renfrew North for those kind words. I will probably use them in my next brochure, no doubt.

I would like to comment on the comments of the member for Durham West. It is laughable that this member can stand in this House today and the best defence he can offer for the Minister of the Environment is: “Don’t worry, folks. I told the local municipalities to hold public hearings on my decision.” What the heck is the point? They are going to hold public hearings on the decision the minister made. Has she not got the guts to go out there and defend them herself? Has she not got the guts to stand up there and talk to the people she has made this decision for? Why send the local municipalities? They did not make the decision. It was not their decision to make. The minister made it and she is telling me that they are going to have to go through all these processes to get the site approved.



2310

These processes she speaks of are nothing. It is this much when you do an environmental assessment hearing and the minister knows it. So for the minister to stand here and pretend that the processes Metropolitan Toronto is going through are some kind of replacement for the Environmental Protection Act or the Environmental Assessment Act is insulting to the people of York and Peel.

Finally—I remember the minister saying this and I have said it myself at local council—if the minister is going to make a decision that the local councils have to live with, then she must pay the piper and defend the decision to the public.

The minister is doing what she hated the most, which is having the province making the decisions and telling the municipalities to defend them. Shame on the minister.

**Mr Wiseman:** I am indeed pleased to rise today to speak on this issue of waste management. It is something with which I have a long familiarity. I will begin with a little recount of history and why I come to this position.

The very first landfill site I was unfortunate enough to encounter was less than 1,000 metres from my home on Brimley Road in Scarborough, the one that just slid into the access road of the harbour in the park at Brimley Road. I grew up just around the corner from that.

My next experience with landfill sites happened to be just up on Military Trail north of Scarborough College where Scarborough put a landfill site. Then the Beare Road landfill site in 1962—I was lucky enough not to have the unhappy circumstance of being near that, but when I moved to Ajax I became very familiar with that landfill site from my constituents who, starting in 1962, had to suffer the consequences of garbage stinking and putrefying in that area, then blowing over their community from Scarborough, only to find that when that landfill site was closed, they stuck another one in Brock West.

In total, within the confines and right on the border of Pickering, we have a grand total of almost 33 million tonnes of garbage, far beyond what anybody should have to experience.

When I decided that the environment was an important issue, important enough for me to be involved in the political arena, my constituents made me very well aware, very early on in 1987, that garbage was an important issue and the odours emanating from garbage were an important issue. That is when I became immersed in the topic of garbage and waste.

The way I operated in terms of developing what I think would be an acceptable policy was that I came at it from the point of view of what could be done in the short run and what could be done in the long run to alleviate the need for landfill sites and the need to dispose of waste.

The very first thing I recognized was that we needed to get on with the 3Rs, reduce, reuse and recycle. In most cases, even “reclaim” would be a good R to add to that. My philosophical approach to waste developed in the context of the crucible of my constituents saying to me: “We’ve had enough of Metro’s garbage. We want some accountability.”

It was not bad enough that Brock West was receiving millions of tonnes of Metro’s garbage. Metro also owned, in the northwest corner of Ajax, a place called Brock South, which was an old stone quarry within 50 metres of Duffin Creek.

I do not know why, but it seems that people in Metro like to put their landfill sites in river valleys and close to watersheds, any we want to name. Even Keele Valley is on the headwaters of the Don. Brock West is on Duffin Creek. Beare Road is right across the road in Rouge. They wanted to put another one in Brock South, which is just downstream from Duffin Creek. Then they wanted to go to P-1, which is on the headwaters of the Little Rouge, Petticoat Creek and Duffin Creek. I do not know what it is about river valleys, but they sure are attractive for landfill sites. The one in Newcastle is also on both sides of the creek in Newcastle.

I came to my understanding of waste through my constituents, and I ran in the 1987 election against the member who sat in this place for two years, 11 months and some odd days, Norah Stoner. I lost that election, but I talked about the environment. It was my major plank. I talked about the water in Lake Ontario, I talked about waste and I talked about reducing, recycling and reclaiming. From that, I became very committed to make sure that any landfill site located anywhere would have to undergo the most stringent environmental process to the point where we buried our political ideology.

I sat in the constituency office of Norah Stoner one night in October 1987 with Tories, New Democrats and Liberals, and we created an organization called PACT for the Environment—Pickering and Ajax Citizens Together for the Environment. It crossed all boundaries. The one thing that held that organization together was the philosophical belief in certain points. One, the process must be equitable, fair and honest for everybody. Two, any municipality must take care of its own garbage as close to the source of creation as possible. Those are the two biggest tenets. The third was that any landfill site that would be created would have to undergo a full environmental assessment process under the Environmental Assessment Act.

We sent a deputation to the then Minister of the Environment, the honourable member for St Catharines. I was at that table with all the directors of PACT. We made that same commitment there. We never said at any time that we did not want a landfill site in Ajax or Pickering. We never made the NIMBY comment, because that would be unacceptable. What we said was, “Let’s have a process that will find the best site and will be equitable, honest and fair.”

We made that suggestion to the then minister, who obviously was not able to follow through. On more than one occasion I made the same presentation to Metro council, making the same points about the process to be honest, fair, equitable and having garbage dealt with as close to the source as possible. We never said we should not have a garbage dump in Ajax and Pickering. We never said that, but they did not listen to the advice four years ago, and consequently we are having a little bit of difficulty now.

In terms of how this relates to Bill 143, I do not know what bill they have been reading, but it is not the same bill



that I see, and it is not the process that I support from this point of view. This bill sets out in four parts what we are going to do in terms of waste management.

The very first part deals with what is called the Interim Waste Authority Ltd. This part of the bill defines it, sets it up as a crown corporation, and sets out the process of how it is going to function. This part of the bill legalizes or puts into effect the process against which landfill sites will be determined. It is called the draft approach and criteria for the landfill sites. There are three of them; there is one for Peel, there is one for Metro-York, and there is one for Durham.

This document is rather lengthy, so I will not read it, but I have in fact studied it. I have gone to public consultations and open houses about this document. I have discussed it with the directors of the Interim Waste Authority. I have discussed it with the engineers who are involved in the site selection. I have spent a considerable amount of time with this document.

2320

This is a good document, and it is good for a lot of very good reasons, because the first thing it does is it sets up criteria against which landfill sites will be measured—not like under the old Environmental Assessment Act process, where you would have five or six sites put out and you would say, “Well, under the Environmental Assessment Act, we have to determine which one is the best.” You could have five terrible sites, and you would pick the least worst. I do not know if that is grammatically correct, but it is a reality. You would pick the least worst, or the best of a bad lot, depending on how you want to deal with that phrase. But these criteria say there are absolute criteria; there are criteria that are set out before you name the landfill sites.

They say there is no public consultation. I can say there has been public consultation on this document. I can say this is a good document, and I am going to deal with some of the criteria.

The very first item deals with agricultural land. As an environmentalist, I know the importance of protecting our agricultural land. I know the importance of setting out and making sure that future generations have agricultural land, and close to Toronto. This document sets out and says the screening criteria will screen out all class 1 to 3 agricultural lands and will make certain that specialty crop areas will also be protected by corridors of about 160 to 200 metres of buffer. I am not going to read all of this, because it is rather lengthy.

The second set of criteria says it is going to screen out all scientifically sensitive areas or what are called ANSI, areas of natural and scientific interest. They are going to be protected, so they are going to be off the table.

It will screen out complex geology. Well, if that was in the criteria, then P-1 would have been off the site very early because it sits on top of till and permeable rock and other permeable material, and it would never have made it past the screening process.

It will screen out buildup areas—who knows what a municipality is going to do in its rezoning, but they will move houses right up to the edge of the landfill site, as they have done in Pickering, in Vaughan and in Britannia.

It will screen out the portion of the Rouge Valley where the provincial government has declared a provincial intent to establish a park. The honourable member for Etobicoke West obviously has not read this, or he would know that this criterion says M-2 and M-3 cannot be on the table. To stand in this House and say this is a foolish and unacceptable process shows that he has not read this document and does not understand the relationship of this document to the bill.

It will screen out lands in the Niagara Escarpment Commission planning area, first nation reserve lands and cemeteries to include buffers.

You see, some of the comments that have been made obviously have been made by people who have not read the entire document.

The document also goes on to talk about screening out other areas within the urban shadow—land inventories—and it says that any land that has been designated as industrial or has been already designated to be destroyed or to be used for uses other than environmental or agricultural will be included, so industrial areas will be included. It would screen out existing regional parks, including buffers, screen out major schools and major communities, and screen out major hospitals.

I could go on and on, but the important thing about this document is this: Yes, there will be 10 or 25 sites named in all of those regions over the next little while, but any site that is taken off that list will be measured against these criteria, will be done and will be rationalized in the public process. People will be able to come and say: “Why did you remove that site? What criteria did you use to say that site shouldn’t be on the list? What criteria did you use to say that landfill site should be on the list? Why didn’t you put that site on the list, if it’s not on the list against this criteria?” It opens up a huge potential for people to be involved in the entire process, so I say this document is one that says it is not a NIMBY approach; it says you have to measure against absolute criteria.

**An hon member:** When is the end of this speech?

**Mr Wiseman:** You guys go for an hour, two hours, three hours. Don’t I get equal licks? Is this not a democracy?

Interjections.

**Mr Wiseman:** It seems that the members opposite have woken up, and that is great because it is almost 11:30 and it is good that they are hanging in there for a real analysis of what this bill really means.

The second process is about waste disposal sites and waste diversion, and I think we have already made a commitment through this document in terms of moving towards waste reduction. I have always maintained that waste reduction is the key. If members take a look at what is in the waste stream, the amount of waste that can be diverted using cones, using composters, using paper recycling and newsprint recycling and bottle recycling, these all will remove a great deal of the waste stream.

That brings me to another point in this bill, and that is Kirkland Lake. I have read the document dealing with Kirkland Lake, and I would like to raise a few points about that. The issue of Kirkland Lake is that it would create



jobs. I would like to ask how that could be if all Kirkland Lake was going to get were remnants from the waste stream that could not be used, reused, recycled and reduced here. If you take your glass out and you sell it, if you take your newsprint out and send it to Whitby or to Thorold to be de-inked, if you take your tins out and you send them to the canning companies, if you take your glass out and send it to Consumers' Glass Co and you take your fine paper out and you send it to be recycled, what are you going to do? Is Metro going to send all of its waste by train up to Kirkland Lake, have them sort it and recycle it and then send it all the way back down here? Members opposite are living in a dream world. There is no way that will happen because if there is money to be made at it, Metro is not going to send it to Kirkland Lake; I know Metro well enough to know that this is something they would never do because they make so much money off garbage.

I am going to leave some time for the honourable members opposite to get into this debate, but I want to make some points in summing up. I have always maintained—and that is why I am not afraid of the process in my riding, because my constituents know that I was never a NIMBY, that I always said publicly and have said publicly since elected that if this process finds a landfill site, the best landfill site, and it happens to be in my riding and it meets this criterion, then I will live with it. But it has to be a fair, open, honest, equitable and clean process devoid of political interference such as what we did not see in the P-1 site in north Pickering, where the land was given and somehow or other it became the site, arbitrarily chosen, probably because the land was free. It was a bad site and we have all the hydrogeological studies to show that.

So this process I can live with if it is open, honest, fair, free and it has criteria that landfill sites will be measured against. I will debate and argue and support the process under those circumstances.

2330

**Mr Offer:** I would like to make a few comments on the dissertation from the professor from Durham West, self-professed no doubt. The problem, the issue that he seems to have missed is the reality that we are facing not only in the region of Peel but in other regional municipalities. The problem he seems to have overlooked is that his minister has already issued an order extending the Britannia landfill site. No matter how he wants to cut it, the fact of the matter is that a landfill site in the regional municipality of Peel has been ordered to be extended by his Minister of the Environment without any public consultation.

The residents surrounding that site have requested a meeting with the member's Minister of the Environment. They recognized that there is a lot of politics around this, and so they said, "We will meet with your Minister of the Environment privately in her office to share with her our concerns, to ask her questions, away from the politics, away from the media." It was the member's Minister of the Environment who has refused to meet, so the member should not stand and preach to us about how wonderful this bill is, about how it embraces the whole aspect of

public consultation, because there just ain't anybody who believes him.

**The Speaker:** Further questions or comments? If not, the honourable member for Durham West has up to two minutes for his response.

**Mr Wiseman:** Thank you, Mr Speaker, and I do not think I will use the two minutes.

I would like to address that question specifically from my perspective as the member who has had in his riding and on the border of his riding 33 million tons of garbage. What is environmentally the most preferable route to take if there is a garbage gap and if the processes of recycling do not meet it—

**An hon member:** Where are you from?

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Mr Wiseman:** —is a lift on a landfill site that already exists, and to say that the member wants to go to a green-field site under an EPA, which the member is talking about, in terms of a P-1, is totally unacceptable, because that is not the solution to the problem. It is not the way to close the gap.

The residents in my riding have made it abundantly clear to me on more than one occasion that there is an element of fairness that has to enter into this, and that is also in the document that I did not talk about, in terms of criteria, about having taken landfill sites.

I would like to ask the member, a lot of different areas, like Vaughan, where were they going to send their garbage? Where was Mississauga going to send its garbage? The people of Durham and my constituents have said on a regular basis that landfill and garbage should be dealt with as close to its source of creation as possible and that Durham should have its own garbage dump and that each municipality should take care of its own waste.

**Mr Offer:** I am somewhat pleased to join in this debate. I have waited a great deal of time. I listened to some very important speeches from members of this Legislature on an issue which I very much believe affects all of us; some of us, in fairness, a little bit more directly than others, but certainly without doubt it has the potential in time to affect each and every member in this Legislature directly. I happen to be one of those members, and I profess not to be an expert in this matter, as my friend the member for Durham West is, but I want to use the time that is available to me to tell members a little bit about what we are going through not only in the city of Mississauga or my riding of Mississauga North but indeed in the regional municipality of Peel.

Let's take a little time, Mr Speaker, to share with you and those in the Legislature something about what the people in the area are going through, something about the concerns they have. Before we start I think we have to recognize first that in my area of Mississauga North there exists the Britannia landfill site. I think those of us in the Legislature and those who are viewing have heard the name, Britannia landfill site, used probably by every person who has risen to speak on this particular issue. That site just happens to be in my riding.



In my riding we do not have people who would be termed NIMBY, because we already have the landfill site and have had it for many, many years. People have lived with that landfill site for many, many years. Communities have been planned around that landfill site for many years. Houses have been built and there have been agreements that have been entered into as a result of that landfill site. That landfill site is slated to be closed because it will be reaching capacity probably within the next four or five months.

So, as we talk about this particular issue, I think it is important that members of the Legislature recognize that when we talk about the Britannia landfill site, we are talking about a site which is in fact nearing its capacity. We are not talking years away; we are talking months away. The last I have heard, speaking to the engineering staff in the regional municipality of Peel, is probably no later than June, and that is being generous. Because of the recession there has been less fill going to the site. But the fact of the matter is that, as we sit here in the month of December, the residents in my riding in the city of Mississauga and the regional municipality know that their regional landfill site is going to be at capacity by June or July of 1992, and there is nowhere else for that garbage to go.

Let me talk a little bit about the regional municipality of Peel because that is a region, with its member municipalities, that has not shied away from the challenges of waste and waste reduction. This is not a new issue for members in the area. I have before me, and I am not going to read from all of this, initiatives that are undertaken by Mississauga's waste minimization strategy. This is a city that has not shied away from the challenges of waste reduction in all areas in the 1980s and the 1990s. This is indeed an important document, a timely document and a document which clearly shows that Mississauga has recognized the challenge but has done more: It has prepared a strategy to meet that challenge. They have recognized what was coming. They have undertaken to address it.

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Not only the city of Mississauga, but also the Regional Municipality of Peel has conducted studies on a long-term landfill study, the results of stage 1. They have dealt with composting, how to make a composter. They have waste management news. They have been dealing, again, with the challenges. The Minister of the Environment, in her seat, nods her head in the affirmative, agreeing. She knows not only what the city of Mississauga, Brampton, Caledon and the Regional Municipality of Peel have done, she recognizes that these are areas that have not sat back and said, "It's somebody else's problem to solve." They have said: "It's our problem, all of us, and we have the capacity and the initiative and the wherewithal to meet the challenge."

That is the area I represent. Those types of leads did not come from the provincial government or the federal government. They came from within the local municipality. They knew what had to be done and they were attempting to address it.

I have a series of initiatives that have all been performed, all undertaken by different areas in the Regional Municipality of Peel, and it is important, as we deal with

Bill 143—and I do not want to have to be reminded, but we are dealing with that bill—that we recognize the framework we are dealing with, because Bill 143 just rips at the heart of the initiatives that have been undertaken by the cities and by the region in the area.

Now the Minister of the Environment shakes her head, in the negative this time, and I could be—I am—moved to respond, because the minister will know that she had been invited to come to the region. She had been invited to meet with people. She had been asked—in fact, it was far from a request—it was a plea. The residents pleaded with her after she made a decision some 13 or 14 months ago which was going to affect the communities: "Please come to the ridings. Please come to the areas. Tell us what it is that you did, why you did it, what it means to us. We have some questions we want to ask of you, and we will do so."

The residents said, "We understand that a public debate is going to be followed by the media," as the Minister of the Environment treads softly in the city of Mississauga. "It is one that is going to be followed by the media, and it is one for which you are probably going to receive criticism." And so, what do the residents' associations say? They say: "We will meet with you privately. We will meet with you away from the glare of the media, from the public debate."

The minister does not want to do that. She does not want to speak to the mayor of the city of Mississauga, to the chairman of the Regional Municipality of Peel, with the ratepayers' associations at a public meeting. Then, I say to the minister, how about meeting with delegates of ratepayers' associations in the privacy of her office, so that some very sincere concerns can be addressed?

They came to me. I thought that was exceedingly balanced. I thought the actions of the Minister of the Environment over the past 13 or 14 months required and demanded a stronger action, but the ratepayers said, "We want to ask the questions privately of the minister." So we requested that meeting. They asked if I would help, and certainly I would.

The minister refused. The minister refused to meet privately with residents who are going to be directly affected by the landfill site in Britannia. So what type of reaction or response, what type of credibility do we think this minister is going to have with those people? Rightly so, I think the answer is zero.

How can the residents of any association, the residents of any area have any confidence in the decision of any minister when the minister refuses to justify the decision privately to those people who are going to be affected? I think we would all feel the same way. We can throw politics right out this door. I think that in any situation in our lives where somebody else has made a decision and we ask privately, we ask and request to meet with the person who has made that decision to tell us about the decision and that person refuses, any of us would be a touch suspicious, any of us would be exceedingly concerned with the person's credibility. That is where everyone is. I have petitions from thousands of residents. People have written to me, have written to the minister, have written to the mayor of Mississauga saying: "What is it that she is doing? We



are against the expansion of the landfill site without any consultation."

Now I move directly to one aspect of Bill 143 and that is part III. Part III of the bill speaks directly about the expansion of a landfill site. The people in my area, in fact the people across the province, very well remember a promise made in the last election. That promise by the now Premier, then opposition leader, the member for York South, said very specifically, "There will be no expansion of any existing landfill site without a full environmental assessment hearing." That is something that is very clear to everyone. People understand that. Somebody was holding himself out to the people of the province—a leader of an opposition, the member for York South, was saying to the people of this province, "If you vote for me, if you support candidates of the NDP, then you can be certain there will not be any expansion of any landfill site in the province without a full environmental assessment hearing." That is very clear. That is quite understandable. That was said way back in the election. People understood that. I believe people responded to that.

Now we are not talking about the promise made in that election; we are talking about the reality of the Britannia landfill site. That is a site which is being expanded. Is it being expanded with a full environmental assessment hearing, as was promised by the member for York South in the last election? The answer is clearly, by Bill 143, no. The promise made by the member for York South in the last election that said, "Vote for me and there will not be any expansion of any existing landfill site," has been broken.

Mr Speaker, I know you are an expert in parliamentary procedure and parliamentary language. I would one day like to ask you, as an expert, what it is when a person promises a hearing and then says, "No hearing." What is it? I know I cannot say "lie," I know I cannot say "mislead," I know I cannot say all those things, and I would not. But the fact of the matter is that people in the last election heard someone say clearly, "No expansion without an environmental assessment hearing."

In Mississauga, in the riding of Mississauga North that I represent, where the Britannia landfill is now located and is now being expanded—lo and behold, without an environmental assessment hearing—do members opposite think that people are not upset? Do they think they do not care? Do they think they do not understand? Do they think they do not feel that they have been severely betrayed, misled and misrepresented to? The answer is yes, they do feel that. They are badly hurt, they are feeling badly betrayed and misled, and it is something they are not going to forget.

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They question me: "Why is Britannia being expanded, and potentially Keele Valley? Why are those areas held by Liberal members?" They ask me the question, "Is there something behind this action by the Minister of the Environment and the Premier of the province?" This is not something that I brought up; this is a question posed to me. They are saying, "Why?" Is it because of the fact that Liberals represent these areas that the Premier, in an election, would say, "No expansion of a site without an environmental assessment hearing," but in reality, in a site

which is held and surrounded by members of an opposition party, there is no hearing? They are asking me those questions.

The question is, what does the mayor of Mississauga say? Maybe if the Minister of the Environment could see fit to meet the mayor of Mississauga, she might be able to answer that question. Because of the fact that the Minister of the Environment refuses to meet, and so what we are left with is the very real possibility that on a site which is slated to be closed in six months, which is now the subject of a ministerial order, which is now right within the ambit of Bill 143, there is not going to be any hearings, there is no public consultation and there is no opportunity for the people who are directly affected by this site to have any say. It flies in the face of promises made by the then opposition leader in an election. It flies in the face of continued protestations by the now Minister of the Environment.

The Minister of the Environment has said over and over again how she values public consultation. The fact of the matter is that when she has to put just a scintilla of substance behind that statement, she falls flat on her face. She did not have the guts even to meet with some concerned people surrounding the site. That is what she failed to do. When she was called upon to meet with those people, she said to them, "No, but I value consultation."

If the Minister of the Environment does not think those people feel betrayed, I challenge her to finally go out there and meet with the people. They are taking the time; they are making the effort. These are people who have other jobs. These are people who are looking to a whole variety of help and advice. They are not familiar with this process. They are asking the minister for some help and she just turns her back on them, as sure as I am standing here today. She just turns her back and says, "I believe in consultation." But when she has to put some substance behind it, there just is nothing they can touch and feel and have some confidence in.

I have before me some letters that have been received by the residents, the ratepayers. I do not profess to be an expert in this area. The members of the government side stand up and say to the opposition members: "Well, you haven't read the bill. We are the experts on Bill 143, its implications, its effect."

The fact of the matter is that it would be nice if there was any hint that they had read the bill, because I can tell members, without being an expert, what the people are saying. I am telling them about letters written by Steve Gallant, Ray Skyvington and by a variety of residents to the Ministry of the Environment. What are they getting in response? They are not getting any response. Far from coming out to a meeting, they are not even getting any real response.

They write a letter to the Minister of the Environment on the expansion of a landfill site. Do members think the Minister of the Environment responds? No. I will read members the first comment: "The Honourable Ruth Grier has asked me to respond to your letter of October 22, 1991 and to the attached petition by area residents regarding the Britannia Road landfill site." I want to thank the minister very much. I am sure it was a major difficulty to receive



the letter and hand it right over to Mr Jim Merritt, regional director.

The residents in the area do not want to deal with Mr Merritt, with all due respect to him, who I am sure is a very talented individual. They wrote a letter to the Minister of the Environment. They wrote a letter to the minister and they wanted her response. They do not want the response to start, "The Honourable Ruth Grier has asked me to respond to your letter." They do not want that. They do not want to hear this letter by Mr Merritt, who I am sure is a quite capable individual, but they did not write the letter to Mr Merritt. All they hear is the Minister of the Environment talking about the need and the importance of consultation.

So we have a letter by Mr Merritt. Mr Merritt writes a response by saying he understands the concern. I am going

to be dealing with this letter in a little greater detail as we proceed in this debate, but I know there has been an agreement that the House is to sit to midnight tonight. I am not finished talking about some very important aspects of Bill 143, specifically part III of that bill, talking about the very deep concern and betrayal felt by the people around the area. I will leave that to another day and I will adjourn the debate at this time.

**The Speaker:** If this is a convenient place for the member to leave his remarks for the time being, it being nearly 12 of the clock, this House stands adjourned until 1:30 of the clock tomorrow afternoon.

The House adjourned at 2359.

#### ERRATUM

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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

First Session, 35th Parliament

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Tuesday 10 December 1991

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Première session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le mardi 10 décembre 1991



Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers





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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Tuesday 10 December 1991

The House met at 1330.

Prayers.

## MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

### NORTHERN HEALTH SERVICES

**Mr Miclash:** It seems that Santa Claus is not the only one with a list these days. The Minister of Northern Development and Mines has a list and she is checking it twice to find out which doctors have been toeing the New Democratic Party line and which ones have not. Once again the minister has shown terrible judgement and, in doing so, is discouraging doctors who may be thinking of setting up practice in northern Ontario. Does she have something against these people? If so, then why has the Premier made her responsible for attracting doctors to the north?

Northern Ontario residents do not enjoy the same level of health care as those in other parts of the province. Every day we hear about the lack of doctors and specialists in northern Ontario. People across the north are often faced with considerable distances to obtain both routine and specialized medical care. As a part of the former government, I am aware of the many strides we made in attracting doctors to the north. One only has to look at programs such as the northern Ontario resident training program and the underserved area program. Yes, we know we have much further to go, but this government has done nothing to build upon these programs.

The people of northern Ontario put their trust in the Minister of Northern Development to act in their best interests. Sadly enough, she has betrayed them. In doing so, she has damaged her own credibility. How does she expect to be able to stand in a roomful of doctors and convince them they should practise in northern Ontario? How does she expect to attract doctors to the north with her irresponsible comments?

It is not in my nature to strongly criticize anyone in this House, but in this case it seems that all this minister is concerned with is standing up for the NDP instead of standing up for the north. She has become a liability for northern Ontario.

### LABOUR LEGISLATION

**Mr Harnick:** The government recently announced its proposed changes to the Labour Relations Act. I would like to take this opportunity to convey to the government the reaction of the people of Willowdale to the proposed changes.

I would first like to inform the minister that I have received more phone calls and more letters on this single issue than on any other two issues combined. In particular, one constituent wrote that the government's actions "significantly undermine the confidence of all stakeholders in Ontario's economic recovery."

The impact of the NDP government's actions will have a profound effect on further economic development. The

NDP is not only discouraging foreign investment but forcing Canadian companies to leave Ontario. At a time when Ontario needs to focus its energies on economic recovery, this government is alienating the very means that will drive our economy out of the recession.

In summary, I would like to cite a recent quotation from the chairman of the Ford Motor Co of Canada which I believe illustrates the misgivings of the business community. The chairman stated that "not one NDP policy initiative is aimed at stimulating economic growth and competitiveness within the province. Frankly, entrepreneurs are afraid to invest or expand in Ontario."

### ONTARIO STATISTICS

**Mr Mills:** I have just heard the member for Willowdale bleating about the race of business to relocate in the United States. They claim that we, the New Democrats, are driving people and business out of Ontario.

Canada's quality-of-life ranking has improved from sixth place in 1988 to second in 1990. In addition, life expectancy in Ontario is 75.5 years, while in the neighbouring US states the life expectancy is two years less. Our system of health care and the comparative safety of our cities are justifiably envied by our US neighbours. It would seem to me that we are doing something right in Ontario.

Household income within 400 miles of Toronto is greater than it is for Cleveland, Detroit, Boston or New York. Living costs in Ontario cities are generally lower than they are in the northeastern US cities. For example, the index of average living costs for Ottawa, Hamilton, Kitchener-Waterloo, London and Windsor is below that of Buffalo, Cleveland, New York and Boston.

Ontario and Ontarians do not deserve the doom and gloom and despair which the Liberal and Conservative parties constantly express in their desperate attempts to stick it all on us. Their conduct is absolutely disgraceful and diabolical, as well as being damaging to the province and to the people of Ontario.

### MINISTER'S COMMENTS

**Mr Chiarelli:** Yesterday I made a member's statement highlighting the Premier's failure to honour his commitment to the high level of ethical conduct promised in his throne speech. My statement yesterday was made on an issue not related to the current controversy surrounding the Minister of Northern Development and Mines, of which I was not yet aware.

On this new issue, let's look at the facts. The Minister of Northern Development and Mines accepted an invitation to attend an official function hosted by the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy. While a guest of this association, she told other guests of the association, in an ill-tempered manner, that a Sudbury physician who has criticized the New Democrats for limiting doctors' incomes was about to be charged criminally for billing practices.



The minister has now admitted her remarks were without foundation and has apologized. By her conduct, the minister has demeaned an honourable citizen of Ontario, has demeaned the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, has demeaned herself, has demeaned the government and has demeaned the people of Ontario she was representing in her official capacity.

I ask the Premier, is the new rule "anything goes" as long as there is an apology?

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#### ONTARIO STUDENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

**Mr Turnbull:** Today I wish to describe the procedure for processing OSAP applications, according to people manning the MPP line in Thunder Bay.

First, the student applies to the financial aid office at the educational institution or through the Toronto downtown OSAP office. This application is sent to Thunder Bay for processing. Usually it takes two to three weeks to sort the applications. Next—I assure you I am not making this up—the applications are sent back to Toronto, where an outside contractor keypunches them. Then, on completion, the application goes back to Thunder Bay to be sent to the educational institution.

Several institutions have had to set up emergency fund systems to tide over students whose OSAP award has been delayed through this labyrinth for various reasons. This Rube Goldberg approach to processing OSAP applications may serve the government's goal of providing employment to postal workers, bureaucrats and contractors, but surely the talents and energy of our civil servants should be put to better use.

Only an NDP government could have OSAP really stand for "Ontario's stupid administration process."

#### LABOUR UNIONS

**Mr Morrow:** I rise today to respond to the National Citizens' Coalition's most recent campaign against unions. Their self-righteous campaign against big government and big unions is, as always, a very slanted view of the problem of picket line violence.

Without unions and their united approach to issues such as health and safety, collective bargaining and discrimination in the workplace, and real attempts to put rights back into the hands of workers, we might as well be living in the Dirty Thirties.

Of course, the National Citizens' Coalition denies the evidence showing that after Quebec introduced anti-scab legislation, picket line violence was reduced. No, this group is only interested in inflaming people against workers who are trying to negotiate a collective agreement.

I am happy to stand and support the workers of this province and the unions that represent them. I also endorse the discussions that will take place in the new year concerning the changes to the Ontario Labour Relations Act.

#### MINISTER'S COMMENTS

**Mr Brown:** On Thursday last I attended a meeting in Sudbury. It was a special meeting of the Sudbury Medical Association. The meeting was attended by about 200 peo-

ple. There were physicians from Sudbury, Sault Ste Marie and North Bay. The presidents of the Canadian Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and the steel unions were there, as were municipal politicians, the Deputy Minister of Health, the MPP for Sudbury, the Conservative critic and myself.

We heard forceful presentations from the physicians describing the effect of the Ontario Medical Association/NDP rationing caps on doctors. We heard forceful representations on this unfair rationing to northern patients. You would be interested to know that this unholy OMA/NDP alliance effectively caps northerners' access to northern medical services at about 75% of what is allocated to southern Ontario.

The Minister of Northern Development was not at the meeting. The Minister of Northern Development was in Thunder Bay slandering a Sudbury physician, who at the very same time was addressing the meeting in Sudbury.

This is the third time this minister has shown bad judgement. This is the third time she has taken an inappropriate and counterproductive position to the people of the north. Three times and you are out.

#### VITAL STATISTICS REGISTRATION

**Mr Tilson:** In response to an order paper question asked much earlier this year, the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations said that requests to the registrar general's office for certificates would be processed in six weeks from the date of postmark and that by August 9, 1991, requests marked August 1 were to be completed and mailed in an eight-day turnaround.

I do not know what to make of her statements, because I am continuing to receive numerous complaints from constituents about the length of time it takes to receive certificates. I am holding one particular letter in which the person had to wait five months, only to receive the wrong documents.

This is simply unacceptable. On October 30 the minister responded to a question by saying that the cause of the backlog was the previous government and it was not her responsibility. It is her responsibility. Members of the House have been drawing this matter to her attention since she became minister. I suggest that if she is incapable of meeting her responsibility and delivering this service to the people of Ontario in eight days as promised, the Premier should give us a minister who can deliver.

#### WENDY MURPHY

**Mr Malkowski:** It is my pleasure to introduce Ms Wendy Murphy, who is sitting in the public gallery today. She is one of my constituents from York East. Wendy won the 1991 National Research Council of Canada award in recognition of outstanding innovativeness in medical device technology. She invented the Weevac evacuation systems and stretchers.

With technical assistance from Ortech International, Ms Murphy developed the Weevac 6, a lightweight evacuation system that permits the transportation of six infants on one stretcher by two nurses. The Weevac 6 has been



purchased by many hospitals in Canada and now many hospitals in the United States are interested.

Ortech employs 380 people and provided Ms Murphy with engineering assistance as well as fire testing and other evaluations of the materials in the Weevac 6. The province of Ontario, through the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology, provides Ortech with funding to invest in new areas of technology and to maintain its comprehensive range of capabilities.

I think Wendy is a good example of great innovativeness.

#### VISITOR

**The Speaker:** Members may wish to join me in welcoming to the members' west gallery this afternoon a former member of the House for Scarborough East, and indeed a former minister of the crown, Mr Edward Fulton. Welcome.

**Mr Cousens:** Mr Speaker, may there be unanimous consent for all-party statements on International Human Rights Day?

**The Speaker:** Do we have all-party agreement?

Agreed to.

#### INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

**Mr Cousens:** Today marks the 43rd anniversary of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is a day to celebrate all the achievements made in human rights and to review all the achievements yet to be realized.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948. It was viewed as the first step in the creation of an international bill of human rights to have legal and moral force. The bill is a reality and provides the foundations to deal with civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

I quote from the declaration:

"This Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member states themselves and among the people of territories under their jurisdiction."

Even after 43 years the words and meaning of the declaration still ring true. However, after 43 years the world is still struggling to solve all its human rights issues. For example, the Soviet Union, no longer one state but 15, must grapple with the individual and cultural rights of its peoples; the recent activities in Iraq have left the Kurds without protection; in Ireland, Catholics and Protestants, English and Irish, still continue to engage in terrorist activities; Jews in Syria are persecuted for their religious beliefs; South Africa still holds to the apartheid doctrine, and the Lebanese are still in a battle zone.

When do the violations of human rights stop, who stops them and why does it take so long? The United

Nations is but one organization and the bill of rights is just the foundation. The call to action in the declaration is for education and teaching. The onus is on us to learn, to understand and appreciate the diverse cultures that make up this world.

Canada is part of this world, and in a recent Angus Reid poll a solid majority of Canadians, 60%, sensed that racism in this country has been increasing in recent years. Most cite a number of factors that contribute to the feeling, including tough economic times with high unemployment, increased immigration levels, failure of ethnic cultures to assimilate into mainstream society, lack of education in our schools regarding racial and cultural tolerance and racial discrimination by the legal system and the police. However, all those surveyed felt that government policies promoting multiculturalism were still one of the most effective ways to reduce racial barriers.

#### 1350

To our credit, Canada has led the way in promoting the cultural mosaic model. This, I believe, is still a valid working model. It is a model that works with full participation not only of Canadians but of people from all cultural backgrounds in this country. Participation in the model must start first with ourselves. A close examination of our own feelings about our culture and that of others will help lay the foundation for tolerance and respect for others.

The education system must also be the breeding ground of tolerance, understanding and respect. Schoolyards must not be the breeding grounds for racial unrest and ill feeling towards minorities. Through education will come the understanding that we are all one people with a common goal, to better our society and grow as a people. As government members, we too must set an example for our constituencies, our province and our country.

Canada is a new country in terms of history. But as a new country we have the opportunity to lay our own foundations for a better understanding of differing cultures. We can also be the country to help mend the hard feelings and animosities that afflict other countries. We can demonstrate to all cultures that this country and this province will do all to help eliminate the old feelings of hate by setting an example of tolerance and respect.

As International Human Rights Week begins, I urge all of us in the Legislature to review our personal feelings and see how we can help increase the level of tolerance, respect and understanding towards all cultural communities. Through our participation, the goals set out in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights can be realized.

**Hon Ms Ziemba:** The United Nations formally adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 43 years ago. It has become a tradition in this place to reaffirm our province's commitment to the ideals found in that declaration. I am pleased to do so again today on behalf of our government.

One of the most significant parts of that declaration is that all persons should have the right to live free of discrimination. Let me quote from the first part of article 2:



"Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

All too frequently events have served to remind us that we are still far from achieving these goals. Actions such as violence against women, the defacing of synagogues as recently as two weeks ago in Ontario and harassment and discrimination based on race, gender and/or sexual orientation are still prevalent in our society. These are all examples of human rights violations.

We should note that this year marks the fifth anniversary of the inclusion of sexual orientation in Ontario's Human Rights Code. The very fact that the Ontario Human Rights Commission continues to receive a high volume of complaints is significant. The fact that this government has to move forward with employment equity legislation, the Advocacy Act and an anti-racism strategy is indicative of how much further we have to go.

Recent reports of racist and sexist comments among elected members at the federal level and comments by elected officials attaching criminal intent to a particular racial or ethnic minority are indications that we, the elected leaders of our communities, still need to examine our own actions and thoughts.

Experience has taught us that during tough economic times racial intolerance grows. We are currently in an economic crisis and it is incumbent on us to ensure that these sensitivities are not harboured, let alone displayed. I urge all my colleagues in the House to lead by example.

Our government has led the country in acknowledging the inherent rights of self-government by the first nations. The statement of political relationship which was signed with the first nations last August is a significant beginning.

Over the past year we have witnessed many changes which are encouraging. There have been some changes in South Africa, as apartheid continues to break down. The Baltic states and other republics, including the Ukraine just recently in the Soviet Union, are reasserting their right to self-determination. Other nations in eastern Europe are embracing democratic ideals. These are all welcome changes.

Today I want to urge all members and indeed all Ontarians to reaffirm our commitment to the goals of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Each of us can make a difference.

**Mr Curling:** In 1948—just three years after the Second World War, when the world stood witness to its horrors and human degradation—the member states of the United Nations pledged support for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Forty-three years after the signing of that document, oppression continues; the suffering continues.

Today I want to speak about the silent victims, our children. Let me quote briefly from the text of the human rights declaration that we rise to speak of today. Article 25 of that document states, "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and wellbeing of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care." Article 25 goes on to say that child-

hood is entitled to special care and assistance. "All children...shall enjoy the same social protection."

Ontario, despite the current recession, is still one of the most well-off jurisdictions in the entire world. Yet thousands upon thousands of our children are living in poverty, often without access to some of the basics of life. More than 400,000 children in this province are on social assistance. There are 150,000 children using food banks. Many children go hungry every day, and child abuse, the physical violation of our most vulnerable, is still very real.

Members of every Legislature in every place on this globe should stand today and look inside themselves and ask themselves if they have personally done enough for the children of their jurisdiction. Our commitment to human rights demands no less.

Finally, let me take this opportunity to acknowledge today the persons with disabilities in their continued fight to win access to bus travel in Ontario. Surely the time has come to address this issue, and each year, as we stand up in Parliament and recognize this day, we know that right here at home we have some of the atrocities that are happening. We have a wonderful and beautiful country and a great province, and I ask us all as parliamentarians to set the example and redress these dire concerns.

1400

## STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

### ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I rise to inform the House that we are releasing today the Ontario Economic Outlook document for the coming year. I am also pleased to advise members of the government's plans for consultations on the 1992 provincial budget, for which the Ontario Economic Outlook will provide valuable background information.

Ontario Economic Outlook has been designed to give Ontarians an appreciation of our economy's strengths and the challenges we face, sector by sector, so they can make considered and informed judgements about the priorities to be addressed through our province's fiscal activities. These judgements will be crucial as decisions are made leading to the 1992 budget.

Ontario Economic Outlook makes very clear many of the things the government has been saying for the past several months. It does contain some hopeful news. For example, economic projections for the next few years are for a comparatively moderate recovery. Annual growth is expected to reach 3.6% between 1992 and 1995, compared with the 6% averaged during the 1980s. Consumer spending, which dropped in 1991 due to the recession and the federal goods and services tax, is forecast to rise by 2.8% in 1992, owing to lower interest rates, improved housing and employment growth.

There should be growth in residential construction and in knowledge-based industries such as telecommunications. Growth in these industries is forecast to increase considerably faster than the economy as a whole to meet the rising demands for business modernization. So too will the business services sector, including banks and other



financial institutions, finance and insurance companies, legal and accounting services.

However, most of the news is not very good.

We know the recent recession has hit Ontario harder than any other province. Between February 1990 and February 1991, 260,000 jobs were lost. Although Ontario accounts for 38% of the national labour force, the province accounted for roughly 80% of the jobs lost in Canada during this period. Thousands of those jobs are gone for ever because of plant shutdowns.

Over the same 12-month period, total output fell by more than 5% and employment dropped by 5.2%. For 1992, the unemployment rate in Ontario is expected to be approximately 9.3%. The pace of consumption growth in 1992 will be moderate, less than half that recorded in the 1984-86 period. The growth in retail sales will be considerably lower as a result.

Ontario's real trade surplus, which fell by an estimated \$2.7 billion in 1991, is likely to decline further in 1992 as imports outpace exports. This is due mainly to the high Canadian dollar and the ongoing weakness of the United States economy. The figures suggest strongly that there will be very little let-up on our fiscal pressures.

I have said in this House and elsewhere that we must manage within an environment of reduced financial flexibility. We must take into account the very real pressures the recession has brought to bear on our economy. I will say at this time that my upcoming announcement of our government's funding plans for our major transfer partners will reflect this.

In these difficult economic and fiscal times, the budget takes on added importance. Revenue and spending decisions must, as always, be cast in light of the need to manage the economy, to help people cope with the after-effects of the recession and to generate the conditions necessary for economic renewal.

No matter how bad things look today, we must never lose sight of that last objective. As I have said many times before, this government's priority is to promote economic renewal through its policy initiatives and its sound fiscal management. That is why in the 1991 budget we laid out a medium-term fiscal plan which outlined the government's fiscal targets for the next three years. There are going to have to be some tough choices made if we are to meet those targets and we want the people of Ontario to help us make those choices.

For many years now the process of writing the Ontario budget has been shrouded in secrecy. There was very little information available to help people understand the challenges governments faced. This severely constrained meaningful consultation and broader public participation on key issues.

When this government was elected it made a commitment to a more open process and to an ongoing dialogue with the people of the province. We believe the discussions on the 1992 budget are an important way in which we can signal that we are honouring that commitment. We want to encourage as much participation as possible in making choices. Our government is committed to fuller, more

democratic participation by Ontario citizens in the running of their province.

This year we are taking the first steps in moving away from exclusively one-on-one, closed-door meetings towards more meaningful consultations with entire sectors of the economy and towards providing more information to the public. I will be organizing in the coming months a series of roundtable discussions to bring together representatives of workers, employers and other organizations. In addition to hearing the participants' concerns, I want to hear their views on how the major economic and fiscal challenges facing the province should be managed.

Participants will have the opportunity to meet with both the officials of the individual ministries which administer their spending and also with those from Treasury. I will be joining these meetings as well. This will ensure that they can speak to, and be heard by, those government representatives who can address their needs.

#### EDUCATION PROGRAM EVALUATION

**Hon Mr Silipo:** I am pleased to formally inform members of the House that the Council of Ministers of Education has agreed to undertake the national school achievement indicators program.

This agreement follows discussions with my colleagues the provincial and territorial ministers of education at a meeting of the Council of Ministers of Education over the last two days. The purpose of the discussions was to resolve Ontario's serious concerns about the proposed design of this program and its approach to evaluating provincial education systems. I am pleased to report that our concerns have been addressed and significant changes to the program have been accepted.

I wish to acknowledge the work of my predecessor, the member for London Centre, in outlining Ontario's concerns, as well as the work done by Ministry of Education officials and my staff in arriving at the memorandum of understanding which formed the basis of the ministers' discussions yesterday.

The Council of Ministers of Education has agreed to base the tests on provincial curricula, ensure that the tests are free of cultural and gender bias and stereotyping, allow provinces to choose the test samples in ways that are sensitive to each province's demographic makeup, provide adequate time for provinces to consult with educators and other interested parties about the form and content of the tests, and include some examples of students' best term work as part of the assessment.

It is also important to note that Ontario, along with Quebec and Alberta, will become a member of the consortium that is developing these tests.

As Ontario takes up its role in the development of the national indicators project, I want to reassure all our stakeholders that they will continue to be involved in this process.

Ontario has always set its sights on two goals, accountability and the improvement of programs. An education indicators program only gives us accountability if it gives us clear, undistorted pictures of how we are doing in the crucial areas of reading, writing and mathematics. An educational indicators programs is only useful if it can help



us find ways to improve the education we give our children.

We can now look forward to building a better, more accountable education system which I think will help to ensure a brighter future for all our children.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS

**Hon Ms Ziemba:** I rise in the House today on International Human Rights Day, the 43rd anniversary of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. On a day when we remember those who are persecuted and oppressed for exercising their basic rights, we must also remember that progress remains to be made right here in Ontario.

I am pleased to tell my colleagues in the House that this government is moving ahead with the next stage of its plan to ensure the protection of human rights for all Ontarians.

In September, when I announced measures to clear the backlog of cases at the Ontario Human Rights Commission, I also gave a firm commitment to review the Ontario Human Rights Code. Clearing the backlog of cases is absolutely critical to providing justice to complainants who have waited far too long. But the backlog is symptomatic of a more fundamental problem: outdated enforcement procedures that cannot respond to the increasing and complex cases of today.

I am therefore pleased to announce the creation of a task force to undertake an independent review of the procedures for the enforcement of human rights in Ontario, and to make recommendations for amendments to the code to ensure a fair and practical enforcement process.

I would like to introduce to the House today, if the opposition would like to meet her, the new task force chairperson, Mary Cornish. I am sure all of us know Mary Cornish as a lawyer, co-founder of Ontario's Equal Pay Coalition and long-standing human rights activist. We are very fortunate to have someone of her expertise and stature to head this review.

I will be announcing the other two members of the task force in the next few weeks. They will have six months to complete their review and provide me with a report of their findings, conclusions and recommendations by June 30, 1992.

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Over the last few months I have been consulting informally with a range of individuals and groups across the province on the reform of the Human Rights Code.

The informal process generated a lot of ideas and suggestions, but the top priority is the need for an overhaul of human rights enforcement procedures. There is also agreement that the code review must include consultation and liaison with the Ontario Human Rights Commission itself. In addition, interested sectors including equality-seeking groups, the legal and academic communities, business and labour must have their say.

The government recognizes there is also the need to review the protections guaranteed under the code, so while the task force completes its full procedural review, my ministry will look at certain substantive provisions of the code which may be out of step with the equality provisions

of the Charter of Rights. We will also review the harassment provision to address its inconsistent limitations.

Reform of the Ontario Human Rights Code is long overdue. While we are firmly committed to seeking the broadest range of use, we are also mindful of the need to move ahead quickly. I believe we have balanced these needs by setting a short and challenging timeframe for the task force to undertake the review with community input and participation. I remind my colleagues of the other equity measures now under way in the Ontario government: the anti-racism strategy, pay equity, advocacy for vulnerable adults, employment equity, all of which are part of this government's strong commitment to social justice and equality.

Very briefly, I would also like to give the members an update on our plans for eliminating the backlog of our cases at the Ontario Human Rights Commission. Staff have been hired to deal with the backlog. They have received intensive training and began their work on December 2, completely on schedule. So as we honour International Human Rights Day, let us also recommit ourselves to improving our own human rights picture right here in Ontario. With that shared sense of commitment, we can all look forward to the task force recommendations on how we can develop a more effective system for the enforcement of human rights in this province.

#### RESPONSES

##### ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

**Mr Phillips:** I am pleased to respond to the Treasurer's announcement. First, a quick comment on the consultation process. Frankly, with all due respect, we are rather cynical about it. The Premier's Consultation Central Co-ordinating Committee four weeks ago announced that this would be a major part of his propaganda proposal, so this comes as no surprise.

In fact, he said on December 9 the Treasurer would be doing exactly what we see in the House today. On the substantive part of the announcement, I would say to the Treasurer that he has substantial fiscal woes. However, if we look at the economic indicators in his budget of April 23, on each of those the economy actually is doing better. It did better in 1991 than he said it would in his budget and every major economic indicator in 1992 says it will do better.

In terms of the fiscal woes he faces, it would be nice to blame it on the economy, but it is his mismanagement of the finances of the province that is causing the fiscal problem. There is no doubt about that if he looks at his budget and at the financial numbers in here.

On every single, major economic indicator the economy is doing better than the Treasurer said it would. There is no doubt we have to do a lot to get the economy rolling a lot better than it is rolling. Again, we would say to the Premier that every one of his economic proposals to get the economy going again that he spelled out for us, none of them take hold for at least six months. We do not think we can wait six months to deal with the unemployment levels. We hoped the Treasurer would announce some economic renewal plans to this House before we adjourn at the end of December.



On his fiscal problems, I will repeat what we said here before. This is not a problem with the economy in terms of his fiscal numbers, because the economy is doing better than he said it would in last year's budget on every single indicator. The problem right now is the Treasurer's inability to manage the finances. When he announces the transfer payments next week, I know he would like to blame the economy and say to all the transfer payment agencies that it is the economy that is to blame here. It is the Treasurer's inability to manage the fiscal scene.

I will look forward to some economic announcement to get the economy rolling. I would say that this is a major disappointment in the economic plan. We need an economic renewal plan before we adjourn the House at the end of December.

#### EDUCATION PROGRAM EVALUATION ÉVALUATION DES PROGRAMMES D'ÉDUCATION

**Mr Beer:** I rise to welcome, certainly, the decision by the Council of Ministers of Education to go forward with the national indicators program. Having said that, I know the Minister of Education would have to admit that his statement today is really nothing other than a public relations exercise. Indeed, we have lost in this country well over six months because of the intransigence of the present government in not being willing to proceed with this national system of evaluation.

The very issues that have been raised within the minister's statement today were ones that could have been dealt with in the normal process that had been started by the council of ministers. The real tragedy is that we have lost so much time. I would urge the new minister to make sure this process goes forward as quickly as possible so that we can have a national system in place that will provide meaningful assessment and meaningful evaluation.

Je pense qu'il est très important de dire au ministre qu'il est d'une importance primordiale de continuer d'assurer aux parents, aux étudiants, aux enseignants et à tout le monde qu'il y aura un vrai système d'évaluation ici au Canada.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS

**Mr Curling:** I would like to tell members that this announcement by the minister is not without merit, but I want to be clearer to members by saying to them that this is not what we have asked for: a full and comprehensive review of the Human Rights Code.

The Ombudsman had written to the minister about the procedures and the backlog and the difficulties she had with regard to the Ontario Human Rights Code. She had to then forward this report to the Premier to get a response. Community groups have met with the minister and have indicated to her that they want a full, comprehensive review of the Human Rights Code. This is a patchwork, and I expect better from the minister. The community expects better from her. Must we now expect that we have to write to the Premier again to say, "Madam Minister, get on with a full, comprehensive review of the Human Rights Code"?

I want also to commend Mary Cornish for the appointment, but do not be bogged down by the frustration of lack of funds and lack of mandate and direction.

#### ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

**Mr Sterling:** When we read the Treasurer's statement or hear the Treasurer's statement and he starts talking about the process, we know he is in real trouble. When the Treasurer refuses to confront the real problems and deal with the real numbers and starts talking about the budget process and how we can change that process, we know he is in real trouble.

This week we are going to be dealing with a change in how this Treasurer keeps the books. Not only does a change in the books not satisfy this Treasurer, but he wants to add more smoke and mirrors by producing an educational booklet to explain all his follies to the people of Ontario. So we not only have the normal smoke and mirrors that many new governments do by changing the books, but we have a new wrinkle to it with this Treasurer producing an educational booklet to explain away his deficiencies in taking care of the people of Ontario.

1420

I want to talk about the real numbers. Last year in his budget the Treasurer predicted that real growth in 1992 was going to be 3.4%. According to this document he has given us today, it is going to be 3.8%, 0.4% better than he predicted. Inflation was going to be 3.7%. According to this document, it is going to be 3%. So inflation is going to be lower than he predicted in his 1992 budget. The unemployment rate predicted in his last budget was going to be 9.7% for this province in 1992. Today we learn that his prediction is that it is going to be 9.3%. It is going to be better. There are going to be more people employed in this province.

This is a setup for the fall. What we have here is an admission by the Treasurer—I am happy for the people of Ontario—that things are better than he is painting them for the people of Ontario and that we can look forward to some growth and improvement in our economy next year.

First, I hope this statement means that the transfer payments he will announce to the hospitals, the schools and the municipalities will be fair to their needs, because he should have the money to transfer the appropriate amounts. Second, it should mean that he will be able to introduce a budget with no tax increases in 1992. Third, it should mean that we can look forward to a lower deficit than the \$8.9 billion he has predicted.

#### EDUCATION PROGRAM EVALUATION

**Mrs Cunningham:** I rise to respond to the statement by the Minister of Education and congratulate him, as I did yesterday in my statement, on his coming around to our position on the national school achievement indicators program. He usually congratulates us when we give him good advice but did not do that today. He is smiling and I accept his congratulations there.

I am very pleased that the teachers' concerns have been realized, because if it is based on the Ontario curriculum to a point—I think that is a fair and great concern of the



teachers—we are happy that has happened. We are also glad that Ontario will be part of the consortium, along with Quebec and Alberta, developing the test, and so we should be, with the large majority of students in our province.

I am glad he mentioned that the main players, parents, students, school board trustees and teachers, will be involved in developing the instrument. It is very important.

On the last point, accountability is what this is all about. If members have not had a chance, they should look at the federal government's document *Living Well, Learning Well*, which would approve significantly of what the minister has done today. I bet we find out that we do have a core curriculum on literacy and numeracy skills in this country.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS

**Mr Cousens:** What took the minister so long to announce a task force to look at human rights? The minister came out first and spent money on the problem, threw money at the wall, tried to solve it with \$6.5 million which she announced on September 24.

I wish Mary Cornish success in this review. It needs a comprehensive review. It is unfortunate this New Democratic government does not stop and think first before it starts spending money. They do it the opposite way round and are just doing it wrong. At last something will happen. Good luck.

#### VISITOR

**The Speaker:** I invite members to welcome to our gallery this afternoon a former member of the assembly seated in the members' gallery west, Mr David Smith, a former member for Lambton. Welcome.

#### ORAL QUESTIONS

##### MINISTER'S COMMENTS

**Mr Mahoney:** My question is for the Minister of Northern Development and Mines. With regard to yesterday's discussion in this House, can the minister tell the people of Ontario why she accused the doctor in question from Sudbury of conducting criminal activities? Specifically why did she do it?

**Hon Miss Martel:** As I said yesterday—I am not sure there is much more I can add, but I will go through it again—on Thursday night in Thunder Bay I was involved in a very heated private conversation with a small number of people at a reception and during the course of that conversation, which was quite heated, I made some comments with respect to a matter which were not founded in truth.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Miss Martel:** I have made every effort possible as an individual to contact those who were involved or affected by it, to speak to them directly about it, to tell them very clearly that the remarks were not founded and to ask them to accept my apologies. All of the people I have talked to personally have accepted my apology.

[Applause]

**Mr Mahoney:** Maybe we could just take the applause for granted. We were getting the same answer yesterday, and now we are getting it today. I did not ask what happened. I specifically asked why the minister did it. The minister's inability to answer this very straightforward question clearly raises serious doubts about her judgement and her ability to properly perform her duties as a minister.

Yesterday the minister herself admitted in the House that her allegations were, and I quote, "Unfounded, without bias, entirely without foundation and not true." Those were her words. If we accept this confession, can the minister tell us where she got the very specific idea that one doctor in Sudbury had willingly committed criminal acts and that he would be subsequently charged? These are very specific notions, and I ask her where they came from? How were these ideas developed, and does she really expect us to believe she simply fabricated them?

**Hon Miss Martel:** The remarks that were made were my own. They were not remarks made by anyone else. They were made by me during a very heated private conversation with a small group of people. They were unfounded. I have said that clearly in this House. I have talked to those who were involved in it and I have said that clearly to them. They were my remarks, no one else's remarks. I made them and I have apologized for them.

**Mr Mahoney:** The incorrect allegation of criminal activity is the most slanderous thing one person can say to another. This Premier would know that more than anyone in this House. For a minister of the crown to do this to a private citizen is even worse. This is a very serious matter and it deserves a very serious response.

Once again I ask the minister, simply and specifically: Where did she get this information and why did she use it?

**Hon Miss Martel:** I do not think there is anything else I can add. I have said very clearly to the member that the remarks that were made were mine and mine entirely. There is no one else who spoke. I said the words, I made the comments. I have said as clearly as I can to everyone in this House that there was no foundation to these remarks. I have talked to the people who were involved and explained that as clearly as I could to them so that no one else other than myself would be implicated. I made the comments, I accept responsibility for them, I have apologized for them.

**The Speaker:** New question.

**Mr Mahoney:** I would go to her again, as the minister has suggested, but I am clearly not getting an answer so perhaps I will go to her boss and maybe he can give us an answer.

My question is to the Premier. The facts were obviously not in dispute. The actions of the Minister of Northern Development and Mines clearly show a lack of understanding of the responsibility of a member of cabinet and indeed of all elected officials in this place.

Ministers have a duty to serve and protect the public interest and also to act fairly towards the members of the public—

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order.



**Mr Mahoney:** If they want to heckle over such a serious matter, why do they not just listen and I will get to the question to the Premier? Maybe they will learn something.

Ministers have a duty to serve and protect the public interest and to act fairly towards all members of the public regardless of whether they agree with them. This minister has betrayed that trust. She has displayed a contempt and a very serious lack of understanding and judgement, and her apologies are simply not sufficient to absolve her of her responsibility for what she has done.

My question to the Premier is, what does he intend to do about this?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Let me say to the honourable member that what has happened is that a minister of the crown, in the course of a private conversation, has said something she regrets. She has made it very clear to everyone she made a mistake. She has clearly indicated that. I say to the honourable member that is what has happened and that is what has taken place. The minister has proffered an apology to the House and an apology to everyone concerned. That is precisely what has taken place, no more and no less. That is what has happened.

1430

**Mr Mahoney:** The problem I have is I did not ask the Premier to give me a run-down of the events that took place. That is quite obvious. We have it in written documentation to the leader of the third party. It is all over the media, with the newspapers in Sudbury and Toronto and all over this province calling for the resignation of this minister. I do not need the Premier to tell me what happened.

I would like to very briefly read something into the record. "My government's first challenge is to earn the trust and respect of the people of Ontario. My government's integrity will be measured by the way this government is run and our relations with the people we serve. Our task is to guard against institutional arrogance and the abuse of power wherever they exist." That is from the November 20, 1990, throne speech of this government.

This minister has displayed not only blatant arrogance arising from her office, as referred to in the throne speech,, but has also clearly abused her ministerial power and the public's faith in the exercise of that power. Today the Premier has said the minister simply made a mistake for which she has apologized. Is this how the Premier keeps his promise to guard against arrogance and abuse of power by his government? Will he live up to the standards he personally has established and fire this minister?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I have also said on a number of occasions—indeed I said it when the government was sworn in—that it is important for people to admit to mistakes they have made. I have admitted to them. We have all made mistakes. If there is a member in this House who in the course of a heated exchange with someone else has not said something he or she subsequently regrets, let that member stand up and be as self-righteous as the members opposite are being.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** With the co-operation of both sides of the House, the member for Mississauga West can place his final supplementary.

**Mr Mahoney:** Let me be clear. I was always under the impression in this place that the Premier had a monopoly on self-righteousness. I do not think he should be throwing those kinds of barbs over here. I have a list of quotes here that I do not have the time to read. Let me share one. "Propriety in the conduct of one's affairs at all times must be a characteristic of the actions of any member of cabinet and must be so perceived by the public." That is the now Premier in the May 29, 1989, Hansard. I could go on with those all day.

The Premier's failure to demand this minister's resignation sends a clear message to the public that no matter how his ministers abuse their authority or betray the public trust, their actions will simply be forgiven by him if they apologize.

On December 12, 1990, the Premier said in this House, "It is to be our governing principle that we must at all times act in a manner that will not only bear the closest public scrutiny but will go further and ensure public confidence and trust in the integrity of government." His words.

Yesterday in this House a minister of the crown admitted she had lied. She admitted that at a public gathering, not a private meeting, she had made comments about a private citizen which, in her own words, were "unfounded and not based in truth." These comments, carrying the power of a minister, had very serious implications for the reputation and character of a private citizen of this province.

Given what the Premier has said about the importance of integrity and public faith in his government, how can he refuse to fire this minister who has acted with such a serious lack of judgement and integrity? Why did the Premier have a very clear understanding of the appropriate standards of conduct for cabinet ministers when he was in opposition but now sees it quite differently? Will the Premier live up to his own stated principles? Will he at least try to restore to the public some faith in the government and fire this minister?

**Hon Mr Rae:** The question that was contained in a long litany of argument from the honourable member was, what is the message one can learn? The message one can learn is that when mistakes are made, mistakes are clearly admitted. When he talks about public scrutiny, the scrutiny is here.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order. Could the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I would just respond to the honourable member by saying, as I have, that in the course of a conversation the member said something she now regrets. I doubt very much whether there is a member in this House who has not had a conversation with somebody in the course of which he said something he subsequently wished he had not said. If it demonstrates that people are human and make mistakes and then apologize for them, then that seems to me a lesson and an indication one can draw from what has happened.



**Mr Harnick:** On a point of personal privilege, Mr Speaker: The Premier has alleged that in the course of private conversations—I take it I was one of the people he was directing his answer to—I have slandered people with whom I had been having a discussion.

**The Speaker:** Would the member take his seat, please. The member does not have a point of privilege.

**Mr Eves:** I have a question for the Premier as well. He has just said, in response to a question asked by an honourable member, that the minister in question just made an honest mistake. If the minister had made an honest mistake, we would accept her apology. By the way, that is what happened last June with the same minister. She made an honest mistake. We standing over here did not ask for her resignation at that particular time.

But this was not an honest mistake. A minister of the crown has admitted that she deliberately told a falsehood in order to emphasize a point in a discussion about government policy and in so doing knowingly smeared a physician's reputation. Is that the Premier's definition of an honest mistake?

1440

**Hon Mr Rae:** Neither the honourable member nor I were at the event in question. I would simply suggest to the member that as I understand it and as the minister has described it to me, there was a heated exchange with respect to a question and the minister said something which she clearly and uncategorically has apologized for.

I repeat my point to the member. People know that the minister is somebody who is doing a good job in the ministry. She has admitted that in the course of this conversation she made a mistake. She is subject to the scrutiny and to the criticism she is receiving in this House. I think it is very clear that the minister in question has shown herself to be somebody who is not afraid to admit when she has made a mistake and has made that apology very clear to people.

**Mr Eves:** I say to the Premier that I want to come back to the point, "made a mistake." I think it is very clear what happened here. We have a letter from Mrs Dodds which outlines what happened. To my knowledge, the minister has not disputed any of the facts as outlined in that letter. She stood in her place in question period yesterday and in scrums afterwards and confirmed that those are the facts as they are.

The fact of the matter is that the minister has admitted that for whatever reason, she fabricated this story. She has admitted that it was totally unfounded and untrue. She talked about a Sudbury physician and the possibility that he may be criminally charged for information she saw in his file, she said at the time, and now she is admitting that she made the whole thing up, that none of it is true and that she deliberately did that. Is that the Premier's definition of a mistake?

**Hon Mr Rae:** In the course of an argument: I think it is clear to everyone, and it is certainly clear to the minister—she has indicated it very clearly in the House—that she has seen no files and that it is not part of any allegation that has been made. She has seen no particular information

and she has very clearly apologized to Mrs Dodds and to others for what she said.

**Mr Eves:** To the Premier again, because he today and the minister yesterday have talked about a private conversation, I want to make it quite clear to everybody concerned that the minister was acting in an official capacity last Thursday. There were some 80 to 100 people in attendance. As I understand the facts, in the little group in which the minister was discussing, arguing or debating—whichever terminology you choose to put on it—there were some four or five people. There was the minister, there was Mrs Dodds, there was Mr Dodds, there was another gentleman and there was an official from the Ministry of Health.

I do not know what the Premier's definition of a private conversation is, but she was at a public reception in her capacity as Minister of Northern Development. There were 80 to 100 people in the room. By her own admission, the discussion became heated and rather loud. At least four other people heard directly what she said, and who knows how many others around her heard what she said. There is nothing private about any of this. She was not having a private conversation. She was acting in her official capacity as a minister of the crown. Why can the Premier not see that and why will he not do the right thing?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I can only say to the honourable member that I would think anybody who is sitting in this place would want to do the right thing. I think it would at least be open to the member to agree, even in the heated atmosphere of this House, that it is possible to have more than one opinion with respect to that question. Surely the member would at least admit the possibility that not all the right is over on that side and that not all the wrong and evil and terrible things are on this side. Surely we can accept the point that there is perhaps room for a difference of opinion.

In my opinion, the minister has indicated to the House that she is clearly sorry for what took place in the course of this conversation with Mrs Dodds. In my judgement, the minister's saying that, clearly indicating that, and her phoning and talking to people, indicate very clearly the kind of response that what has taken place has generated in this House and outside. I think it is fair to say that the minister has taken a lot of heat for this, as we all have. It is also fair to say there is room for a balanced judgement with respect to what happens when a minister of the crown makes a mistake in the course of a private conversation.

**Mr Eves:** I have a copy of the Premier's conflict-of-interest guidelines in my hands. They are not quite a year old yet. It says under paragraph 4, fundamental principles, "Ministers shall at all times act in a manner that will bear the closest public scrutiny."

The Premier's minister has done one of two things. She has either deliberately concocted a falsehood and smeared a doctor's reputation in the process or she has divulged confidential information that she should not have had access to in the first place. Either way, it would appear to me and to any objective observer that she has breached guideline 4 of the Premier's very own conflict-of-interest guidelines. Would he agree?



**Hon Mr Rae:** I do not know how much more I can add to what I have said, because it seems to me the—

**Mr Harnick:** Don't add anything. Answer the question you were asked. Do you agree or disagree?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I am answering it as clearly as I can. I say to the honourable member that the minister has apologized for what has taken place. She has clearly indicated to the House and to people outside and to everyone concerned that she is very sorry for what took place in the course of that conversation. This indication by the minister, in good faith in this House, in response to all the questions and all the things that have been said outside, is an indication of the scrutiny to which this government is subject.

There is no question about scrutiny. The question is the balance of the judgement that is being exercised on the conduct of a particular minister. The minister has apologized for a mistake she made in the course of a conversation she had with Mrs Dodds last Thursday night. She has made that apology and that is the balanced judgement which she and this government have exercised.

**Mr Eves:** This issue goes to the very integrity and credibility of government, and cabinet in particular. In his throne speech, the Premier said, "My government's first challenge is to earn the trust and the respect of the people of Ontario."

The Minister of Northern Development has admitted she deliberately told a falsehood and an untruth and in the process slandered a physician's reputation. Does the Premier think this is earning the trust and the respect of the people of Ontario?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I think admitting a mistake is earning the trust of the people of Ontario. I think admitting and recognizing a mistake has been made and accepting the fact that there are going to be criticisms and comments and that all kinds of things are going to be said is earning the trust of the people of Ontario.

I think being human and admitting that mistakes can happen and admitting them publicly, as the minister has done, is earning that trust, and having to earn it every day. I think that is the way the affairs of the province should be conducted. If the honourable member disagrees, that is fine. I do not besmirch his integrity for having a different opinion than mine on any subject.

**Mr Eves:** The entire issue here goes to the root of integrity of government. That is what we were talking about in this House yesterday and that is what we are talking about today. Again the Premier insists on categorizing the minister's actions as a mistake. I thought I had asked that question three or four times earlier to which I still have not received a direct answer.

I want to get this straight. A minister of the crown acting in her official capacity at a public reception in a room of 100 people says she deliberately concocted a falsehood about an individual because an argument became heated, said this physician was going to be subject to criminal charges and now admits that all of it was untrue and unfounded. The Premier is telling me this is a simple mistake, that all she has to do is say she is sorry. "That is

good enough for me," the Premier says. Is the Premier going to rewrite his guidelines and say that saying "I am sorry" is a new standard of conduct by his cabinet ministers?

1450

**Hon Mr Rae:** Again the member has a perfect right, in his view, to characterize what happened in the way he does. I am only going to say to the honourable member that what took place, in my view, is that in the course of an argument which the minister was involved in with someone in Thunder Bay, the minister said some things which she now regrets having said, has very clearly apologized for that and has made it very clear she has apologized for that. I think that is a very clear indication of the sense the minister has and of the sense this government has with respect to what happens when you make a mistake.

As I said to the honourable member, and I will say it again, if there is anybody in this House who, in the course of many things, indeed in the course even of heated exchanges in this place, has not said things which he or she later regrets, I would like that honourable member to stand up.

**Mr Scott:** I have a question for the Minister of Northern Development. Today and yesterday, the minister's defence and explanation of what happened has emphasized that she made a mistake. She does not seem to understand the difference between a mistake and a deliberate falsehood. What is worse, the Premier has taken up the distinction the minister has given.

A mistake by any definition is something inadvertent or accidental. The minister made a mistake when she accidentally wrote improperly to the College of Physicians and Surgeons. The present Minister of Housing made a mistake when, by accident, she released a name. Those people paid the price, and others too. The honourable member for Cambridge did not even actually make the mistake himself, he simply permitted others to make it, but it was a mistake for which he answered.

The minister has admitted—

**Hon Mr Rae:** You asked for an execution. The grounds for execution get changed, Ian.

**Mr Harnick:** You have no grounds for execution. You permit lying and slandering in your cabinet. I mean, just get down in the gutter and grovel.

**The Speaker:** Order. Before continuing, I would ask the member for Willowdale to consider not using intemperate language, and I would ask the co-operation of both sides of the House so that the member for St George-St David can place his question.

**Mr Scott:** I want to ask the minister if she thinks there is a difference between an inadvertent and accidental mistake and what she admitted yesterday was a deliberate fabrication of a false story. This story was told in the presence of city officials in Thunder Bay about a critic of the government and the implication was clearly that he was going to go to jail.

First of all, does the minister admit that there is a difference between a mistake and a total fabrication of that type, made up of whole cloth, as she conceded yesterday,



and if there is, why did she tell it? Was it purely for political purposes?

**Hon Miss Martel:** As I have said repeatedly in this House, I made the comment. No one else put me up to it, there was no one else to blame but myself. I made the comment during what was a very heated discussion between a small group of people, very much on the outside of a reception, among a small number of people. The conversation was very heated and, in the course of that, I made comments which were not based on fact. I have no one else to blame for that but myself. I made the remarks. I have apologized for them.

**Mr Scott:** In light of that, I want to ask the minister if she can think of any good reason why anybody would ever believe her again.

**Hon Miss Martel:** I recognize I have made a mistake. I have done that in the past. Wherever else I may be in this government I may do so again. That is part of human nature. I have accepted responsibility for what I have done. I have apologized to those people. They have accepted my apologies in light of this. I regret the incident but it did happen. I have done everything I can to rectify the situation.

**Mr Eves:** I have a question to the Minister of Northern Development. She has said on several occasions and again today in the House that this was a private conversation. Would she mind telling us whether she was attending this function in her capacity as a minister of the crown or a private citizen? Who paid for her being there last Thursday, herself or the ministry?

**Hon Miss Martel:** On Thursday last I was at a number of functions in a ministerial capacity. The function at which this took place was a mining function. It was a reception. I was there with members from the ministry to meet people who are clients of the Ministry of Northern Development and Mines.

**Mr Eves:** The minister should correct me if I am wrong. She was at a reception. She was there as the Minister of Northern Development and Mines. She got into a discussion which became very heated about government policy. She chose to defend the government policy by, if we are to believe her story, which we do, making up a story about a physician. She said that physician may be charged criminally as a result of what she had seen in government files. She is standing in her place today and saying: "This was just a mistake. I'm sorry, I apologize, and that's the end of it."

Is that what she really expects the people of Ontario to accept from her in her capacity as a minister of the crown? All she owes to the trust and integrity of her office is to offer "a mistake" for a deliberate falsehood that she concocted and that slanders an individual's reputation?

**Hon Miss Martel:** As I said earlier, I made a mistake. I recognize I have done that. I have admitted it. I have made every effort I possibly can to talk to the few people who were directly involved in the conversation or implicated by it. I have made it absolutely clear to them that the remarks I have made were unfounded and not based in fact. I have offered them all my apologies. All of them

have accepted that. I have done the best I can to rectify the situation.

#### HEALTH INSURANCE

**Ms Carter:** My question is for the Minister of Health. Certain recent media reports have alleged that the Ministry of Health's new policy for payment of out-of-country health services has no status in law. Basically the report suggests that any Ontario resident who does not receive full payment for medical treatment outside of the country can appeal his claim to the health services board and have an excellent chance of winning the appeal.

Can the minister explain to this House how such an allegation can be made and whether it has any basis in fact?

**Hon Ms Lankin:** I certainly was surprised when I was informed that this kind of a statement had appeared in the press. I should indicate that the individual who made the statement is an ex-employee of the ministry. It surprises me, therefore, that he would be of that opinion. I went back to check with legal officials within the ministry to be sure of the state of affairs. I want people to know that our reading of the legislation and the sections under regulation 452 clearly sets out that when a person receives treatment in a hospital outside Canada, some or all may be paid for as determined by the general manager of the OHIP services.

The regulations set out the amount which can be paid. We believe it is entirely within the legal authority of the government to be able to set this kind of policy, and we think it is unfortunate this kind of remark would have been made public and might lead people to the wrong conclusion.

1500

**Ms Carter:** I am sure the minister is aware that this allegation may lead some Ontario residents to believe that OHIP will pick up the tab for all health care costs incurred while outside Canada. My constituency of Peterborough has many senior residents, as well as others, who may decide to travel outside Canada this winter. I am worried that some of my constituents may leave the country without adequate insurance coverage. Can the minister again outline for this House the new payment policy for out-of-country care expenditures?

**Hon Ms Lankin:** I appreciate the opportunity to outline it again for people, because I think it is important that people not be misled or given some sense of comfort by the process of that kind of discussion in the newspaper about whether or not there is a legal basis for this policy. My advice is simply that people must take out their insurance if they want that kind of protection.

The policy that is in place is that if someone is travelling in the United States and requires emergency services, or chooses to have elective services there that do not have prior approval from the Ontario government, the hospital will be reimbursed at the same rate that is paid here in Ontario, a per diem rate that has been established. If someone has a requirement for treatment that is unavailable here in Ontario in a timely fashion, and seeks prior approval and that is granted, then the full treatment will be paid for. But people travelling down to Florida and travelling on



holidays are best advised to get health insurance in addition to the OHIP coverage.

#### MINISTER'S COMMENTS

**Mr Conway:** My question is to the Premier. I want the Premier to help me to understand his standards of conduct and how they are being applied to his now 14-month-old government. Over the past number of months, we have seen this Premier fire the members for Fort York, Welland-Thorold, Cambridge and Peterborough from the executive council for a variety of reasons, and in the case of the member for Fort York for what appears to be a very internal reason. We have seen the Premier fire as well the member for Lincoln from the Chairmanship of a legislative committee in recent days apparently because the member for Lincoln dared to vote against a tax bill.

In light of those precedents and in light of the clarion call of his throne speech last November, and the conflict guidelines so eloquently read into this chamber by my friend the member for Parry Sound, my question to the Premier is, how is it that he can sustain in cabinet, and defend in this place, a ministerial colleague who at the very least knowingly went to a public place and in her ministerial capacity impugned the integrity of an Ontario physician?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Setting aside the totally partisan nature of his introductory comments, which simply have to be set aside, I say to the honourable member in response to his question about the honourable member for Sudbury East, whom he has known and whom I know very well to be a person of ability and integrity—he knows that perfectly well—that what happened was that in the course of a conversation the member for Sudbury East, the Minister of Northern Development, said something to someone else which she regrets having said. She said it in the course of a heated exchange. She has subsequently apologized for anything she has said. I think that is a fairer characterization than the one the member has given to what has taken place.

**Mr Conway:** As a number of previous speakers have rightly observed, the facts of this case are not in dispute. I for one have listened over the last nine and a half years to the now Premier go on at great length in countless opportunities around the fundamental question of public standards, particularly as applied to a cabinet. This Premier has said repeatedly, eloquently and passionately that at the end of the day it is a matter of prime ministerial will and guts.

I put the question again. Having fired the member for Fort York for God knows what, having fired the member for Lincoln for having the backbone to stand up and oppose a tax bill, how is it that in light of his throne speech and in light of these codified conflict-of-interest guidelines, this Premier can continue to sustain in cabinet and defend in this Legislature a ministerial colleague who went to a public place in the discharge of her ministerial responsibilities and admittedly smeared the integrity of an Ontario physician?

**Hon Mr Rae:** The member says he has listened to me for nine and a half years. The pleasure is entirely reciproc-

cal, I can assure the honourable member, in terms of my having listened to him for nine and a half years as well.

I listened to the question carefully, and all the partisan stuff at the beginning I just set aside. The member is asking me a question about how I characterize what has happened and how I am exercising my judgement. I am giving the honourable member the clearest answer I possibly can. In the course of a heated exchange—I have heard the honourable member and I have heard others in this House say things. Certainly I have said things I subsequently regretted having said. I suspect others have said them as well. I doubt very much whether a week or a month goes by when most of us do not regret something or other we have said to someone else and say, "Oh, my goodness; I wish I hadn't said that."

I want to say to the honourable member that is what has taken place. The honourable minister has clearly apologized to the House and to the people in question. I think it is fair to say that she has now subjected herself, as inevitably happens, to the scrutiny of the House.

**Mr Eves:** I have another question for the Minister of Northern Development. How is it that this discussion at this reception took place on Thursday, December 5, if I understand the facts correctly, and she got around to apologizing on Sunday, December 8?

**Hon Miss Martel:** The discussion certainly took place at a reception I was at. The remarks that were made during a private conversation were made public by the individual the member has been dealing with on Friday afternoon. At that point in time, certainly my staff contacted the woman in question to say very clearly that the remarks I had made were not founded and that the remarks I had made should not be repeated, because they would cause even more trouble in the sense of implicating someone who had no right to be implicated.

On Sunday, when I returned from my tour in northwestern Ontario, I spoke to the woman in question herself and the other parties who were involved or implicated to say to them very clearly two things: that the remarks I made were unfounded and not based on truth and that I would appreciate it if they would not be repeated to a broader, public audience because enough damage had been done.

**Mr Eves:** I want to quote from Mrs Dodds's letter of December 9, page 2: "On Friday, December 6, I was at a Canadian law and medicine conference in Toronto on the subject of the freedom of information act, and I asked Dr MacMillan of the Ministry of Health how it was that the Minister of Mines had seen a physician's confidential file." In the next paragraph she says: "On Saturday, December 7, Ms Martel's assistant, MaryLou, called me at my home in Thunder Bay to ask me not to repeat the conversation I had had with Ms Martel. I did not agree to remain silent."

Could that be how it is that on December 8 the minister, some three and a half days later, got around to apologizing for, as the Premier describes it, the mistake, as she has admitted, the deliberate slander and falsehood of a physician? Why did she not just apologize right there on the spot? Why did she not apologize the next day? Why



did she have her assistant phone on Saturday and try to hush Mrs Dodds up? Why did she not do the right thing, if she thought an apology was appropriate, and do it right then? How is it that it took her three days to get around to realizing that what she said was false and untrue and that she should apologize?

1510

**Hon Miss Martel:** My assistant called Mrs Dodds for two reasons: First, she called her to inform her very clearly that the remarks I had made in a private conversation with her were not founded in fact. Second, she certainly did ask Mrs Dodds not to repeat the remarks because the remarks were unfounded. Clearly she felt there was nothing to be gained by having unfounded remarks repeated to a larger public audience.

When I returned from my travels—I had a number of meetings booked and I was travelling a great deal across northwestern Ontario—on Sunday morning after I flew in from Thunder Bay, I sat down and talked not only to Mrs Dodds but to the others who had been involved or implicated. I assured them the comments I had made were not founded in fact. I also asked them not to repeat it to a broader public audience because it was my feeling at the time that the situation was bad enough and would not get better by having other people involved in that conversation.

#### WINE INDUSTRY

**Mr Hansen:** My question is to the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. As the minister knows, a number of constituents in my riding and in the riding of my colleague the member for St Catharines-Brock are involved in the grape-growing and wine-producing industry. Early indications are that 1991 was an excellent year for the grape growers and for wine production. Can she tell us how Ontario wines are faring in the provincial marketplace today?

**Hon Ms Churley:** I am pleased to be able to have the opportunity to answer this question. I know it is of importance to the member for Lincoln, as to all members in the House. It is a very important Ontario industry. I think everybody here knows that it has been a great year for the Ontario grape crop. My ministry has worked hard with the industry to promote Ontario wine and I am happy to say that the volume sales of Ontario wine jumped an incredible 11.5% from mid-September to mid-October compared to the same period last year.

**Mr Hansen:** Overall wine consumption in the province is decreasing. How do these increases in Ontario wines fit in with this overall decrease?

**Hon Ms Churley:** It is true that imported wine sales have decreased by about 4%, but the sale of Ontario wine has actually increased 1.2% over the past year. This in turn means that Ontario wines are close to capturing half the provincial market at this time. This is indeed very good news for the local grape-growing and wine-making industries and in fact to the people they employ.

#### MINISTER'S COMMENTS

**Mr Scott:** I have a question for the Premier. Would he be good enough to tell the House when he or his office first had a report about the remarks made by the Minister of Northern Development, and when he first had occasion to discuss it with her?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I am going by recollection. In terms of the events of the last two days, it was either Sunday or Monday—I think it was Sunday—and the first time I talked about it in any detail with the minister was today, though I had discussed it with her very briefly earlier. Today was the first time I had an opportunity to discuss it with her at any length.

**Mr Scott:** In the course of that discussion, did the Minister of Northern Development admit to the Premier that she had lied and had slandered this doctor?

**Hon Mr Rae:** In the course of the discussion the member and I had today, I asked the minister directly about the statements that had been made in the House and elsewhere about the statements she made about a doctor in Sudbury, and whether she had made those statements, and without getting into any of the details, she said that she had responded to some questions about this particular doctor. She indicated that the statements she had made were ill-advised and that she regretted having made them.

**Mr Runciman:** My question is to the Minister of Northern Development. Has the minister ever been told by anyone that charges are being considered against a Sudbury physician?

**Hon Miss Martel:** As I said earlier, the comments I made were not founded in truth. I have accepted that. There was no one who told me anything. There was no one who set me up. There was no one in fact to blame but myself for the comments which I made.

**Mr Runciman:** This stonewalling effort is going to backfire against this government because we are not going to let go of this. I want to tell them that right now. I am going to repeat the question. Has the minister ever been told by anyone that charges are being considered against a Sudbury physician?

**Hon Miss Martel:** Again I have made it as clear as I can to the House that the comments I made that are now a matter of public record were unfounded and not based in truth. That is the beginning and the end of what I can say. I made the comments. No one else made them for me. No one else is to blame. I made the comments.

#### PLANT CLOSURE

**Mr Perruzza:** My question is to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology. The minister is aware that Ingersoll-Rand Canada Inc is closing its Downsview plant at the end of December. This will result in the loss of over 149 jobs in my community. The minister knows the leading-edge technology in paving equipment was developed at the Downsview plant and the closing will mean both the jobs and the technology will be lost to Ontario for ever.

It is less than three years since Ingersoll-Rand, a multinational corporation, bought Allatt Paving, a privately owned Canadian company, and the workers have been un-



able to get any information from Investment Canada about the understanding entered into with Ingersoll-Rand to protect the jobs and technology.

Keeping this information from the workers and their families seriously undermines the workers' confidence in the federal government. What can the minister do to provide information about that agreement and restore some of the workers' confidence in Brian Mulroney's government?

**Hon Mr Philip:** That was not one of my objectives, but I can tell the member that my staff have been in contact with Investment Canada in this case. However, the specific terms of the company's agreement with Investment Canada are confidential and cannot be revealed to any other individual or body.

I can tell the member the company states that the current economic conditions in the construction industry, namely, poor sales, have caused losses at this facility. The company also states that this move will help maintain the long-term future of its other operations in Ontario, and that is why it has taken this move.

#### MINISTER'S COMMENTS

**Mr Scott:** I have a question for the Minister of Northern Development. I have to say that the minister's repeating her mantra in an evasive way to the member for Leeds-Grenville threatens to make this situation a good deal worse than it is now. The question we want to ask the minister is, and I believe she has an obligation to answer not only to the House but to the public, was the minister told by anybody that an investigation was under way against a Sudbury doctor that might lead to criminal charges?

**Hon Miss Martel:** I made it clear to the members in this House, to the public and to the people who were affected or implicated by this action that the comments I made to them on Thursday night during a private conversation were unfounded and were not based in fact.

**Mr Scott:** The honourable minister is getting herself into very serious trouble if she cannot answer this simple question. Was she told by anybody in government that an investigation was under way against a Sudbury doctor that might lead to criminal charges? The minister has got to answer that question to protect herself and the rest of us.

**Hon Miss Martel:** I will repeat again, the comments that I made were entirely my own. I made them. I have said very clearly to the people who were involved or implicated that the comments I made myself were my own. They are not based on truth. They were unfounded, but they were my own comments and no one else's.

**Mr Eves:** I have a question of the Premier. Apparently the Premier told the media yesterday that he would not accept or consider accepting the minister's resignation, but he said in the House a few minutes ago in response to a question that he only talked to the minister at length about this issue today. How could the Premier have made up his mind yesterday when he talked to her about the issue today?

**Hon Mr Rae:** No information which I heard from the minister today in any sense contradicted what I had been advised earlier. It is as simple as that.

1520

**Mr Eves:** I really find it hard to comprehend how the Premier could have made up his mind about this issue yesterday and then stand in this House today and tell everybody he just had a lengthy discussion with the minister about this entire matter. I do not see any consistency in that whatsoever.

During the course of the Premier's conversations with the minister, either the extremely brief one he thinks happened on Sunday or his lengthy discussions today, has the minister at any time suggested to him either verbally or in writing that she offer her resignation?

**Hon Mr Rae:** No, and I did not ask for it.

#### ONTARIO ECONOMY

**Ms Haeck:** My question is for the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology. There has been some interest expressed in my own riding—in fact, I believe all Niagara caucus members have received a letter from a St Catharines person—about the negotiations relating to Piper Aircraft. I would like at this time to ask the minister to apprise the House of how those negotiations are going.

**Hon Mr Philip:** My staff and I have reviewed the very extensive documentation provided by the company and Mr Eaton. I spoke to Mr Eaton this morning and assured him that both the Premier and I are interested in exploring possible actions that can be taken by this government, if the company is viable, to have it located in Ontario.

Mr Eaton expressed considerable comfort in our conversation and I asked, since we still had a number of questions that arose from the documentation we were studying, if he would be open to my deputy minister, Mr Tim Armstrong, our agent general, Mr Carl Masters, and Mr Peter Tanaka from my staff, visiting with him to see whether some of our outstanding questions could be answered. Arrangements have been made for these people to travel to Cleveland on Friday when we hope some of our questions will be answered.

My role as minister is to ensure that any purchase taken by our government takes into account value for money, and we intend to make sure our purchase is a wise one.

**The Speaker:** If I could have the attention of the members for a moment: While I recognize that the minister in his lengthy response prevented one of his colleagues from placing a supplementary, at the same time, for the first time, we have had 17 questions in today's question period and that for us is a record.

#### VISITOR

**The Speaker:** I would invite all members of the House to welcome to our chamber this afternoon a former member of the House and indeed a former minister of the crown, a former member for Oakville, Mr Jim Snow, seated in the members' west gallery.



## INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

## CITY OF HAMILTON ACT, 1991

Mr Christopherson moved first reading of Bill Pr118, An Act respecting the City of Hamilton.

Motion agreed to.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY

## WASTE MANAGEMENT ACT, 1991

## LOI DE 1991 SUR LA GESTION DES DÉCHETS

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 143, An Act respecting the Management of Waste in the Greater Toronto Area and to amend the Environmental Protection Act / Projet de loi 143, Loi concernant la gestion des déchets dans la région du grand Toronto et modifiant la Loi sur la protection de l'environnement.

**The Speaker:** Just a few hours later, we resume with the member for Mississauga North.

**Mr Offer:** I recognize that yesterday I first started to speak late in the day—I think at about 11:30 in the evening—and had a brief 30 minutes to talk about a matter and an issue which is of extreme importance specifically to the residents in my riding of Mississauga North, but indeed and in fairness to the people of the city of Mississauga and the regional municipality of Peel. I think what is becoming quite evident is that the various aspects contained within Bill 143 are of extreme importance and concern to everyone in this province.

As we recall some of the discussion yesterday, I think on a number of occasions there were allusions made to the landfill site in Britannia. Let me remind everyone that the Britannia landfill site, to which so many members have alluded, is in fact located in my area of Mississauga North. It is in the middle of a growing community. Many thousands and thousands of people live around that area.

Let me talk briefly about some of the history of Britannia, because what we are talking about in Britannia is not something that might happen a few years in the future. We are talking about an issue which is imminent, which is happening right now, as I speak. The Britannia landfill site has been the landfill site for the regional municipality of Peel for a number of years. It has a certain capacity, "capacity" meaning the amount of fill that is able and planned to go into that site.

There was an agreement entered into by the municipalities and the region that when Britannia reached its capacity, the next landfill site would be in the city of Brampton. That was an agreement that had been entered into many years ago. It had been entered into by the municipal politicians. It had been entered into, with full understanding and knowledge, at the very grass-roots level of future planning requirements and of the growth of a very large area. So we had, many years ago, the Britannia landfill site created on the understanding that it would have a certain capacity and that when it reached its capacity, the next regional landfill site would be in the city of Brampton.

1530

To those people who are following this debate both in this Legislature and on TV, that is understandable. That just happens to be an example of a municipality dealing with an issue and a challenge and recognizing what the issue and challenges are going to be, not only of the day but also 10 and 15 years down the line. That is what they did, and I think we all recognize that and that many members would applaud that type of forward thinking.

Here we are closing 1991 and the Britannia landfill is in fact reaching its capacity. It is anticipated that the Britannia landfill site will reach its capacity probably around June or July 1992. So we are talking about, in approximately six months' time, the Britannia landfill site reaching its capacity. To be specific, if the Britannia landfill site were symbolized as a garbage can, it would reach the top of the can in about six months' time.

There was an agreement that when that is filled the next landfill site would be in Brampton. Clearly it was found that before a new long-term site could be located, could be arrived at, Britannia would reach capacity. So there was a dilemma. The dilemma is, what is the government going to do when Britannia reaches its capacity and it does not have yet in place a long-term landfill site?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** What would you do?

**Mr Offer:** I am glad I heard the Minister of the Environment say "What would you do?" That is quite interesting, because in fact what was done by the previous government in June, just prior to the calling of an election, was to grant an exemption under the environmental assessment hearing so that the regional municipality of Peel could conduct a hearing for an interim site under the Environmental Protection Act. What would that do? That would allow the regional municipality of Peel, when Britannia reaches capacity, to have another site in place after hearings through the Environmental Protection Act so that the regional municipality of Peel could dispose of its garbage on an interim basis until a long-term site was selected, approved and in place.

That exemption under the Environmental Assessment Act permitting hearings under the Environmental Protection Act was granted in June 1990. In the ensuing election of July and August 1990, the then Leader of the Opposition and the now Minister of the Environment, the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore, made a promise to the people of this province. They promised there would be no expansion of any existing landfill sites such as, for example, Britannia, without a full environmental assessment hearing.

They were saying to the people of the province: "Vote for me. Vote for my party and we give you our word. We promise there will be no expansion of any site without a hearing." I think that in some measure people responded to that. They said: "Bob Rae is saying that. Ruth Grier is saying that. Surely they would not"—I do not know what the parliamentary word for lie is—"say something that isn't true."

I see the honourable parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Labour cast some looks and glances my way.



The fact of the matter is, I would never use such a word, but I want to know what it means.

**Ms S. Murdock:** No, but you would imply it.

**Mr Offer:** Nor would I even imply it, as the parliamentary assistant is suggesting. I was just asking what word could be used when a leader of a party, in the names of the Premier and the Minister of the Environment, says there will not be an expansion of an existing landfill site without a hearing and then an existing landfill site is expanded without a hearing.

I do not know what it means when you say one thing during an election and then, when people have responded to your promise, you do something else. I do not know what the word is that would be parliamentary. I can only think what the word is, but I do not believe in using that type of language in this Legislature.

However, what we have is the Britannia landfill site which is nearing completion. The Minister of the Environment of the previous government gave an exemption under the environmental assessment hearing so that an interim site could be proceeded with, with hearings under the Environmental Protection Act, pending a long-term site selection and having that in place.

The election proceeds and a new government is formed. What does this Minister of the Environment do? Can we imagine? We in the region of Peel have already set down hearings under the Environmental Protection Act to be slated and started in February 1991, almost a year ago. That is when the hearings would be started to approve an interim site.

What does the Minister of the Environment do? The Minister of the Environment takes away that exemption. Basically she says, "There will be no hearings under either the Environmental Assessment Act or the Environmental Protection Act." She stood in her place over a year ago and said: "All hearings in terms of the expansion of the Britannia landfill site and a new interim site are off the table. I know what I promised, but that was during an election."

Now what we are left with is a landfill site filling up, reaching capacity this coming June or July, without any interim site because the Minister of the Environment has stopped that process, without any long-term site because the minister has stopped that process and without any public hearings because the minister has stopped that process. We are left with one thing. We are left with an order by the Minister of the Environment that Britannia will be expanded. For how many years we do not know, but it will be expanded.

The question is, will it be expanded with hearings? Will people who want to input into such a decision be able to input into this decision? Will there be any consultation? The answers to those three questions are all no: no hearings, no input, no consultation. We are left with the heavy hand of the Minister of the Environment and her saying Britannia is going to be expanded.

It does not matter what agreements were entered into by local and regional municipalities. It does not matter what the official plan calls for. It does not matter what the

local bylaws call for. It does not matter what the requirements are under the Environmental Assessment Act. It does not matter what the requirements are under the Environmental Protection Act. It does not matter what the requirements are under the Regional Municipality of Peel Act. It does not matter because the minister is saying, "My order, my bill, dictates that this site expand." We are left with actions by the minister which are taking away from local municipalities their responsibility, their right and their obligation to plan.

1540

The people in my area ask the question, "How come? What is it that made her do something when she had promised and the Premier had promised something absolutely opposite in the election? What is it?"

They say: "We have some questions. We have some comments. We want to talk about what it means to our community. We want to talk about some of the concerns we have about how our community is going to grow, about our children. We have some issues that we want to talk to the minister about because it was the minister who made the order. Can we have a meeting with the minister?"

The people viewing this procedure in their homes would say: "It's obvious the minister would of course speak to the people who are going to be directly affected by her actions. Surely she would not refuse to meet with people's concerns about their community and about the extension of the site." In fact the minister has refused.

They talk a mighty stick about consultation. They talk a mighty stick about speaking to people about issues that affect them. The fact of the matter is that when there is an issue that directly affects people, this government just goes into its bunker. The Minister of the Environment could not be pried out of her office to take a little drive or be driven, as the case may be, down the QEW, up Highway 427, across Highway 401, down Highway 10, a total of 15 minutes from her riding, to meet with a couple of concerned people about their area. She could not find the time. Do not ever let anyone in the government talk about how they consult, because it just is not the truth. It is just totally false.

The minister has refused to meet with the people. So delegates from the ratepayers' associations—and I mention some names: the Steve Gallants, the Ray Skyvingtons, the Natalie Earlys, the Bill Gales of Mississauga—say: "We will meet with her privately in her constituency office. We even understand the fact that maybe she doesn't want to get before the glare of the media and, God forbid, defend her position. Ho, my goodness gracious. Defend her position? We don't expect she will do that, but will she meet with us privately in her constituency office, because we truly care about our community?"

What does the Minister of the Environment say? She says no. She is not going to meet with them. What do they do? They write a letter to the minister. The people who are directly affected by this write a letter. They receive a response. The response comes from Jim Merritt, the regional director.

Residents, citizens of Ontario, write a letter of deep concern to the Minister of the Environment about an action



she has taken, and they receive a letter that starts off, "The Honourable Ruth Grier has asked me to respond to your letter of October 22, 1991, and to the attached petition by area residents regarding the Britannia Road landfill site." A petition, may I add, that included thousands of names.

The people in the area did not want a letter from Jim Merritt. I am sure he is a very capable individual but they did not want a response from him. They did not write the letter to Mr Merritt. They wrote the letter to the Minister of the Environment and the Minister of the Environment saw fit to say, "Oh, Britannia landfill site: Mr Merritt, would you please respond to these people?" This is totally unacceptable, totally irresponsible. I would almost use the word "deceitful," but I would not. I know it is not parliamentary.

It goes on to say that "the government had no choice when it announced that the regional municipality of Peel must expand the Britannia Road landfill site as an interim solution to the waste disposal crises facing the region." Let me repeat that: "the government had no choice."

If the government had no choice when it made that announcement over the major regional landfill site in the regional municipality of Peel, do members not think the Minister of the Environment would at least meet with the municipal politicians, the mayor of Mississauga and the chairman of the regional municipality of Peel, to explain why she had no choice but to expand it? There is a difference of opinion that comes from people who have been involved in waste management, I dare say, long before the Minister of the Environment.

These are people who have seen not only the issues of today, but years ago saw where we were going to be today. What did they do? They took action. We have waste management updates from the region of Peel. We have the region of Peel discussing the whole issue of composting: how to make your own composter, how to use it and why you should use it. We have messages by the regional municipality of Peel to the children dealing with the whole issue of the environment. We have waste management issues by Peel region dealing with the stage 1 results of long-term landfill studies many years ago.

They were dealing with the issue. They knew the position they were going to be in today. The Minister of the Environment could not be convinced. Shame on that minister when she said she had no option, because people were telling her last year, and months before that, that she had choices. She did not listen and for that she is saddled with an issue and a crisis of her own making.

We can go on with other areas. We can talk about the work done by the regional municipality of Peel in waste minimization. Does that not sound suspiciously close to the objectives the Minister of the Environment professes to be the author of? She is not the author of waste minimization in this province. She is building upon initiatives started by a great many other people. A lot of those people are found within the Mississauga, Brampton, Caledon and the regional municipality of Peel. For her to think she is high and above those who have devoted their lives to this issue is disgraceful.

Here we are talking about that aspect of Bill 143, part III, which gives the teeth to that ministerial order. It puts

the wheels on the truck that runs roughshod over the decisions made by local governments. It runs roughshod over her previous pronouncements of the importance of public consultation. It runs roughshod over the promises made by the Premier in the previous election.

I wish the member for Durham West was in the House today. During last night's debate we should recall that the interim site that was to be selected was known as site 6B in the city of Brampton. During discussion last night, the member for Durham West blurted out as an interjection that the government had received a lobby to get site 6B off the table.

1550

What was that lobby? What was said to the government prior to its making the decision? It was certainly nothing that was shared with members in this Legislature, though the actions of this government in terms of ministerial statements would not be surprising, because it does not make them. But what was the lobby the member for Durham West referred to in interjection, that there was some sort of lobby by some individuals made to the Minister of the Environment to stop the interim proceedings directed to site 6B?

Is that how a Minister of the Environment operates? Is a Minister of the Environment prompted by political considerations or by environmental considerations? We want to know those answers. What we have is a Minister of the Environment who has a bill that she puts on some sort of pedestal as the most far-reaching bill that has ever been devised in the history of Ontario, probably of the universe.

**Mr Huget:** Absolutely.

**Mr Offer:** There are members on the government side who say "Absolutely." Let me ask the viewing audience, why then would the Minister of the Environment not stand in her place in this Legislature and make a ministerial statement? Why would she not stand in her place and say, "Mr Speaker, I have a statement today on the environment that is one of the most far-reaching types of initiatives ever conceived in the province"? Does the Minister of the Environment make that statement? She does not. She does not make a statement in this Legislature about this bill. Then how does the bill come before the Legislature?

At the end of routine proceedings—I know you are well aware of the procedure, Mr Speaker—after question period and petitions, when members are filing out, there is the call for introduction of bills, a seemingly routine call, and who stands up in her place quietly, without any fanfare? It is the Minister of the Environment, almost whispering the introduction of Bill 143 into this Legislature.

I have said this before and I will say again that if it were unparliamentary to whisper bills into this Legislature, she would have been thrown out. She was afraid to make a ministerial statement. She was afraid to alert the Legislature that she was going to be introducing this bill. She was afraid to talk to us about what this bill contained and what its impact would be, and to this day is afraid. To this day we have only heard from the government: "Why the need for public hearings? Why would people be concerned



about talking to a legislative committee on this bill and what it means to them?"

The fact of the matter is that there are people, not just in my area of Mississauga North but across this province, who want to talk about all the aspects of Bill 143. They see problems with all the aspects of Bill 143. They have many concerns with it, and the Minister of the Environment has the gall to stand up and whisper a bill into this Legislature and then say outside the Legislature, with a scripted news release, "This is one of the most far-reaching bills that has ever been introduced in the province of Ontario."

The fact of the matter is that no one believes her. No one believes someone who says in an election, "No expansion of an existing landfill site," and when she has received the votes expands an existing landfill site without any public hearings. No one believes a minister who says: "I think consultation is important, but not with me. I'm not going to meet with those people who are directly affected, even in the confines of my constituency office. I'm not going to do that. What concerns could they possibly have about a landfill site being expanded without any public hearings, without any public consultation, without any knowledge of what it means to their community?" What are we left with? "Trust me. I'm the Minister of the Environment."

Let me tell members something: She is way, way from that. We have just gone through a question period that underscores what is out in the province. People are cynical of governments. People are cynical about politicians. People's cynicism is founded on politicians saying one thing to get a vote and, when they get that vote, doing something else. The Minister of Natural Resources looks up. The fact of the matter is that there are countless examples of the present government feeding and building upon that cynicism. If they do not believe that, I invite them to come out to my riding for 10 minutes.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** Is everyone as cynical as you are?

**Mr Offer:** The Minister of Natural Resources asks if everyone is as cynical as I am. I think that question would be answered if a member of the government had the guts and the courage to come out to any area, not just in my riding of Mississauga North but to any area in the regional municipality of Peel, to defend or even to explain the decision of the Minister of the Environment or to explain and defend what Bill 143 is about. To date the doors are open, but no one has walked through.

Last night, when the Minister of the Environment was in her place and there was talk about non-attendance, I heard her say "Send an invitation." How absolutely arrogant, how absolutely incredible, that a minister of the crown would interject by saying "Send an invitation." It is incredible and arrogant for two reasons. The first is, does she actually believe that an invitation is required before she will step down from her throne? Second and of even greater concern is that she has been invited to come out to the regional municipality of Peel. About three or four times that I personally am aware of, there have been invitations cordially extended to her majesty, the Minister of the Environment. The Minister of the Environment says no

to all those things. Last night in the Legislature, when the issue is raised, she said, "Send an invitation."

What are we left with? We are left with a piece of legislation which has serious, fundamental flaws. We are left with a piece of legislation which a great many people are seriously concerned about. They have concerns about what this legislation means to them and how it will impact their community.

Do we get public hearings? Just in passing, one would expect that a bill that carries the grand magnitude the Minister of the Environment says it does would at least have the minister stating, "This bill will of course go out for public hearings."

What does the Minister of the Environment do? "What need for public hearings? What need for public input? What need for a legislative committee to do the work for which we have in part been elected to do? What need for that?" This is just a bill that is going to affect potentially everybody in the province. This is just a bill which is going to affect industry within this province; this is just a bill which gives the Minister of the Environment the right to trample on previous agreements entered into between local municipalities, to trample upon the Environmental Assessment Act, to trample over the Environmental Protection Act, to trample over the Ontario Municipal Board Act. What need for public hearings? Who could be concerned?

1600

The fact of the matter is that millions of people are concerned, and they are concerned not only by the bill but by the obvious arrogance of the Minister of the Environment that this bill does not even require public hearings. Obviously the minister and her government minions are saying: "We're going to push this bill through. We have made up our mind. We do not care what the people of Mississauga North, what the people of Mississauga South, Mississauga East, Mississauga West, Brampton North, Brampton South, Dufferin-Peel have to say. We don't have to worry about them. We don't have to worry about what the people in the greater Toronto area have to say or in northern Ontario, east or western Ontario. We are just going to push the bill through no matter what they say. This bill is going to be shoved down the people's throats no matter what it means."

Let me tell members something. People are definitely and fundamentally concerned about the environment and about the process by which they plan for the issues of the future. The actions by the regional municipality of Peel in the past have shown—and I know there are examples from other local municipalities—that they are committed, that they are able and have in fact carried out long-term discussions over how to address the issues of waste. They have done that. This bill rams right through the heart of their ability to do so, because it gives to the Minister of the Environment a power which is almost frightening. It gives to the Minister of the Environment a power which will supersede the Planning Act. It will supersede official plans.

For those of us in this Legislature we know what that means, and for those people who are watching, when they take a look at their community and the planning they know it is the local municipality that has the responsibility for



that planning of their communities, how they are going to evolve, how they are going to grow, the types of amenities they are going to be providing. They know, those who watch this, that it is the local municipality that does so. They know where to go. They know where to commend. They know where to criticize. The local municipalities have taken that particular onus. It is their responsibility and they have handled it well. This bill rips that away from them in a very real way.

I would bet that if those government members were in opposition, as I expect them to be some day soon, they would be railing over these types of initiatives. They would be falling over their desks talking about draconian measures.

Interjection.

**Mr Offer:** Now we have the member for Huron making some sort of interjection on this particular bill. It will be interesting to hear if the member for Huron, when the rotation permits, will stand in his place and speak from his seat through these cameras to his constituents as to why he is supporting a bill which shuts his constituents out from inputting and from public consultation.

He will be having to defend that. It will be interesting to see if he will take the challenge. We will even make it a little easier. It will be interesting to see if, when I sit, that member will stand in his place and take part in a two-minute wrapup.

It will be interesting to see if that member takes that challenge, because his constituents are probably quite concerned about where he stands on this bill. His constituents are probably quite concerned as to whether he is just going to follow the orders of the Minister of the Environment when she says: "Member from Huron, stand in your place and vote in favour of the bill. Do not worry; I am the Minister of the Environment. No public consultation is necessary for any of the things I do because, as the Minister of the Environment, as the keeper of the morality, as the holier-than-thou artist of all artists, I can never be wrong."

The fact of the matter is that it would be nice if that Minister of the Environment or the Premier of this province would ever think of coming to, for instance, any area in the regional municipality of Peel to defend the action of expanding the Britannia landfill site, would ever come and talk about defending that aspect of Bill 143. That would be interesting.

Last night we heard the member for Middlesex. She, as the parliamentary assistant, I believe, to the Minister of the Environment, spoke about this bill. I remember what she said. She said that it is socially irresponsible for people to in any way, shape or form transport garbage. It is socially irresponsible.

The fact of the matter is that I hope her constituents were listening, because in her own township where she lives they are transporting garbage out. It will be interesting for her constituents to know that she is now in favour of a landfill site in her area. That is what she said. That is what it meant.

In her area there are two ways in which they dispose of their garbage: through incineration and through exportation. But that member for Middlesex, the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of the Environment, stood in her place last night and said it is socially irresponsible to transport garbage. Well, let the members and the citizens of the good place of Middlesex recognize that their member is in favour of a landfill site where she lives, because that is what it means.

The fact of the matter is that under Bill 143 those good people are not even able to input into a decision. They are not able to even say: "I think you're wrong, Mrs Mathysen. I think you're wrong. I think the Minister of the Environment is wrong. I want to be able to be part of that decision." Bill 143 says no. Bill 143 says, whatever their opinion is, they recognize that it is the Minister of the Environment who must make that decision. Whatever their position is on any matter dealing with landfill sites, short-term or long-term, it is the Minister of the Environment.

To the mayor of Mississauga the minister is saying, "We don't care about the far-reaching work you have done in your municipality." To the chairman of the regional municipality of Peel she is saying, "We don't care about the far-reaching work you have done for the regional municipality of Peel." The Minister of the Environment is now anointed. She is now the minister of garbage, and she is saying, as that new minister, "I will not be listening to anyone who has any opinion, any thoughts, any concerns."

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The problem is that it is the people in the riding of Mississauga North and throughout the city of Mississauga who in fact are the first victims of her actions, because as others speak to landfill sites which are coming to completion in years to come, so in Mississauga and in the regional municipality of Peel we have already received her order. She has already shut the door to us.

The people in the area who work, volunteer their time and are involved in living their lives are saying: "We have concerns. Why do we have to be involved in this landfill issue? Why aren't the hearings under the Environmental Protection Act for site 6B well under way? Why did the minister do what she did? Why did she create this issue? Who lobbied her, as was indicated earlier, to take site 6B off the table? Who did this? Why did the politics of the issue surpass the environmental aspects of the issue? Why?"

We are the first victims of the actions of the Minister of the Environment. We and the people around the Britannia landfill site are reminded every day what her actions mean. They see the site still in operation. They see all the signs of expansion and they say, they repeat and they repeat again: "How is it that a person in opposition, the Leader of the Opposition, the now Premier, could say, 'No expansion without a hearing,' then after winning an election say, 'We're going to expand the site without a hearing'?" How could he say, "Vote for me and you are guaranteed a hearing before any expansion takes place," and then, after receiving the vote—one of the most precious things that people own in this democracy—say, "We're going to expand the site but you don't have any hearing"? People are



deeply hurt, they feel very deceived and misled. They are asking some very relevant, tough, hard-hitting questions.

The Minister of the Environment and the Premier of the province refused to answer. I believe they are unable to answer because I think we all recognize and remember, during the last election, when the now Premier of the province called the then Premier of the province a liar—not once, not twice, but five times. He said the Premier of the province was a liar.

I do not condone that type of language. That language is uncalled for and builds into the general populace a growing cynicism. But those words were said and they are going to hang on the Premier for the rest of his days because people, if anything, will remember what he said. That is what he called another honourable member of this Legislature.

There are a lot of members who are here for the first time. You recognize that we differ many times very strongly in our politics, but when you call another member a liar you will live with that and will be remembered for it because it will not go away.

“How could he do that and make the promise that there would be hearings and, when elected, not have hearings?” That is what the people are saying in the regional municipality of Peel, and I believe that is what they are saying across this province.

What is going on over there? Why is the government not listening? Why will they not have public hearings? Why will they not allow people to have input in decisions which affect their very lives? This bill is bad, it is fundamentally flawed, and the actions of the Minister of the Environment are bad and fundamentally flawed.

When the Minister of the Environment cannot justify her decision, when she cannot defend her bill by coming out to the regional municipality of Peel or by speaking to the mayor of the city of Mississauga or by speaking to residents who are directly affected and whose children are directly affected, that is something that is going to hang on everybody here. I stand against this bill.

**Mr Tilson:** I would like to congratulate the member for Mississauga North on his excellent comments with respect to this subject. He raised a number of concerns but two that struck me: one of cost, and more important, the lack of consultation not only at this stage, but where this bill is going, where this legislation is going. The environmental assessment hearings that will not take place, assessment hearings that in the past were to take a considerable period of time because of the fear of how this whole subject will affect our environment, will be shortened considerably and the whole issue will be left at the sole discretion of the minister.

The other issue of course is raised with respect to the mayor of Mississauga, Hazel McCallion, who has asked the Premier to meet with her and discuss this very important subject. That has been declined for some unearthly reason. He will not meet with her, one of the three main participants in this whole exercise of the three main regions that are involved, where Britannia is located.

The other issue is cost. I will not get into it other than to say that the region of Peel—the member for

Mississauga South referred to this in her address yesterday; Mrs McCallion has provided us all with copies of a legal opinion discussing the whole subject of injurious affection—as a result of section 19, will be liable not only for damages that might result from the construction of the 15-storey lift that could possibly develop, but also that might result from the use of the lift. That is a genuine concern that has not been addressed, those two issues, the use and the construction. That and Britannia will be the responsibility of the region of Peel.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I have not been here for all of the discussion of this bill—I will not elevate it by calling it a debate—but I have listened to it; Lord, how I have listened. I have listened to members on that side who have impugned my integrity, who have questioned my intelligence and who have disagreed fundamentally with the solution I have laid before this House with respect to a problem.

What I have not heard is anyone disagreeing that there is a problem. I have heard again extravagant and incredible ascriptions of blame as to what caused the problem and what should have been done, etc, but no denial that we have a problem. In fact, the member who just finished speaking acknowledged that as of April or May of this year the municipality of Peel has a very real problem. What we have not heard in all these speeches is a single constructive suggestion as to what we do now with respect to the problem.

There are those who say that if we only had public hearings on every aspect of the bill, that would solve the problem. There will be public hearings on the bill. There have been public hearings on the criteria for the selection of the long-term site. There will be an environmental assessment process for the determination of the long-term site. There is an ongoing consultation process with respect to the 3Rs. There has not been an environmental assessment on the interim emergency solution for Britannia or Keele, nor can there be. That I acknowledge and that I regret. What I am waiting for is a single constructive contribution to the solution of the problem by any of the members opposite.

**Mr Stockwell:** That borders on the insane, with all due respect. Eleven months ago the minister did not have a problem. She did not have a garbage gap because her 3Rs resolved it.

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**The Acting Chair (Mr Villeneuve):** I want to remind the honourable member that we are debating the amendment by the member for Mississauga North.

**Mr Stockwell:** I understand, Mr Speaker. I am speaking to the sage comments offered by the member for Mississauga North. I say that 11 months ago in her speech, the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore did not have a problem. There would be no garbage gap according to her. Today, through her hopeless mismanagement of this issue, she has a problem and she is trying to blame previous governments for her problem.

The minister said quite correctly that she is not having an environmental assessment on Keele or in Mississauga.



When she sat on this side of the House, she promised that she would have full environmental assessment hearings. I guess the real problem and the really constructive solution to this problem would be for the minister to resign, because when she sat on this side of the House she offered constructive criticism that she cannot carry forward as minister.

When this member suggests to us that we do not offer constructive criticism, we say to her that she should implement what she suggested she would do when she was on this side of the House: Have a full environmental assessment hearing on Keele Valley and have a full environmental assessment hearing on Britannia. If she is not prepared to do that, then she is simply breaking the trust that she asked for from the people of Ontario.

Finally, the problem was created by the Minister of the Environment. It was resolved by the greater Toronto area. They had short-term dump sites and they had a long-term dump site like Kirkland Lake, and the minister pulled them off the table. If the minister is going to be shortsighted and so willy-nilly in her approach to the waste disposal system and then ask us for a solution after she has messed it up, that is the ultimate in hypocrisy.

**Mr Klopp:** I rise to a challenge that was made to me. I would like to make a comment and clarify something about the bill, which maybe says a lot when one is discussing it. The section which affects my county, Middlesex, is section 4 of the bill, which is to renew, reuse and reduce. Believe me, we in our county very much want to get into the recycling business and get serious about reducing garbage so that we do not have to have landfill sites. That is the section which affects us, and not the part the honourable member referred to.

I did not really want to make a lot of comments, because this is really for the greater Toronto area people. I would wish they had the time, because it affects them dearly. I appreciate comments the honourable member makes, but to infer that the part of this bill that the honourable member is referring to affects Middlesex—it does not.

I understand section 4 about reusing and reducing, and indeed our county and I think all of Ontario wants to get serious about this so we do not need to use land to put material in. Thank you.

**Mr Offer:** In response, I would just like to thank the honourable members for Dufferin-Peel and Etobicoke West for their comments.

I would like to devote most of my response to the comments made by the honourable Minister of the Environment. I think the first point I would make is that the minister's response in those two minutes really does speak for itself. They really are a manifestation of the concerns all of us have. When the Minister of the Environment speaks to any member and says, "I begrudgingly stand up to elevate the debate," I think that is exactly it in a nutshell.

The fact of the matter is that the concerns which I brought forward—

**Hon Mr Wildman:** You're right. They speak for themselves.

**Mr Offer:** The Minister of Natural Resources agrees with the Minister of the Environment. The problem is that those are the concerns not just of myself but of the people of the area, those who live in the area and those who represent the area as local politicians. Those are their concerns. Those are our concerns.

The Minister of the Environment feels they are unworthy: "My goodness gracious, heaven forbid, consultation, input, talking about how decisions affect the way we are going to live and the area where we are going to live." The Minister of the Environment stopped a hearing for an interim landfill site in the regional municipality of Peel. A hearing had been slated to be commenced in February, 1991. That was a hearing to determine an interim landfill site for site 6B. She stopped it. It is her problem. We are trying to help by indeed offering constructive criticism of the bill and we will continue to do that.

**Mr Turnbull:** I am not surprised about anything bad which the NDP does, other than on the environment. It is very clear that philosophically I am very much opposed to all of the NDP platform, but I have always felt that on the environment it should transcend any political party's belief because the environment is sacrosanct. Indeed, when we found the surprise results of the 1990 election, the only bright light on the horizon, as far as I was concerned, was that the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore would obviously become the Minister of the Environment because she had been very vocal in opposition and was always speaking on behalf of the environment.

I felt that at least we would have one sensible voice. I did not think this could possibly get down to party politics. Unfortunately, this minister is totally incompetent. When we look at this fraudulent document called *An Agenda for People*, we look under the first section on the environment, "Rights to a Clean Environment." This government was going to pass the environmental bill of rights immediately—"immediately" maybe has a different connotation to the NDP, but I thought within a matter of weeks. It goes on to say: "The NDP's environmental bill of rights has been before the Legislature since 1986. Three times the Liberals have approved it in principle and three times they have refused to let the bill become the law in Ontario. Citizens want more rights to take action for a cleaner and safer environment when government and industry don't act."

How on earth can we square this statement from the NDP's platform in the last election with the actions of the Minister of the Environment? The environmental bill of rights she had brought into this House as a private member could have been acted upon. Perhaps it needed some fine-tuning, but she could have brought it before the Legislature and brought it before committee and had the scrutiny that was needed.

If we had the environmental bill of rights today, I would suggest that what she is doing here would completely violate that bill of rights. The whole concept of people being able to expect a proper scrutiny of any dump site or anything which impairs our environment is fundamental. I go back to the fact that the Conservative Party in Ontario had the first Ministry of the Environment and nurtured



the environment. Every party has moved forward with that process but this NDP government has gone into reverse. I cannot believe that the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore should be sending her party backwards. It is the greatest disappointment in this government, and there have been many disappointments.

We know that the truth is a very flexible thing to this government. We know that slander of innocent citizens is acceptable to this government so long as you say "I'm sorry" if you get caught. There is nothing in this document which bears the scrutiny of day. In truth, the people of Ontario deserve an election.

To continue with my discussion of this bill, as somebody who had not been highly involved in politics I had to get up to speed. I spoke to my colleague the member for Etobicoke West at great length about this. Even though I was not in the House last night, I listened to every word he had to say. It is significant that the Minister of the Environment will never meet his eyes. Whenever he says something across the floor, she will never meet his eyes.

1630

The jargon of the environment is very interesting. We are talking about a lift to these temporary dump sites. A lift apparently implies that instead of finishing off the dump site so it is level at the end, we pile it up until it is 15 storeys high. For the people who live anywhere near it, instead of looking out over green fields when it is no longer a dump site, they are going to look at a mountain. Perhaps we will want to develop ski hills in Toronto, but there is very little use for it.

The problem we see is that the existing dump sites that are being extended without any environmental hearings whatsoever are lined with clay, and the amount of clay that was put in the lining was based upon a proposition that these dump sites, when finished, would be level. There is a calculation as to how much weight this will be. It has been suggested that there is at least a 50% chance that the clay liner of these sites, when piled up to 15 storeys high, will in fact break and the runoff from this garbage will start affecting our ground water, the ground water which runs into Lake Ontario that we all drink. I might as well take a glass now while I still can, because I think we are going to have to buy Perrier in future in the House when the water starts getting polluted by these brainless schemes of the Minister of the Environment.

The bill is broken into four parts: Parts I through III relate to the GTA garbage and part IV proposes amendments to the Environmental Protection Act. What an incredible suggestion that the Minister of the Environment, who has been that minister for getting on to a year and a half now—this very minister had her environmental bill of rights all ready to go; she did not bring it in but instead waited a year and a half—tells everybody there will be no garbage gap.

For the sake of the people who are watching this on television, apparently a garbage gap means we knew the existing dump sites were being filled up and we knew we needed new long-term sites. There had been an ongoing process that had existed under the Conservatives and then under the Liberals looking for medium-term sites to cover

this garbage gap, the period between the existing sites being filled up and the long-term sites being chosen, and having a look at the same time at the environmental impact and suitability of long-term sites. Indeed, Metro Toronto had arrived at a long-term site, that being Kirkland Lake.

The minister, when she became minister, killed the process that looked at any of the short-term solutions. She said: "No. None of the short-term solutions will be acceptable. The long-term solution that had been selected is not appropriate." Now, with her solution, she is going to supersede the Planning Act, the Environmental Assessment Act, the Ontario Municipal Board Act and the Environmental Protection Act, all of this is in the name of saving us from the garbage gap she told us months ago would not exist. Has she been asleep all this time? We were told that there was no reason to worry about a short-term interim solution, that there would be no garbage gap and that we can reduce, reuse and recycle.

**Mr Stockwell:** Recant, retract and resign.

**Mr Turnbull:** My colleague the member for Etobicoke West is saying she ought to recant or resign. I think that would be an excellent idea.

We have a crisis. It is a crisis of this minister's making. She did not create the garbage, but she did not address the fundamental problems that everybody knew existed when she came into office. She said, "No, there will be no garbage gap."

Everybody, I hope, in this Legislature would endorse the idea of the 3Rs. We do need to reduce, reuse and recycle, but it is absolutely inconceivable that in the short-term we could address the garbage gap by that measure. The minister knew it then, if she had any brains, and she should know it now. Why is she bringing this forward? She brought this legislation forward and the first reading was October 24, an awful lot more than a year after she was elected. What has she been doing in the meantime? Has she been asleep? Has she been out with her friends who have been slandering innocent citizens of Ontario? This is absolutely disgraceful.

This minister brings it in through the office of the greater Metro area instead of the Environment ministry and she slides into this document items that impact the whole of the province. She slides it through on a GTA bill. I ask the minister, what on earth are people in the rest of the province supposed to do? Are they going to rummage through GTA bills to find what the law of the province is? That is absolutely outrageous.

The minister has lost any credibility. We know there is a garbage gap. We know she sat on her hands for a year and a half. She did not do anything about it. She told us there would be no garbage gap, but there is a garbage gap.

We have a letter here from the Conservation Council of Ontario with respect to this bill. It says:

"Dear Ms Grier:

"The Conservation Council of Ontario wishes to register extreme disappointment and concern about both the contents of Bill 143, An Act respecting the Management of Waste in the Greater Toronto Area and to amend the Environmental Protection Act, and the implications the bill has



for the future of environmental planning and assessment in the province of Ontario.

"In particular, the council contends that the public input provisions contained in part III, sections 18(3)-18(7), are woefully inadequate to protect the public interest and the environment. At a minimum, the interim waste management measures detailed in the minister's section 29 reports to the regional municipalities of Peel, Durham and York and the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto should be subject to full public review and debate, including public hearings, under part IV of the Environmental Protection Act. In addition, council has serious reservations about other provisions of Bill 143, including the amendments to the Environmental Protection Act.

"The council urgently requests the opportunity to present its concerns in detail and in person, either to the legislative committee reviewing Bill 143 or to you yourself."

This is just the beginning. This is a government which is out of control. On every single issue it touches it turns a bad situation into a worse situation. The members opposite are a bunch of incompetents, and I am sorry to say that, but they are totally, utterly incompetent. We have people who will run around the province; they will slander people; they will tell us there is no garbage gap, and then we come back two weeks before the Christmas recess they say, "Oh, we must have this bill now because we have an emergency on our hands." Have they just woken up to the fact that there is an emergency? We are going to have to—

**Mrs Mathyssen:** If we hadn't wasted all this time last May—

**Mr Huget:** Talk about a source of garbage.

**Mr Turnbull:** It is incredible. We have people who are heckling over something as serious as this. The members opposite do not seem to realize that we have the protection of the environment as the prime consideration and they are taking away every chance of the public to have some input into it. The whole idea that—

**Hon Mr Wildman:** Are you kidding? You guys were in power for 40 years. You did absolutely nothing about the environment.

**Mr Turnbull:** The Conservative government and then the Liberal government brought in bills to protect the public so that we could have public input—

Interjections.

1640

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** Order. Interjections of course are out of order, particularly when the members who are interjecting are not in their own seats. I would appreciate it if the honourable member for York Mills would address his comments to the chair.

**Mr Turnbull:** This is the party that always said we must have public scrutiny, we must have consultation, and in one fell swoop we bring in a bill which takes away any public participation because this bill overrides the Planning Act, the Environmental Assessment Act, the Environmental Protection Act and the Ontario Municipal Board.

Here is the wonderful thing about this bill. They bring in a bill where the minister has all of these dictatorial

powers, but guess what? Guess who pays for it? The taxpayers in the municipality. The municipality has no right to deny the minister what she wants, but the taxpayers in the municipality pay for it out of municipal taxes. If there is any liability as a result of leaching of any contaminant from these dump sites where the minister has overruled any public process, the liability is not borne by this government which is mandating it, it is borne by the taxpayers in that municipality.

It is absolutely incredible that a minister who has fought for so many years as the clarion call of the environment is throwing all those things out the window and saying: "It doesn't matter. I know best." That of course is probably the failure of the NDP, that whenever it does something wrong it says: "We wouldn't do anything wrong. We know best." This is paternalism at its worst. This is a government that would never have accepted this from any other government that has gone before, and yet it has a different standard. Boy, do we see what a different standard they have.

I listened very attentively to the people who have great knowledge about this—my colleagues the member for Oriole and the member for Etobicoke West—and they made very salient comments. These are people who have watched this process over a long period of years. They know the background. They know the flaws in what is being proposed. Indeed, listening to what they have to say, I think the public should be outraged.

I want to conclude with the fact that I am alarmed that this government is ignoring AMO and its concerns. They are ignoring what the people want, they are ignoring their election platform, and more especially, they are not going to bring in the environmental bill of rights at the moment for fear it might get tangled up with this process. God forbid that citizens would say, "No, the government is wrong."

**Hon Mr Wildman:** I listened with concern to the comments made by my colleague. I realize he is sincere in his views, and I also realize his views produced a tremendous reaction on this side of the House. The incident I referred to I think all of us in our society have taken responsibility for. It is something we all have to work to ensure we can rectify for the native people who live in that area. No one person or individual was responsible for the poisoning of the English-Wabigoon river system.

**Mr Callahan:** I know that taxes are always a concern to everyone. In our riding in the region of Peel a lot of tax dollars went into searching for a landfill site. As a result of the actions of this minister—I should say the inaction I suppose—that money is literally as good as thrown down the drain. Money is one thing, and in these hard times money is very significant, but more important than that is the fact that over the years since they have been searching for a particular site there has been great uncertainty in my riding. I know of numerous people who planned to either fix their houses or perhaps put in a recreation room and because this process was going on and there were a number of sites which were being examined, these people were left in a tremendous state of indecision.



What this minister has done by her inactivity and her actions is thrust these people right back into that total degree of uncertainty. I think that is unfair. As I say, money is important. Certainly the millions of dollars that were wasted in the region in terms of searching for a site are now flushed down the drain. But the uncertainty of people's lives, particularly in the economic climate we have today, without any clear direction from a minister who when in opposition was leading the charge—I used to sit over there in awe of the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore because she always seemed to be attacking, trying to look after the environment. Something has happened. Either her principles have changed or her tongue is tied by someone in the back office.

**Mr Arnott:** I am very pleased to congratulate and commend the member for York Mills on his fine presentation this afternoon on Bill 143. The bill of course, as we all know, deals with the emergency powers the Minister of the Environment is willing to undertake to deal with the waste management emergency in the greater Toronto area. I do not think too many of us in this House dispute that there is an emergency with respect to waste management. Where we differ is how to manage the crisis.

Earlier the minister challenged the opposition members to come forward with some constructive suggestions to deal with the problem of waste management in the GTA. Here is a constructive suggestion for the minister: the Adams mine reclamation project in Kirkland Lake. I had the opportunity this summer to visit Kirkland Lake and to meet with Donald F. Caveen, who is the director of the corporation of the town of Kirkland Lake's development and tourism department. Mr Caveen spent well over a year, I believe, putting together this proposal that the people of Kirkland Lake and myself still believe there is considerable merit in. Frankly, if the minister were more willing to take an open-minded look at this issue perhaps she would not have to be making these incredibly draconian moves.

In my own riding of Wellington we have a considerable waste management problem and we are trying to develop a waste management site. I fear the things we have seen that this minister is prepared to do with respect to the GTA waste management crisis she may be willing to do in my own riding, and that is why I am very concerned about this bill and am speaking against it.

I still believe this Kirkland Lake proposal bears a lot of merit. One of the reasons I was up there was to investigate the possibility of the waste that is generated in my own riding going to a northern location, if the host site was willing to accept it. I ask the minister to take a second look at this proposal because she is asking for constructive suggestions, and we are prepared to give her suggestions from this side.

**Mr O'Connor:** I want to respond to the comments made by the member for York Mills. He spoke about inaction by the minister. He is clearly way out in left field with that comment. He should take a look: October 15 last year the Minister of the Environment spoke officially as a minister of the crown to the Recycling Council of Ontario

about the commitment to recycling; November 21 last year she spoke about the new direction of environmental policies right here in this House; February 21 the minister announced the waste reduction action plan; June 27 she spoke about stronger measures in dealing with Metropolitan Toronto's waste, the GTA waste; April 2 the minister announced that municipalities have to be responsible for their very own garbage in the communities in which it is generated, and April 11 she announced a ban on all future incineration of municipal solid waste.

Clearly this minister has spoken out loud and clear many times on this issue, and in this House there has been quite a bit of debate. In fact, it has been talked about over 16 different times in this House on different occasions within this Legislature, and there has been a lot of debate on this. If the members across the floor do not want to listen to that, that is a shame because I think it is something we clearly need to be talking about. There has been commitment by the government to take this out to public hearings because of the concerns that have been raised. I think that is a clear indication that a commitment has been made by this government. It is kind of tiring to listen to accusations from across the floor that are unfounded and based on nothing.

**Mr Turnbull:** I certainly seem to have got a reaction from across the floor. It is always very difficult when members have their words on paper and they come back to bite them. The fact is they are not doing what they said in the election they were going to do. Indeed, the Minister of the Environment said there was no garbage gap. We all heard it. Once again, her words are coming back to bite her.

1650

The fundamental question that has to be asked is, why has this minister not released the list of the target sites? I suggest the answer to that question is that she knows there would be an explosion across the province, and particularly around the GTA, if they knew what sites were being targeted, so she tries to creep this bill through before she releases the list. That is very typical of how this government is governing.

If the minister has a commitment that she is going to protect the environment, I fail to see how she is protecting the environment by being a minister for a year and a half and not bringing any bill forward. Then two weeks before the House rises she brings in a bill and says she must have it through. That is exactly what happened.

I am sure the people watching this on TV wonder what on earth our reaction is, because they cannot see or hear all of what is going on on the floor. But this government feels very uncomfortable that it is breaking its election promises and, further, breaking and overriding the law. It is saying, "It doesn't matter what the law says." All the process for examination of these policies is going out the window, and it is saying, "No, the minister knows best." That is fundamentally wrong and it flies in the face of everything our party has ever stood for.

**Mr McClelland:** This bill has generated a considerable amount of debate. It is important to say at the outset



that but for a threat to bring a closure motion by the government of the day, I believe this bill would have engendered considerably more debate. It is very clear the government has found itself in a difficult position. It has been found out, so to speak, and its actions are inconsistent with what it said prior to assuming office, and indeed with what it has said since assuming office.

By way of introduction, at the outset I want to thank my colleagues in this party and the third party for beginning to put forward to the people of Ontario, through the Legislative Assembly, some of the deficiencies and glaring contradictions on the face of Bill 143 with the heretofore stated position of the New Democratic Party and now the New Democratic government.

Today in response to a question the Treasurer and Deputy Premier said, "When this government was elected we made a commitment to a more open process." What is really at the heart of some of the controversy surrounding Bill 143 is the very fact that this government, which stood firm and tall on its commitment to public participation, has done a 180-degree turn and said to the people of Ontario: "Yes, but in this instance we don't want to hear from you. We have made up our mind."

The member for York Mills said very well that the government has adopted an attitude that: "We in all instances know better and it is our way or no way. We are not prepared to listen to the people of this province. We are not prepared in some instances to listen to the duly elected municipal representatives of this province. We are not prepared to listen to organizations that have invested years of time, energy and money in the environmental issues that are at stake in this province. We are, in short, not listening to anybody who doesn't see it our way."

This is the government that said it was committed to listening to people and having public participation. This is the same government—it has been repeated throughout this debate, by the member for York Centre and the member for Oriole—whose Premier said there will be no expansion of any existing landfill sites without a full environmental assessment. What does it do? The very first piece of legislation brought forward by the Minister of the Environment does just the opposite. It says: "We will not allow your participation through the process of an environmental assessment hearing. We won't even go so far as to allow it through the process of an Environmental Protection Act hearing."

The minister who stood in her place and day after day chastised the former government for having what she called a watered-down version, the Environmental Protection Act, which looked at all the environmental criteria and the socioeconomic impact, said, "We won't even give you that." That, to me, is the height of hypocrisy, and if nothing else, breeds cynicism for government. It states one thing and does a 180-degree turn and says: "I'm sorry. In this instance we can't live by our word, we can't live by our principles and we can't live by what we said was important to us."

I want to note that this is the first piece of legislation introduced by the Minister of the Environment and it was done without a statement. What does that mean in terms of

the parliamentary process? The minister would very quickly say, "There's nothing contained in this bill that I haven't stated elsewhere or stated from time to time in this House on other occasions."

I suggest very plainly—I leave it to people who are watching to make an objective determination—that the timing and the method by which this bill was introduced calls very much into question the true motives and, I would say, the manipulation of the process by which this bill was brought forward.

I want to talk about why no statement was made, and then the timing. The minister brought forward this bill in her capacity as minister of the greater Toronto area. It is true there are some aspects of the bill that impact primarily on the greater Toronto area, but there are more far-reaching implications that have an impact on the environment and set up principles and a process in place that ultimately could impact on each and every community across this province.

The minister did not have the forthrightness to enact it in her capacity as Minister of the Environment. She says, in response to a question, "It was a matter of convenience." I suggest it was a matter of convenience indeed; it was a matter of convenience for the Minister of the Environment because she was not prepared to take the heat on this. In the first instance, she did not want to have a statement made in her capacity as Minister of the Environment which could be challenged in terms of Bill 143's consistency with her statements made elsewhere.

It is interesting to note as well that the news release that accompanied this on October 24 stated that this came from the minister of the GTA, but the contact name mentioned was with the waste reduction office. The message clearly is that Bill 143 is a waste reduction bill.

The news release also emphasized other things that I think are important to note. Basically, as an afterthought, we might want to mention that GTA disposal sites are mentioned herein. They were snuck in at the end of the news release and I find that objectionable because that is clearly one of the more contentious issues here. From day one this was contrived with a press spin put on it to minimize the impact and the attention that would be drawn to this bill because the minister, I am sure, knows full well she will stand to be criticized for this and is unable to sufficiently answer much of the criticism brought to her.

I note with interest a report card provided by the now minister in January 1988 to the former government. It was entitled, "Grier hands out environmental report card on the Liberals." She said she thought that the people of Ontario had a right to expect more progress. Not too long ago we heard one of her colleagues, the member for Durham-York, stand up and enumerate all the wonderful things she has done. The fact of the matter is that this is the first piece of legislation. There has been nothing but announcements, platitudes and rhetoric paid to the principles enunciated by the minister. There has been no concrete action of any type prior to the introduction of Bill 143.

I agree with the Minister of the Environment that the people of Ontario have a right to expect more progress. On



the basis of her report card I suggest she gets a glaring F, an absolute failure. There has been no progress whatever.

1700

The minister went on to talk about the Environmental Assessment Act in 1988. She said that it desperately needed reforms, that it had to be improved. She went on to talk about all the improvements she would like to see in place. The introduction of Bill 143 on its face is an admission of failure by the Minister of the Environment. She has not in one instance been able to deal with any amendments to the Environmental Assessment Act in any substantive way. There has been little or no progress made on that. It is a glaring admission of failure that she has not been able, in any way shape or form, to get a handle on the waste management issue, not only in the greater Toronto area but indeed across the province.

I think it admits very plainly that her statements, made when my colleague the member for Halton Centre asked a question early on, shortly after she was sworn in as minister, "What is the minister going to do about the garbage gap? What is she going to do when a year from now she is faced with the situation where she has nowhere to put the garbage?"—the minister at that point said: "There is not going to be any garbage gap. There will be no garbage gap whatsoever because I have the way of handling that. I am going to be able to handle that with my waste management. My 3Rs are going to deal with that." What does she say now? She says now that we have a garbage crisis.

The minister is not here to respond to it and she will have the opportunity to do that in due course. The reality is there is no real major garbage crisis. There is in one area of the province. It is clear. My friend the member for Mississauga North has spoken about that. The situation with respect to Britannia is critical in terms of its timing. We know that in Keele Valley the short projections are that it could extend through to 1996. The long projections are that the present capacity at Keele Valley would extend through until 1999. There is no crisis. It flies totally in the face of what the minister said about having full environmental assessment.

She is totally without justification in moving ahead with the expansion of Keele Valley without allowing the process she championed prior to her election to take place. I think she will be hard pressed to reconcile, not only to the people of Ontario but I would suggest in her own mind, that glaring contradiction.

I thought at one point, I might add parenthetically, that this really was not the Minister of the Environment's bill, that it was being driven out of the Premier's office. I had observed what had taken place when there were a number of people present before the Legislative Assembly building in protest to this legislation. I had a sense that the minister was not herself in the sense that as notes were handed to her, she was clearly upset. She was not happy about the material that was being handed to her. She made some comments, which quite frankly were overheard, about her displeasure at being put in the position of having to respond, and that if people would quit handing her notes, she might be able to deal with it.

That is not the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore. That is not the minister who, as my friend the member for Brampton South said a moment ago, stood here and championed the environment day after day, week after month, and indeed year after year. That is a minister who I believe one time was being driven out of somebody else's office, and for whatever reason and for whatever deals that were made, I believe it compromised her position to get something else in terms of her overall agenda in terms of her environmental agenda.

I believe that up until recently—now I am not so sure, I admit, because I am not sure. I hear her saying things. I hear her responding in the two minutes of response to members' participation in the debate and saying things that just are not consistent with what she used to say. I have to believe now that maybe the Minister of the Environment is behind this bill more than I thought beforehand, recognizing that it is extremely inconsistent with what she said.

I want to look back for a moment to the summer of 1990. I have in my hand a series of press releases, numerous press releases on NDP letterhead, and they are from "Bob Rae, Leader of the Official Opposition" and "Ruth Grier, Environment Critic." Some of them are entitled "Backgrounder," "Information" and "News Release." All of them have contact people to get in touch with and find out about all the terrible things the former government had done and all the wonderful things that are going to happen in Ontario if you vote for the NDP.

Let me for a moment refer to some of the things that were said in those releases. "Only a public garbage system protects the people and environment of Ontario." I understand the bias of the current government. They are seeking, I think, in many ways to drive out private sector involvement. A very important component of a comprehensive waste management plan for Ontario is found within the private sector, working in co-operation with them, benefiting from the expertise they bring, benefiting from the infrastructure and the capital they can bring to bear on solving the problem. But the bias is there, and I recognize it. I recognize that within the socialist mentality, profit is a dirty word, that the private sector is not necessarily welcome and that only the government can do things well and only the government has the answer to all things.

That is the fundamental underlying principle of Bill 143, "We know better and only we can do the job." But recognizing that this is a bias, and we all have our biases—I have mine too. I happen to think the private sector has a tremendous amount to offer to this province and indeed in the area of waste management.

I will give them their bias for a moment for the purposes of this discussion. They are going to say, "Only a public system provides full opportunity"—for what?—"for public participation." We know that to be absolute nonsense. A privately operated system is required to go through the scrutiny of an environmental assessment hearing, just as is a public system. But here is where I find the ultimate insult to the people of Ontario and to members opposite. The government stood and said, "Only a public system provides full opportunity for public participation."



What does Bill 143 say in part? "We will not allow full public participation. We will create a corporation that will go out and on certain criteria determined by the minister and ministry staff make determinations for the siting and/or extension of landfills." I find it offensive that a government that would stand at one time and say that, would then turn around in that manner.

"Only a public agency will have a clear environmental mandate with waste reduction as top priority and landfill as a last resort." Who are we kidding? The private sector is very interested in recycling. It was the private sector that initiated recycling in this province. The government has come into partnership with it, and I take some pride that the former government did a great deal to move along the blue box program in this province. I take some pride in the fact that the former minister, for whom I served as parliamentary assistant, was recognized by the United Nations as being one of the leaders in terms of that initiative, and he accepted that on behalf of the entire province.

Bear in mind that the private sector has made some significant contributions, and it is not only a public agency that has a clear environmental mandate. There are a lot of people who are concerned. In fact, dealing with recycling and reuse in a very positive, forward-thinking way—I hope members opposite are sitting down because this is the dirty P word—can provide profit for the private sector, and when there is profit, do the members know what the private sector does? They tend to bring money in and they tend to create programs, and they tend to create infrastructure that serves the purposes of waste reduction.

It is not an all or nothing proposition. There is ample opportunity for leadership, for control, for monitoring and for the government to fulfil those responsibilities.

I have said this in exchange in some of the quips that take place back and forth. The very distinguished Minister of Natural Resources is here today. I applaud him for the fact that he and his colleague the Attorney General have taken time out of their very demanding busy schedules to at least hear out proponents of some private sector issues. Now they may or may not buy into that. That is something they will make in their own course of evaluation, in their judgements and in the critical analysis the Minister of Natural Resources always brings to bear to issues in a most honourable and forthright manner. He does that, and he has a reputation for doing that. I will say this to his credit: At least he had the courtesy and the decency, and I would say the openmindedness, to listen.

I have to ask myself, why is it that the rest of the government, why is it that some of the other leadership of the government within cabinet cannot have the same openmindedness? Why is it they have to say, "We want to put on blinders and we are not prepared to accept alternative ideas."

I suggest that none of us, whoever we are, however wise we may be, whatever body of experience and opportunities in the past we bring to bear in our deliberations here, has all the answers to every problem. We can all learn from hearing from other people and be stimulated by ideas and maybe, just maybe, within the context of some

of those deliberations, there will be some good ideas to be gleaned.

I encourage the government to open up its mind a little bit, to be a bit more broad thinking, to look to what opportunities might exist within other avenues than those that it has so very clearly prescribed and seen as the only way. Much has been said about the minister's change of heart and her change of mind. I am concerned about that for a number of reasons. It has been beaten around here I guess for the past few days in many ways.

It has been said just a few moments ago that the reputation that the Minister of the Environment brought to this place was one of dedication, almost a zealotness to her cause, a person whose word was her bond, who was respected not only within her own party but by the opposition and by the public across this province, by environmental groups.

1710

She stood and said time after time after time, and I have referred to it in debate before—I have referred to it in question period and I have referred to it in what we euphemistically around here call the late show—about her previous statements and her previous words. The plain fact of the matter is that she has been unable and I suggest unwilling to live up to the principles that were enunciated, as is evidenced by what is contained in Bill 143.

I do not want to be trite in any sense but I cannot help but think of Humpty Dumpty when I think of the Minister of the Environment, for a couple of reasons. Humpty Dumpty said, "When I use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean—nothing more and nothing less." Is that where we have come to in terms of this minister? Is that where we have come to in terms of Bill 143? "The promises heretofore made about full environmental assessment, full participation really don't mean anything. They mean whatever I choose them to mean. They mean whatever I choose them to mean in the context of convenience, the moment and what is transpiring today." Or do we have leadership that says, "What I said holds true and I will to the best of my ability stick to those principles"?

I would suggest that had the minister stood in her place and said: "Look, I have failed. I admit that. I was wrong. I called it wrong. This is going to be very unpalatable for me. I'm not happy to do this." Had she had the courage to come forward with a statement when she introduced this bill and to say, "This bill is an admission of failure in terms of my ability to meet the garbage gap I said I could meet. It is an admission of failure in terms of my commitment to the environmental assessment. But I've got to swallow that bitter pill and accept the fact that I haven't made the grade. Now we are going to have to proceed with that." it might have been a little bit more acceptable to the people in the province of Ontario.

It may have been a bit more acceptable to people in municipalities, in governments that are charged with responsibility to deal with waste management under their respective enabling legislation. I have to ask myself why this bill was introduced at the time it was introduced. The bill has enormous impacts on municipal governments. It has enormous impacts on regional governments.



Potentially the costs associated with the implementation of aspects of Bill 143 that will ultimately be passed through the upper-tier municipal governments down to the taxpayer, to the ratepayer on property taxes, are very broad indeed, broad in terms of the amounts of moneys that may be involved, in terms of the length of commitments that may be forthcoming from implementation of aspects of Bill 143.

We should bear in mind that aspects of Bill 143 stretch for as long as 20 years. Indeed the language says at least 20 years; it may go well beyond. Bill 143 proposes and presumes to set out a scheme that says, "We will call the shots through the Ministry of the Environment, we know better, our policy will dictate, not our legislation, not where we will be accountable in this House," say, to the Minister of Natural Resources, who is one of the people who loves this place, who loves being here and does his job well in this place, does it admirably and who respects the traditions of ministerial accountability and government accountability and thrives on that.

This bill fundamentally undermines that. That concerns me a great deal because there are a couple of principles here that are very, very fundamental. Do we say that because we have policies we are going to wash our hands of public accountability, that we will take a scheme of legislation and pieces of legislation that have developed over the course of time, that have given people rights, that have given people process and say, "In order to implement our policy, we will give heretofore unparalleled powers within a ministry, not necessarily even the minister herself or himself as the case may be. We are willing to devolve some of this power down to bureaucrats to allow them to enact policy." There is no public accountability.

This is a government that is clearly flying in the face of the trends that are taking place literally around the world. Everywhere around the world people are fighting for the right to have a government that is responsive to them, and this government says: "We don't care what you think. We know better." I say to this government: "Wake up. That is not the mood of the people out there. You talk to them about public participation. They expect that. They deserve that. Give it back to them."

There are aspects of Bill 143 that shut people out. It is unacceptable in terms of its fundamental principle. Many of the government members championed that. Many of them ought to be ashamed of the fact. Many of them fought for causes within their unions and their workplaces on the basis that people had a right to be involved. Now they stand here and the first piece of legislation that comes out of one their lead ministers says that is not important enough, that expediency is more important than principle, that pragmatism counts more than promises.

I find that absolutely unacceptable and I find it frustrating to hear that one of the people that I think was well respected would allow herself to be associated with that. This is a person who stood tall on the pedestal of integrity, and might I say a sense of uprightness, and has fallen off that pedestal and has shattered in terms of her credibility in the environmental movement and municipal leadership across this province. I would say to her very plainly that

she has a terribly difficult job of rebuilding her credibility because of the aspects of Bill 143 that absolutely ride roughshod over the rights of men and women in this province.

I started to talk about timing a little bit and I want to come back to that. I am going to ask a few questions rhetorically. I do not know that there are any answers. I ask myself first of all why was the bill introduced the way it was, very quietly without statement and without fanfare with a very soft-sell press release. It was sort of a tag-on at the end: "By the way, this has some implications in terms of waste management in the greater Toronto area." There was no direct reference to some of the powers that were being proposed to be handed off to the minister.

This bill was tabled in the Legislature without a statement on October 24, right in the middle of municipal elections and right in the middle of the time when men and women who are serving the public and doing their civic duty as aldermen, councillors and participants in local government were otherwise engaged in the election process.

I have a letter in my hand that was written by council for the region of York. York, as members know, will be significantly impacted by Bill 143. We all know that. We all know that one of the landfill sites that is proposed to be extended by Bill 143 is within the boundaries of York.

Let me tell members what the government wanted in the first instance. They wanted this bill that was tabled on October 24 back with full committee hearings, all wrapped up and put to bed so to speak, by the middle of December. They wanted to have full public participation by the middle of December. That is absolutely absurd. The very people who were going to be impacted by this in some cases were not even constituted as bodies until the middle of December. Some of them—I note by way of example the council of York—really broke with tradition and had a briefing session at its very first inaugural meeting on December 3.

Metro council was not constituted legally until December 5. My municipal council back in Brampton was not sworn in until a week ago Monday. Yet these are the people who were asked to contemplate the far-ranging measures of Bill 143, give it their full attention, deliberate on the matter, present before a committee and come back in full report before December 17 and expect that the government would have actually heard their concerns and heard their opportunity.

I wonder how any members in the government can honestly believe in the quietness of their own minds that that was a valid and legitimate request. Can members in good conscience really accept that this was an honest request from municipal councils to participate? If they do, they are dreaming. There is no way that could have happened.

It leads to one conclusion and one conclusion only: that the government is so uncertain about the principles contained in here that recognize its vulnerability, particularly in light of all the rhetoric it has spewed forth in the past, that it wanted this bill through as quickly and as quietly as it could. In fact, they even took it a step further and said, "If we don't get our way, we're going to hold a gun to your head and pull the trigger and we're going to shut you down so that you can't speak," to the members of the opposition.



1720

**Hon Mr Hampton:** You're driving the opposition out.

**Mr McClelland:** The Attorney General can jest about it as much as he wants, but I say to him that he is one of the people who has fought long and hard for the right of people to participate, for people in northern Ontario to have a say in what goes on. He is one, of all people, who used to believe in hearing from the citizens of this province. I ask him, where has that principle gone? Has that been put aside by him as well? Only he can answer that. Does he honestly believe, I say to the Attorney General, that it is fair to ask municipal councils, who were elected and who were sworn in within two weeks, to return with full measure their complete and thoughtful consideration on a very wide-ranging piece of legislation? He knows the answer to that and he knows that is absolutely absurd. He much too intelligent a person to think for one minute that that is a reasonable request for his government to have put to municipalities across Ontario.

I heard the member for Oriole use a very interesting turn of phrase when she was describing this bill. She said that this bill was in effect similar to those individuals at the time of the Industrial Revolution who were afraid of any new ideas and any new initiatives. She likened it unto the Luddites. They were the people who of course used to throw tools or whatever they could into machinery to make sure it would break down. The reason she said that is this, and I thought it was a very good analogy, because this bill says: "We don't want to consider alternatives outside of those prescribed by ourselves. Don't confuse us with the facts; our minds are made up. We don't want to hear what other people have to say. We don't want to look at other alternatives."

Let me talk briefly, for a couple of minutes at least, about what is implied therein. The minister has basically said that the environmental assessment process is of really no force and effect. The very concept of Bill 143 flies in the face of it, because what does the environmental assessment process say? It says, "Let's look at all of the alternatives, let's look at them in a framework that invites input, invites a range of opinion, that subjects that opinion to cross-examination and, having done so, make as much as possible an objective evaluation and determination of the facts that have been put before us."

What does Bill 143 say? It says, "Don't look at all the alternatives." It says, "We're not sure that we want to even consider them." In fact, it does not even say, "We're not sure." It says: "We don't want to consider them. We might have some new ideas. God forbid that we should hear something new and different. Twenty years from now there might be some new technology available, five years from now, perhaps even three, and that would make us look bad because we have said that we have all the answers. If we have to look at other people and look at other alternatives, we might be found out to be wrong." I find that extremely interesting that this government says: "Gee, we don't want to hear from others. We have it all laid down."

The environmental assessment process is something that I am not sure is understood by a lot of people. Indeed I am not sure if it is understood by members in this House—

Interjections.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Order. Please take your seats.

**Mr Turnbull:** Leave some time for David, will you?

**Mr McClelland:** I would be delighted to leave some time for my colleague the member for Dufferin-Peel.

The environmental assessment process has as its very roots a fundamental principle, and the fundamental principle is the evaluation and consideration of all alternatives. This bill does not provide that.

After you go through the process, the chosen alternative should be the one which fulfils the proponent's purposes—in this case, the establishment of waste management sites, garbage dumps—which has the best environmental balance, has advantages that has the environmental integrity, if you will, to the site. That choice in each case is made by following rigorous scrutiny of supporting evidence, usually by an environmental assessment board, a board comprised of people who bring to it a measure of objectivity and a quasi-judicial determination.

It has been said by others, and I share this opinion, that to dictate projects in the middle of the environmental assessment process is to prejudice the outcome of that process. It also says to every waste management proponent that you are forbidden from even considering the major alternative way of disposing of residual waste in every situation, even if it may be the best solution.

That is one of the greatest concerns I have. Bill 143 does not allow us an opportunity to look at the best possible solution or combination of solutions. It says again, "The government of the day, the New Democratic Party, knows better and has all the answers." I do not buy that for one minute. I do not buy for one minute that any government has all the answers. I do not buy for one minute that those 130 of us in this Legislative Assembly have all the answers.

There are numerous potential solutions out there in Ontario and there are some that have not even been thought of yet. To shut our minds to that is absolute insanity. It is the most regressive attitude that a government can take to say, "We know it all, and we don't want to talk to other people."

What has happened in this legislation is that we have taken political judgement and injected it full-scale into the environmental assessment process, which used to be at arm's length, which used to be at least given the opportunity to consider arguments on their own merits. I think that is going to come back to haunt this party.

I got criticized not too long ago for referring to this as the environmental War Measures Act. The minister said that she took exception to my categorization of that. She stood with the great flair and eloquence she can muster and stood tall with her Irish lilt, which I quite enjoy, and very enthusiastically joined in a little debate and said that it was really unfair to characterize this as draconian legislation of that nature.

It is interesting that I have received a letter from somebody whom I am sure had no idea I had said that. It said,



"Bill 143 is legislation of a type citizens should only be asked to accept in wartime." It goes on to say to the ministry, "Your ministry and your personal position has always been to require that a proponent putting something forward that will affect the environment will allow your consultation with the affected parties."

Again I ask, what has happened? This bill is fundamentally flawed in so many ways. To have put it on the table at the time it was put on is, in my view, the height of cynicism. It is unfair. It does things contrary to the way we have always done things in Ontario. It says that there is one set of rules for one group of people, another set of rules for another group of people, and yet another set of rules for another group of people. There is not really any rationalization for that.

It prohibits us, as I have said, from looking at what could be the optimal environmental solution for the garbage disposal situation we have to face. It clearly, as I said in my opening comments, allows the government of the day to interfere in what has clearly been prior to this time municipal authority, municipal power.

There is an argument put forward by the government that this is something absolutely necessary, that each municipality must deal with some garbage. I find it interesting that the parliamentary assistant talked about that last night. She knows full well that the waste from her own community is shipped out of her community. We know full well that considerable tonnage, well over half a million tons of garbage, is shipped out of Toronto every day. We know that waste is shipped from Kingston into Ottawa. We know there is one set of rules, that this very bill says it is okay for Metro Toronto to ship into York but that Peel has to find its own solution and Dufferin has to find its own solution.

1730

It is different in Kingston, it is different in Middlesex and it is different elsewhere in the province. The rules of the day will be whatever the minister's policy is will be brought into effect, and the rules of the day will be that the Environmental Assessment Act, to the extent that it interferes with the policy of the minister, is of no force or effect; that the Environmental Protection Act is of no force and effect; that the Municipal Act is of no force and effect; that the Planning Act is of no force and effect; that the regional municipality acts, those acts that established the regional governments, are of no force and effect.

"Furthermore, if we have forgotten anything, if there is any oversight, we will pass a regulation that says that any other regulation or any other bill that stands in our way will be of no force and effect, just in case we have missed anything. To be absolutely certain of that, if there are any contradictions within the context of this bill in and of itself, we will deem them not to be contradictions, because when we dictate what will be"—that is the operative word, "dictate"—"it will be."

"We will not allow any of the rights of the citizens of Ontario to stand in our way." The minister referred to them as impediments. They were impediments that stood in the way of allowing her to deal with Keele Valley and Britannia. We know with respect to Keele Valley that is

absolute nonsense. She may very well have as much as seven years or more to deal with that. There is no legal impediment.

Do members know what most people think they are? They do not think they are legal impediments; they think they are legal rights and protections. They think they are things that people have fought hard for. They think they are the types of things that members in this House and members opposite used to push hard for to give people more participation, more rights and more protection. Now the minister sees them as impediments and says: "If they're in the way, let's roll right over them. And just in case I've missed something, I want to have the power, by regulation, to get rid of anything else that might stand in the way."

Do members know what else I find really distressing about this? It is that there comes a time in the implementation of some of this bill that the minister says: "I don't even want to take the heat, so I'm going to pass it on to one of my bureaucrats. I'm going to pass it on to a director and then I don't have to be accountable. I can distance myself from what's taking place." That is the height of abandonment. That is the abandonment of political responsibility. I ask the minister how she, in good conscience, can do that, pass the responsibility that clearly ought to be hers to a delegated authority in her ministry.

This bill wants to move an agency, the Interim Waste Authority, from the Business Corporations Act into the Crown Agency Act. I just want to note for members' consideration some of the difficulties that have ensued with another crown agency that was set up to deal with waste disposal. I think it is worth thinking about. It seems to me that the minister has a scheme where she is passing this on and distancing herself just a little bit further. She said a year ago: "I can solve the problem. There will be no gap; there will be no difficulty." Now things are a little bit different: "I've got a problem. I'm not sure I want to deal with it. I'm sure I don't want to deal with it based on the principles that I enunciated before. Maybe I'll move it into a crown agency."

I just want to draw to people's attention and remembrance some of the difficulties that have been experienced with the Ontario Waste Management Corp. They are doing the best they can, and that is a topic for debate on another day, but there are very clearly some difficulties in terms of accountability.

What did the minister say when I asked her a question a few weeks ago about something that was within her ministry that she did not have direct control of? Let's revisit the issue just for a moment. I will tell members why I want to do that. I want to revisit this issue because it is an issue of accountability.

I asked the minister a question about her investigation of the enforcement branch of her ministry dealing with the issue of refillable containers. There is a regulation that requires a percentage to be sold and so forth, and most of us know that. I put to the minister what is going on in her investigation of the enforcement branch and she said: "Well, I don't deal with them. I don't give them instructions. I let them handle it on their own, because I don't



want to get involved. I mean, it's not my position to tell them how to do their job."

I just wonder to what extent that same defence is going to be raised a year from now, two years from now, when we find ourselves sliding down a slope and we cannot stop and we find ourselves in more serious difficulty. I can predict right now that an answer will be something like this: "Well, you know, there is a crown agency and I don't have direct control of it. We set it up by way of legislation. It's their responsibility. We've given them some direction on policy but, after all, I'm not accountable."

The day we start to do that and find every convenient opportunity to slide off our accountability and responsibility, I think we are into some very serious problems.

There are some other aspects that are controversial that I am sure we will discuss as we go clause-by-clause. Among other things, section 7 of this act says that it gives an inspector the authority to enter people's lands where he or she considers it necessary to meet certain requirements or to obtain approvals. Those are very broad powers to give to an inspector. How are those inspectors seized with their power? They are seized by a corporation hiring them. Are they accountable to the minister? No. Are they accountable to any public scrutiny in terms of political accountability? No. They have the power to enter people's individual property.

I note with interest that the member for Welland-Thorold is here. I would like to get his attention. He is reading at the present time. I am sure he is reading something that is of considerable interest to him, but I want to draw this to his attention as a member of the government, as a man who has some obvious flamboyance but also a man who has fought for people's rights, the little guy.

He knows very well that section 7 of this act says that if an inspector wants to go on somebody's land and start to drill, the person is powerless to prevent that. That is contrary to a lot of things the member fought for. That is contrary to some principles he believes in and that I know he believes in. Generally, people would have an opportunity to respond to that. Generally, people would be given adequate notice that they would have an opportunity to make a case in terms of protecting the integrity of their own property.

I find it absolutely inconsistent that the Premier and this cabinet would be discussing and debating in their minds the issue of a property charter, property rights, within the Constitution of this country. They are introducing a piece of legislation where they will say, "It's not all that unusual." I heard the parliamentary assistant say last night, "There are a lot of acts that give authorities the opportunity to move over the edge in terms of the sanctity of one's property." But generally, most pieces of legislation have a scheme that requires an easement to be obtained or an opportunity for a hearing before you start to go on to somebody's property to start to do the type of testing that is envisaged by what is taking place in this act.

This is a fundamental change for the members opposite as a government. I noticed that the member for Welland-Thorold was nodding his head. He recognizes and realizes that when the government starts to shave away the rights

of the little guy at the edges, when it starts to shave away the rights of people who may live in Durham Centre, it starts to shave away the rights of people everywhere. I say to the member for Durham Centre who thinks this is a joke, that you cannot begin to cut around the edges of people's rights and say it is okay because it is expedient. You do so at great peril.

1740

There are some very fundamental principles of the integrity of people's rights and of the integrity of private property at stake in this legislation. I say very clearly that the range of authority is much too broad. The discretionary authority given to inspectors, whose only accountability is to their boss in a crown agency, is much too broad. The principle at stake here is too sacred to allow it to be given away by passage of this section of this bill. The people ought to know that is going on. It is contrary to the direction of the rest of the world. The rest of the world is moving in a direction that recognizes that people's rights, people's property rights are fundamental. There are people who have fought long and hard for those rights and this government says, "Expediency is much more important."

I ask—perhaps this will come up in the course of further debate on this bill—who determines the appropriate restitution or compensation for somebody whose land is adversely affected by the entry of the crown agency on to his land? Who makes that determination? What rights are present? What rights are given to the individual land owner to have his property restored?

I have raised the issue of entry and one of the attendant elements of this bill that I find very problematic—I think of one member opposite in particular, who I mentioned earlier has on more than one occasion had a difference of opinion in terms of the authority given to police in this province, who would be very concerned that part of Bill 143 provides the authority that allows police officers to back up and to stand behind those inspectors, who have no other accountability politically, to walk on to people's lands.

I understand the scheme of that. I understand how it is not terribly inconsistent with other provisions that are given. But I think this government has to ask itself some very fundamental questions here. Who has the accountability for that? It has been pushed off to a crown agency. It has been pushed off to yet a further layer, if you will, of insulation between the minister or the government of the day. Is that appropriate? What checks and balances are contained within the legislation?

It comes back to the fundamental principle of this bill. The fundamental principle is, "We know better and our solutions will be the solutions and our ideas will prevail."

In consideration of the time and the fact that the member for Dufferin-Peel wants to make some comments, I have to save a lot of this for third reading debate. Hopefully a lot of it will be addressed over the course of clause-by-clause and as we go to committee hearings.

I want to say that I am distressed we came to a point a few days ago where this government and the Minister of the Environment, whose name appears on this bill, in full complicity with her House leader said: "We are ready to



shut you down and you will have no debate on this. We recognize that there are far-reaching implications. We recognize that it will affect people's lives and recognize that it will affect municipal councils and municipal authorities throughout the province, but we do not care because our ideas are more important than basic fundamental principles."

I started out talking about that, and as I begin to wrap up I want to come back to the fundamental principles that I see as flawed with this. We will have an opportunity to go through clause-by-clause and look at some of the deficiencies in this.

Let me, in conclusion, talk about a couple of things this minister has stood for. We had what we call euphemistically a "late show" and she is here now and maybe we can talk about this a bit more. She will have an opportunity to respond. I put a question to her and the question was this: If she had an environmental bill of rights in place, would the environmental bill of rights have to be overridden by Bill 143? She did not answer the question, nor did I expect she would. She talked at great length about all the wonderful things they had done in terms of waste reduction initiatives.

But the environmental bill of rights she had put in place and tabled some time ago said this in the explanatory note: The environmental bill of rights "provides for public notice and review of certain approvals, permits or other environment-related orders before the approvals, permits or orders come into force." The bill provides for public notice and review. Bill 143 does not do that.

Her environmental bill of rights said: "It is hereby declared that it is in the public interest to provide every person with an adequate remedy to protect and conserve the environment and the public trust therein from contamination and degradation." Those are nice words, but when it comes time to do something they are of no force and effect. Words to the Minister of the Environment mean "whatever I choose them to mean to fit the situation." In Bill 143 she has consistently been at odds with the very principles she laid down in her environmental bill of rights.

Her environmental bill of rights goes on to give all kinds of other rights to the citizens of this province. It even allows for an appeal to Divisional Court and countless remedies. What does the minister say in the case of Bill 143? "No remedies. I know best." I find it offensive in the extreme that the fundamental principles of this bill are: "We know best. We will dictate what the solutions will be. We will not look at alternatives. We will override the legislative protection and process afforded to people in this province."

As we go across the province in the months of January and February, the people will report back to the House what we will hear. I can tell the minister with absolute assurance that men and women, organizations and municipal governments are going to come before that committee and be absolutely outraged that this minister has brought forward this bill. Its very fundamental, underlying principles are unfair. It is draconian, shortsighted, presumptive in the extreme. It says: "The people don't count. The principles can fall by the wayside in terms of pragmatism. The promises aren't important; expediency is more important."

I think the minister will be held accountable for this. I say with great respect to the minister that I believe she is uncomfortable with this bill. She may stand in her place, say that is not the case and talk about what a great thing it is. If that is the case, there has been a dramatic conversion. I do not know when it has taken place, but it is not the same person who stood time and time again for years and fought for people's rights.

Bill 143 is an intrusion on people's rights. It is an intrusion on municipal governments and on some very fundamental, basic principles of free society and democracy. I find it objectionable in the extreme and I will do my utmost to draw to the attention of the people of the province those issues that I think are important, the provisions of the bill that I think are contrary to some very fundamental rights and principles we hold dear in this province and that until not too long ago unfortunately, the Minister of the Environment used to believe in.

I thank members for the opportunity to make some introductory comments on this bill. I say quite candidly that I believe I have enough concerns about this bill to have extended this debate for many hours and I had hoped to go through, in some cases line by line, some of the provisions of this bill that I think are controversial.

I remind people on the government side that their minister, in complicity with their House leader, basically said they were going to use the ultimate weapon at their disposal and be prepared to shut down debate on this. They are prepared not only to shut down debate within this House but to shut it down for the people of Ontario. They expected the people of Ontario to respond in full within four days.

In four days they wanted to get all their material together and come back here. There is no excuse for that. They ought to be ashamed and they will pay a very high political price. What is going to happen now is that I pledge to them that together with my colleagues we will redouble our effort, as we go across this province, to see that every individual, organization and municipality that could be impacted by this will be made aware of the government's attempts to sneak this through, to have introduced it in the most machiavellian way, at the most inopportune time and to limit public participation, will be found out and found wanting. Only the Minister of the Environment, the very one who has made a 180-degree turn, will be able to account for her sudden conversion and her turnaround.

I say to you, Mr Speaker, and to the people of Ontario that the minister has an awful lot of explaining to do. I wait with some anticipation to figure out how this tremendous conversion took place because, quite frankly, it baffles me. I look forward to that. I thank you for the opportunity to express some of my concerns.

1750

**Mrs Fawcett:** First of all, I want to congratulate the member for Brampton North, who has very eloquently and passionately put forward the concerns of our party, as many of our colleagues here on the Liberal side have done. I just want to add a few remarks.



I feel that many in rural Ontario are wondering just what this bill is going to mean to them. I know the minister is aware. I did see the Minister of Agriculture and Food in a while ago. I hope he remembers some of the promises made in the last election, especially in one area that affects Northumberland, of course, and that is the Marmorton mine site. There were promises made that definitely never would garbage go into the Marmorton mine site. I see the minister nodding, and I really hope I can trust that this will be so. But one wonders, with these new powers, whether all of sudden something might come along and things could change. I sincerely hope that contracts and agreements and promises will be kept.

Certainly in Northumberland we have a garbage crisis. We have our own business to look after. We do not want to have to help in solving the GTA's problems. The underlying concern of many of the constituents is the powers the minister proposes to exercise in the ongoing search to solve the GTA garbage crisis, that this will be precedent-setting and then applied to the rest of the province.

This minister and indeed the government should be reminded and I hope they will remember that we in rural Ontario will no longer stand for their philosophy that the Metro tail should wag the Ontario dog.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** I listened with great interest to my colleague's remarks, but I must say I found it a little bit tough to take all of his compliments. I know the member probably did not mean them to be gratuitous, but to say that because I was sitting here in this House indicated that I was interested in the bill and that I took the House more seriously than did my colleagues is not acceptable.

Everyone knows that all of us in this House have times when we share the duty time in the House. This happens to be the day I was here on behalf of my government colleagues. I do like this place. I do love this place. I enjoy it. I enjoy the interchange when we have high-level debate, which unfortunately is not often, but I must say that just because I am here does not mean I am more interested in this legislation than other members of the House, whether they be on the government side or the opposition side.

**Mr Callahan:** I find it passing strange that the Minister of Natural Resources would not say this is an important debate. It is the most important debate to young people in this province. Young people in this province find that the issue of the environment is one of the most important things that is going to affect their future and their children's future.

As I said before, I used to sit in awe listening to the concerns of this minister, the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore, about the environment. Then we have a bill like Bill 143 brought before us with basically dictatorial powers. The involvement of the community is bypassed. I suggest to you, Mr Speaker, that people watching this, particularly young people, are going to say to themselves: "What has happened to my Ontario? What has happened in terms of looking after the environment? Is everything based on recycle?"

We are not going to solve the problems with recycle at all. We require a bill. We require leadership from the NDP

government. They campaigned on it. I watched the Premier saying before the election, "We won't allow the escarpment to be hurt at all." Yet he was out there last night at the escarpment and he is trying to justify what he is doing in that community to those people.

I have to say the Minister of the Environment carries the most important portfolio in this government. She carries the future of the young people of this province. She carries their aspirations and their beliefs. They believed the New Democratic Party was going to be something like a breath of fresh air through this country.

I suggest this bill in itself demonstrates that when the Minister of the Environment, whom I had great respect for before and hopefully will see that respect rise again, brings forward a bill like Bill 143, she in fact is denying the opportunity for a reasonable future to the children of this province.

**Mrs Mathyssen:** The members opposite do not seem to understand that the people of the GTA are quite capable of taking responsibility for the waste generated in the GTA. For too long, the solution has been to stuff it into a green garbage bag, truck it off to landfill or send to an incinerator or to the north, and that is simply not the solution.

They ask for leadership. We are giving them leadership in the form of Bill 143. It sets out how that GTA waste problem will be resolved. It is no great mystery.

Part I establishes the Interim Waste Authority. Part II deals with the Interim Waste Authority's search for three landfill sites, one in Peel, one in Durham and one in Metro. It also sets out very clear, strict guidelines for that search so that a choice of landfill sites will be based on sound environmental principles while it still respects the rights of property owners.

Part III permits the Britannia and Keele landfill sites to be extended in the event that they are needed, in the event that those permanent waste disposal sites are not found in time. Part IV includes amendments to the Environmental Protection Act so that the production of waste at the source can be addressed by reducing, reusing and recycling. Members can see it is not a mystery. It is just leadership and good waste management.

**Mr McClelland:** I say to the member for Middlesex that she is looking at something that is fundamentally important to the people of Ontario. They will not accept a simplistic rundown of what the bill purports to do.

What they are talking about here are some fundamental principles. They are principles, as I said to the Minister of Natural Resources. I appealed to his stature in this House, as a man of integrity who believes in political accountability. This bill does not do that. This bill takes away political accountability. It foists something on the people of Ontario. It allows the minister to hide behind a scheme of setting up a process that she passes off to one of her bureaucrats.

She removes herself from the commitments she has made and the commitments her government has made. She says she is prepared to vitiate agreements made in good faith between municipalities. She says she is prepared to overlook the legislative not impediments but the legislative



rights and protections that have been fought for long and hard by the people of this province, I say to the minister.

I say to the member for Middlesex that is what this bill is about. She should not talk about some scheme to set it up. We understand what the scheme is. She should talk about the basic principles in terms of integrity, accountability, responsibility, and they are not within this bill.

This bill undermines them. It rolls over people's rights. It says: "We don't believe in fairness. We don't believe in looking at all opportunities. We want to be closed-minded about it. We've got our minds made up."

If the minister is talking about a comprehensive waste management program, there is a future. There are bright

people. There are a lot of resources. There are a lot of solutions. The minister does not have answers to every problem. There are a lot of people who can participate in this. Government members should not close their minds. They should be a little more expansive. They should look at some options and at some alternatives and they should not do it by riding over people's rights.

The minister is sitting there today. I said earlier in my comments when she was not here that she stood tall on a pedestal in terms of fighting for people's rights, and she has rolled over. I do not know who has done it to her, but she has caved in and I want to know why.

*[Report continues in volume B]*



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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

First Session, 35th Parliament

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Première session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Tuesday 10 December 1991

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le mardi 10 décembre 1991

Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers





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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Tuesday 10 December 1991

[Report continued from volume A]

1800

## WASTE MANAGEMENT ACT, 1991 LOI DE 1991 SUR LA GESTION DES DÉCHETS

Continuing the debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 143, An Act respecting the Management of Waste in the Greater Toronto Area and to amend the Environmental Protection Act / Projet de loi 143, Loi concernant la gestion des déchets dans la région du grand Toronto et modifiant la Loi sur la protection de l'environnement.

**Mr Tilson:** I do not propose to review all the criticisms that have come from this side of the House. I do wish to speak very briefly with respect to my riding, which I think will make the criticism unanimous from Peel. I think all members from Peel have spoken against this bill and have listed all the various examples of why they are against it.

I represent the town of Caledon, which geographically consists of one half of the region of Peel. In my riding the town of Caledon is a typical council which has had no consultation with respect to this issue. The town of Caledon, I think, at the last election elected all new members with the exception of two. Of course they have just recently been sworn in as members of their council and have had no opportunity to be briefed with respect to this bill. Those I have spoken to certainly are concerned with the lack of consultation in that respect, that more time was not given to those new council members.

They are concerned with the anticipated lack of consultation, not only in the planning aspects but in the present preparation of this bill and making any proposed amendments to this bill. They are concerned with the issue of cost. They have participated in the \$5 million that has been spent by the region of Peel with respect to potential sites in the region of Peel, and they are concerned that has gone all for naught.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Order. There are too many people standing in the House. Please take your seats.

**Mr Tilson:** Very briefly, one of the major concerns that has come from my specific riding is the fact that we have not been made aware of the lists of the future sites and that all long-term and all short-term lists, all potential discussions of incineration and all possible issues of transportation to other areas, all that has gone. We are now going to have dictatorial schemes that will determine exactly where these sites are going to go.

Originally we were advised that these sites would be announced by the end of November. Now we have been informed it will be at least until after this bill has been passed, so that people across this province will have no idea whether they are going to be affected. That is a concern of the people of Caledon, particularly when they are part of the GTA, and also the fact of the lack of consultation with respect to them.

I will not go on any further with respect to criticisms of this bill. There will be time for that in the public hearings. I hope people from around this province will listen to some of the debate that has gone on in this House to date, will participate in those hearings and will show the bill for the sham it is.

**Mr McClelland:** I want to commend the member for Dufferin-Peel for his comments. He raises a very important point I did not get to in my comments. The Interim Waste Authority has been charged with the responsibility of going around and doing a preliminary site search and selection. There are some 100 places in this province.

I think too, and I am going to be very plain about this, the way this bill was introduced, the timing and the fact that the government wanted to see it all done, all finished, within a week says an awful lot of things. One of the questions it raises is why is the minister so afraid about that list of 100 places being made public. I will tell members the reason. It is because we know that right now there are concerned people across this province, primarily at Britannia and Keele, who are very angry about this bill, and well they should be, as they are in Dufferin, and as they will be as they begin to understand this across the province.

If the minister thinks she has a buzzsaw going right now, she should wait until we find out what those 100 areas are. I am telling her right now she will have untold grief on her hands when people understand the implications of this bill and the fact that she is prepared to go ahead and roll over people's rights, that she is prepared to dictate what she wants to see done and, furthermore, that she is prepared to distance herself from it and hand off to her bureaucrats some of the authority she ought to accept responsibility for. She knows full well that if that list of 100 areas was made available she would have untold problems on her hands.

I find it very interesting when the member raises this that one of the reasons that list has not come forward is because the minister does not want to face up to the people of Ontario. The fundamental principle of this bill is: "I do not want to talk to people. I know better." She knows what is going to happen when that list comes out. It is very important that people have a right to participate. She used to fight for that right. She used to fight for the principles. Now she is afraid to even let the people know that they may be on the line. What happened to those principles that she used to hold to?

I challenge the minister to come forward and thank my friend the member for Dufferin-Peel for raising a very important point. There are 100 other communities, 100 other sites around this province that could very well fall under the hammer of Bill 143.

**Mr Callahan:** I have to join with my colleague the member for Brampton North. This is an issue, Ruth, if I can call you that.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** Not in this House, you can't call me that.



**Mr Callahan:** All right. Minister of the Environment. The minister tells me I cannot call her that in the House and she is quite right. The rules do not allow me to call her Ruth. But I have to say to the minister that she has let down the people of this province, the young people most specifically. She has let down the young people in this province most specifically.

Her Premier, who was not Premier at the time, came out to Huttonville and talked about getting rid of portables in schools. People believed that. She came forward in opposition and said all these marvellous things about saving the environment and making certain that the environment would be her major priority and she has done nothing about it. She has done absolutely nothing.

The young people of this province, the young people of this country, are looking to this new government to supposedly solve all their problems. Well, they are not solving the problems. I suggest to the Minister of the Environment that she make a very significant apology to the young people of this province. She has done absolutely nothing in terms of looking after the number one priority.

Number two is education. Her Premier has done nothing about the portables in Huttonville at all, although he appeared on television during an election and said, "I'll get rid of the portables for you." He has done absolutely nothing. Was that just hyperbole? Is that how they get votes? Is that how they become the government of the day? Is that how they fool people?

I suggest to the members opposite if there is one thing that will come out of this session, the last thing of this session, it is the fact that those people have misled the young people of this province and have left them with absolutely no history, no future, no belief in their environmental concerns. I suggest that the minister do something about it. She is challenged by the young people of this province to keep her commitments, and the Premier should do the same thing in terms of education.

**Mr Turnbull:** I want to add my comments to those of the member for Dufferin-Peel. I think it is very interesting that the Minister of the Environment and minister responsible for the greater Toronto area has spent most of the time during this debate not in the House. She has not been listening to these important comments.

This is the very minister who in fact has always talked about the open process. So much for the open process. Not only does she want to cut off the environmental protection bills, the environmental assessment bills, the OMB and all the protection that is built into the system, but she does not even want to listen to what the people have to say.

Prior to bringing in this bill, she has refused to release the list of potential sites because she knows there would be a riot. It is very interesting that when she beetled out of here, she refused ever to look in the eye of my colleague the member for Etobicoke West when he spoke last night at great length about the problems she is creating with the process. She cannot look him in the eye because she knows that all of the things she said in opposition have gone out of the window.

Why would the minister turn her back on the people who are concerned about the environment? The reason I

ran in politics is that I wanted to leave my children a clean environment and a clean set of books. She is going to do the reverse of this. She is destroying our environment with no public input and she is destroying the public coffers.

1810

**Mrs Caplan:** There has been quite a long debate on Bill 143. I would like to congratulate my colleague the member for Brampton North for his thoughtful comments. I believe he has done an excellent job in his analysis of this bill as our Environment critic. I know how passionately he feels about this.

As members know, I spoke at length on this as well. I notice government notice of motion 31 has referred this piece of legislation to the standing committee on social development, of which I am the committee Chair. I want to say to my constituents, to the people who are interested in this debate, that those committee hearings will be extremely important. Just as I have served as a member of a committee and as Chairman of a committee before, I will do my utmost to ensure that everyone receives a fair hearing and that all three caucuses share the time that is available fairly and equally.

I believe the committee hearing process will be a very important one and I encourage all those people across the province who have an interest in this important piece of legislation to be aware that the committee hearings will be commencing the beginning of January. There will be advertising and they will be encouraged to come before that committee and have their say.

I want to repeat to my colleagues from all three caucuses who will be members of the committee that I will endeavour, as committee Chair, to do as you do, Mr Speaker, and that is, to be impartial, to be fair and to be just in the conducting of those committee hearings and in the clause-by-clause debate that will follow. Then, hopefully, when this piece of legislation returns to the Legislature it will be improved because of the process at committee where all members and all citizens of this province had an opportunity to participate.

**Mr Tilson:** I would like to thank all members for responding to my specific speech which dealt with the town of Caledon. Specifically, the member for Oriole's comments were certainly appreciated. I will zero in on one specific area with respect to my concerns for the people of Caledon at least, and that is the issue of cost, but that applies to all municipalities around this province. We have talked about the downloading that is going to affect these municipalities. As for the costs that have already gone on, in the region of Peel alone they have spent \$5 million on studies that are now going to be thrown out the window.

On the whole issue of expropriation, "You're going to do it our way," says this government. "We're going to pick the sites and municipalities. You will do it our way and you will pay for it. You will pay for everything. You will pay for the 'injurious affection' clause"—section 19, I think it is—"and the whole effect of that."

This government had a lot of gall running around the province two summers ago talking about how dastardly the Liberals were and now here we are: The highest of



downloading that could possibly exist has been by this government on Bill 143. Once the municipalities realize what has hit them they are going to be very mad, and particularly the people of the town of Caledon.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** Let me thank anybody who has participated and I thank them that the debate is over. It has certainly generated a great deal of heat. I hope those who have been watching and those who take the opportunity to read Hansard will feel that it perhaps also generated some light. There were times, I will have to say, when the level of misrepresentation and exaggeration that some of the members indulged in as part of this debate was, to say the least, a bit disturbing. However, I do not intend in the few minutes available to me to summarize—

Interjections.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Order. The minister has the floor.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I am sure the hearings that are going to be held on this bill will facilitate those members who perhaps have misconstrued or not fully understood the intent or the ramifications or the actual way in which those sections of the bill about which they are concerned would function. We will find, as a result of the hearings, that has become more clear.

Dealing with waste within the GTA is not an easy issue; it has never been an easy issue. When you look at the waste that is generated by four million people and their economic activities, when you look at the fact that previous solutions have tended to favour the "Out of sight, out of mind; put it in a hole and forget about it" kind of approach, and when you look at the kind of jurisdictional gridlock that has prevented clear and useful decisions from being made, one realizes why we have got to the state we are at.

In all the debate we heard over the last couple of days, as it has stretched over a couple of weeks, in all the rhetoric, one of the things that disturbs me is how very little of that debate focused on the environment. We heard a lot of discussion about campaign—

Interjections.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** We heard a lot of debate about campaign promises, people's backyards, process and powers. We heard very little about protecting the environment. We heard very little acknowledgement that this bill is primarily about protecting the environment, that the section dealing with the 3Rs is very strong legislation that for the first time gives a government the power to try to meet the targets of reducing waste. The targets were set by the previous government but were not likely to be met, because there were no tools available to the Ministry of the Environment to make sure those targets were met. That is what this legislation does.

We heard very little about the fact that the section of the bill dealing with the search for long-term sites within the greater Toronto area provides that this search will take place in accordance with the Environmental Assessment Act. If the decisions about how to make that site search were predicated on some very strong environmental criteria, the decision to ban incineration is an option in that process. The decision to ban incineration, which some members disagree with, is an environmental decision. The decision not

to haul the GTA garbage to Kirkland Lake, or as the member for Northumberland pointed out, to Marmora or Plympton, is an environmental decision. This government is prepared to make these decisions for the sake of the environment.

The other aspect of the bill, the short-term dealing with the crisis—

Interjections.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Order. The member for Halton Centre and the member for Oriole, please.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I have acknowledged time and again in this House and in public that the section of the legislation that deals with what has come to be known as the gap overrides existing agreements. It does not go through an Environmental Assessment Act, nor does it provide for the kind of process I wish it could have provided for. That was not an easy decision for this government to take or that we came to office wanting to take. It was dictated by the situation we found ourselves in and by the need to solve the problem.

The problem has been there for a very long time. If it was an easy problem to resolve, I suspect it would have been resolved by someone else. It was not an easy problem to resolve, but it has to be solved. It is not going to be easy ahead. Members are right: When the list of potential sites for the long term comes out, that is not going to be an easy process because these are not easy decisions, but they are decisions that those of us entrusted with the responsibility of governing have to make. If we do not make those decisions and if we subsume it in endless wrangles, then we find ourselves in the position this government found itself in when we took office.

Those decisions have to be taken for the sake of the people and the economy of the greater Toronto area. They have to be taken for the environment of the greater Toronto area, nay, for the environment of the province, and as some members have said, for the future of this province and the children of this province. They are decisions that have to be taken to resolve this problem. We are prepared to take those decisions. We are prepared to take them in the most environmentally sound way possible and get on with the job. That is what we were elected to do.

1820

**The Deputy Speaker:** Mrs Grier has moved second reading of Bill 143, An Act respecting the Management of Waste in the Greater Toronto Area and to amend the Environmental Protection Act. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour of the motion will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

Mrs Cunningham moves that the vote on second reading of Bill 143 be deferred until 5:45 pm tomorrow, December 11, 1991. The vote is accordingly deferred.

Interjections.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Order. The member for Cochrane South, withdraw that, please. Withdraw that word. Order, please. The member for Cochrane South, I would ask you to withdraw that word. Thank you.



TRUCK TRANSPORTATION  
AMENDMENT ACT, 1991  
LOI DE 1991 MODIFIANT LA LOI  
SUR LE CAMIONNAGE

Mr Dadamo, on behalf of Mr Pouliot, moved second reading of Bill 129, An Act to amend the Truck Transportation Act, 1988 / Projet de loi 129, Loi portant modification de la Loi de 1988 sur le camionnage.

**Mr Dadamo:** This past spring the Minister of Transportation announced a package of initiatives to assist the Ontario-based trucking industry. The measures included a moratorium on the issuance of new motor carrier licences to operate for-hire trucking services within Ontario and a requirement that load brokers be registered and subject to financial security measures such as bonding.

Today I am pleased to have an opportunity to help guide these initiatives through the Legislature. The minister would have liked to have been here himself for this debate, but his responsibilities have taken him to an equally important UTDC gathering in Thunder Bay.

The legislation being debated here today, Bill 129, is a tangible indication that this government fully recognizes the problems facing our trucking industry and, more important, it is an indication that we are prepared to act in response to these issues.

I am no stranger to the topic. I live on the doorstep of this province's busiest trucking corridor in Windsor. I am all too familiar with the hardships this vital industry has experienced over the past couple of years due to the double whammy of deregulation and the recession.

Today I will explain how the amendments to the Truck Transportation Act contained in Bill 129 will help ease the competitive pressure on the Ontario-based trucking industry and how they will add a degree of financial stability to business practices which affect the industry. Both initiatives have received strong industry support. In fact, when our announcement was made—

Interjections.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Order. I suggest you hold your conversations out of the House.

**Mr Conway:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Could somebody tell the House or at least myself what the order of business is? My friend the member for Windsor-Sandwich is making a very interesting speech. I am prepared to listen to it and debate it. It spares me going to a party tonight. But I would just like a little bit of direction as to what the plans are since the House seems to have dissolved into some excitement.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Thank you. The order of the day is second reading of Bill 129, An Act to amend the Truck Transportation Act, and Mr Dadamo has the floor.

**Mr Conway:** Just on a point of clarification and advice, do I understand we will go until midnight, Mr Speaker? Is that the order under which we are now operating?

**The Deputy Speaker:** If it is so ordered, we will go until 12, but at the moment, the member for Windsor-Sandwich has the floor.

**Mrs Cunningham:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I ask for unanimous consent of the House to revert to Bill 143 and withdraw my motion so that we can have the vote in five minutes.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Agreed?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** Mr Speaker, could we ask the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Transportation to move a motion to adjourn the debate?

On motion by Mr Dadamo, the debate was adjourned.

**Mrs Cunningham:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I ask for unanimous consent to revert to the Bill 143 vote and I withdraw my motion and ask that the vote be taken in one minute.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Is it agreed that we revert?

Agreed to.

1830

WASTE MANAGEMENT ACT, 1991  
LOI DE 1991 SUR LA GESTION DES DÉCHETS

The House divided on Mrs Grier's motion for second reading of Bill 143, which was agreed to on the following vote:

**Ayes—55**

Abel, Allen, Bisson, Boyd, Buchanan, Carter, Christopherson, Churley, Cooke, Cooper, Coppen, Dadamo, Duignan, Ferguson, Frankford, Gigantes, Grier, Haeck, Hampton, Hansen, Harrington, Hayes, Hope, Huget, Jamison, Johnson, Klopp, Kormos, Lessard, Mackenzie, MacKinnon, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Marchese, Martel, Martin, Mathysen, Mills, Murdock, S., O'Connor, Owens, Perruzza, Pilkey, Rizzo, Sutherland, Ward, B., Wark-Martyn, Waters, Wessenger, White, Wilson, F., Winninger, Wiseman, Wood, Ziemba.

**Nays—28**

Arnott, Callahan, Caplan, Carr, Conway, Cousens, Cunningham, Eves, Fawcett, Grandmaître, Harnick, Henderson, Jordan, Mahoney, Mancini, Marland, McClelland, Miclash, Offer, O'Neill, Y., Phillips, G., Poirier, Poole, Runciman, Sterling, Sullivan, Tilson, Turnbull.

Bill ordered for standing committee on social development.

COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION OF BILL 143

Mr Cooke moved resolution 32:

That the standing committee on social development shall meet to consider Bill 143, An Act respecting the Management of Waste in the Greater Toronto Area and to amend the Environmental Protection Act, during the winter adjournment in accordance with a schedule of meeting dates to be agreed to by the three party whips and to be tabled with the Clerk of the assembly at a later date, as follows: three weeks to receive public submissions at televised meetings in Toronto, one week to receive public submissions at meetings outside of Toronto and one week for clause-by-clause consideration of the bill at televised meetings in Toronto. All proposed amendments shall be filed with the clerk of the committee prior to the last day



on which the committee is authorized to consider the bill clause by clause. At 4 pm on the last day on which the committee is authorized to consider the bill clause by clause, those amendments which have not yet been moved shall be deemed to have been moved and the Chair of the committee shall interrupt the proceedings and shall, without further debate or amendment, put every question necessary to dispose of all remaining sections of the bill and any amendments thereto. Any divisions required shall be deferred until all remaining questions have been put, the members called in once and all deferred divisions taken in succession. The committee shall report the bill to the House on the first available day of the spring meeting period that reports from committees may be received. In the event that the committee fails to report the said bill on the date provided, the bill shall be deemed to be reported to and received by the House;

That upon receiving the report of the standing committee on social development, the Speaker shall put the question for adoption of the report forthwith, which question shall be decided without debate or amendment;

That two sessional days shall be allotted to further consideration of the bill in the committee of the whole House. All amendments proposed to be moved to the bill shall be filed with the Clerk of the assembly by 4 pm on the last sessional day on which the bill is considered in the committee of the whole House. Any divisions required during clause-by-clause consideration of the bill in the committee of the whole House shall be deferred until 5:45 pm on the last sessional day that the bill is to be considered in the committee of the whole House. At 5:45 pm on that sessional day, those amendments which have not yet been moved shall be deemed to have been moved and the Chair of the committee of the whole House shall interrupt the proceedings and shall, without further debate or amendment, put every question necessary to dispose of all remaining sections of the bill and any amendments thereto and report the bill to the House. Any divisions required shall be deferred until all remaining questions have been put, the members called in once and all deferred divisions taken in succession;

That upon receiving the report of the committee of the whole House, the Speaker shall put the question for adoption of the report forthwith, which question shall be decided without debate or amendment;

That one further sessional day shall be allotted to the third reading stage of the bill. At 5:45 pm on such day, the Speaker shall interrupt the proceedings and shall put every question necessary to dispose of this stage of the bill without further debate or amendment;

That in the case of any division in the House relating to any proceedings on the bill, the division bell shall be limited to 15 minutes.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour of will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

Motion agreed to.

TRUCK TRANSPORTATION  
AMENDMENT ACT, 1991  
LOI DE 1991 MODIFIANT LA LOI  
SUR LE CAMIONNAGE

Resuming the adjourned debate for second reading of Bill 129, An Act to amend the Truck Transportation Act, 1988 / Projet de loi 129, Loi portant modification de la Loi de 1988 sur le camionnage.

**The Deputy Speaker:** The member for Windsor-Sandwich, you have started the debate already; please continue.

**Mr Dadamo:** This past spring the Minister of Transportation announced a package of initiatives to assist the Ontario-based trucking industry.

Interjections.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Order, please. We will wait until the members leave.

**Mr Dadamo:** I will try it again. The measures included a moratorium on the issuance of new motor carrier licences to operate for-hire trucking services within Ontario, and also a requirement that load brokers be registered and subject to financial security measures such as bonding.

Today I am pleased to have an opportunity to help guide these initiatives through the Legislature. The minister would have liked to have been here himself for this debate, but his responsibilities have taken him to an equally important UTDC gathering in Thunder Bay.

The legislation being debated here today, Bill 129, is a tangible indication that this government fully recognizes the problems that face our trucking industry. More important, it is an indication that we are prepared to act in response to these issues.

As well, I am no stranger to this topic. I live on the doorstep of this province's busiest trucking corridor, in Windsor. I am all too familiar with the hardships this vital industry has experienced over the past couple of years due to the double whammy of deregulation and recession.

Today I will explain how the amendments to the Truck Transportation Act contained in Bill 129 will help ease the competitive pressure on the Ontario-based trucking industry and how they will add a degree of financial stability to business practices that affect the industry. Both initiatives have received strong industry support. In fact, when our announcement was made, the president of the Ontario Trucking Association called it "a great beginning" and an example of "strong leadership."

At a September meeting in Winnipeg, ministers of transportation from right across Canada agreed in principle to follow Ontario's lead to legislate responsibility and also disclosure requirements for load brokers in jurisdictions where problems exist.

Bill 129 is already doing what it was intended to do. For all intents and purposes the moratorium on new for-hire trucking licences has been in effect since it was announced April 25, 1991. The moratorium is temporary and will only continue for another 17 months. While it will not play a role over the longer term in assisting the industry, it is providing some breathing space now, relief from the



competitive pressure that new entrants bring to trucking within Ontario's boundaries.

Owner-operators, pressured by the current economic climate, sometimes accept work from unfamiliar sources and become victims of unscrupulous business practices. But truckers operating in today's competitive industry cannot afford any delay in payments. They certainly cannot survive if they are not paid at all. Therefore, we are moving to provide additional financial security for truckers by registering and bonding load brokers.

The legislation being debated here today will give our ministry authority to monitor and control the load broker segment of the Ontario-based trucking industry. Currently it is unregulated. You need only a telephone to be in the business as a load broker.

Load brokers do provide a vital service. They arrange the movement of goods. They find out what has to be shipped and they also find a carrier willing to move it. Their profit comes from off the top; that is, the difference between what the shipper is willing to pay and the amount for which the carrier is willing to work. But the competitive crunch within the trucking industry has reduced the margin from which load brokers take their profits. Because there are no regulations, carriers are sometimes the victims. They may have to wait lengthy periods for their payments, or in some cases they do not get paid at all.

We will establish a registry of load brokers. As long as carriers deal with brokers, some of the risk will be taken out of their business operations.

1840

Bill 129 will also allow the Ministry of Transportation to develop regulations requiring entrepreneurs to post a surety bond and channel their incoming and outgoing payments through a trust account if they wish to operate as load brokers in the province. The bonding and trust account will help to protect carriers against non-payment.

The draft regulations developed by my ministry are now being discussed with all segments of the trucking industry: truckers, shippers and load brokers. There is plenty of opportunity for input from all involved.

This is not by any means the final answer to the trucking industry's woes. This is one segment of a developing strategy, a longer-term strategy, which will ensure a healthy and competitive trucking industry in the years to come.

As the members are no doubt aware, the province does not have jurisdiction over transborder or interprovincial trucking. Ottawa rules over this sector of the industry and is not prepared to abandon its deregulatory policies by restricting new carrier licences for trucking operations under federal control.

The best we can do is to proceed in areas on which we have an impact, in harmony with other interested parties where it is possible, or in some cases alone. This bill embodies both aspects: going alone on the licence moratorium front, while enlisting co-operation from other jurisdictions in pursuing the regulation of the load brokers.

I would encourage all members of this Legislature to recognize the significant progress being made by this government in pursuing meaningful and co-operative assistance for the Ontario-based trucking industry.

On behalf of the Minister of Transportation, I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the member for York Mills for his input. The resulting amendments have, in my opinion, made the legislation even stronger.

**Mrs Caplan:** My constituents in the riding of Oriole are always interested in pieces of legislation that come before this House, and I know in discussion of this bill they would be very interested in the comments that the parliamentary assistant just made.

I know they would also want me to say how pleased they are with the representation my colleague the member for Essex South has done as critic for the Transportation ministry. He has done an outstanding job in advocating for the Sheppard subway to begin now, for example. He understands the important creation of wealth and job opportunities that would come from a government decision to begin the Sheppard line immediately. He is very concerned and has expressed to me his concern that this present government has not taken any action that would see that subway beginning as expeditiously as possible.

During this debate on a piece of legislation carried by the parliamentary assistant for the Ministry of Transportation, I want to take this opportunity, on behalf of my constituents, to echo their concerns about the transportation planning and policies of this new government. My constituents know they said a lot of things when they were in opposition.

My constituents believed many of the things they heard about what the NDP would do if it were in government. They heard about their commitment to public transit, and each day, along with each broken promise, my constituents are becoming more and more concerned about the transportation policy and particularly the rapid transit policy commitments of this new government.

Today, in the few minutes allotted to me, I would ask the government to consider doing everything it can to expedite the development of the Sheppard subway line as a benefit not only to my constituents but to all of Ontario.

**Mr Kormos:** I am pleased that the parliamentary assistant is presenting these amendments as he is. I was especially pleased to hear this evening that this Legislative Assembly is open for the public to watch the business of the public taking place, people like Roy Popovic, a young man visiting here, a Toronto resident—

**The Deputy Speaker:** Speak through the Chair, please.

**Mr Kormos:** —a student at Silverthorn school. He is pleased that he has got a chance to watch the business of government taking place, to watch the debate, the exchange that occurs and to listen to the parliamentary assistant for the Minister of Transportation present these fine amendments to the Legislature—he, along with people like Nikola Malbasic visiting from Niagara Falls, and other people from Etobicoke.

It is incredibly important—I know the parliamentary assistant feels this way as well and I know almost every member of this assembly feels this way—that people in Ontario recognize that this is their building, this is their assembly and these doors have to be open. The television cameras themselves are not enough. People have to feel comfortable and free to walk into this assembly, sit in it



and watch what is going on, knowing it is their responsibility to oversee what their politicians are doing for them and sometimes to them.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Order, please. Guests are welcome in this House but they are not welcome to participate unless you are a member of Parliament.

**Mr Kormos:** I certainly am, Mr Speaker. Politicians, and I believe all of us, have a significant responsibility to the people who put us here. We have a responsibility to our constituents. I say that the people of this province have a responsibility to make sure their politicians know what they are thinking, what their criticisms are, what their praise is and what their goals and aspirations are.

**Mr Hayes:** I would like to get up and show my support and also compliment the Minister of Transportation and the parliamentary assistant, the member for Windsor-Sandwich, on the great job they did.

This particular bill has proved that there is some flexibility, and flexibility that is needed in some of our legislation. You cannot just put blanket legislation in to cover everything, because it might adversely affect others. A good example is in my riding and across this province. There were farmers who were affected, maybe not intentionally, by this particular piece of legislation with the moratorium. These farmers really depended on the off-farm job of hauling fruit and vegetables and their contracts with some of the canning factories for hauling tomatoes and sweet corn and things. They were not excluded at the beginning.

I spoke to the minister of the day and also to the parliamentary assistant. They got on this very quickly and took care of that situation and allowed those farmers to be able to continue to work and haul the fruit and vegetables to supplement their farms. As members know, they are losing lots of money. I would really like to compliment them on that. I think it is a good example of how government can consult and take people's concerns very seriously. I really appreciate the hard work they have done.

**Mr Lessard:** I would like to express my support and congratulations for the initiatives of the Ministry of Transportation and the comments that were made by the member for Windsor-Sandwich wherein he stated he was in the heart of an area that had been impacted very hard by the recent actions taken by truckers who have been very frustrated with some of the policies of the federal government and its failure to respond to their concerns. Those truckers really took those frustrations out in the past year and set up a blockade at the Ambassador Bridge, which is in the member for Windsor-Sandwich's riding. My riding abuts that one, and I have a link with the United States, the Windsor-Detroit tunnel, as well.

One thing we do not want to see again in the city of Windsor is a blockade set up by frustrated truckers because it adversely affects the economy in the city of Windsor and really the economy of the whole province. The actions that are being taken today by the Ministry of Transportation are to address some of the concerns—at least concerns we are able to address at the provincial level—to ensure that truckers are able to operate on a more level playing field and

that we do not experience blockades the way we did in the past year in the city of Windsor or any other place in Ontario.

**Mr Dadamo:** I have some official closing remarks that I would like to make but I would like to thank those colleagues of mine who have spoken on this and the member for Oriole as well. I have listened carefully and I will give the message back to the minister when he returns from Thunder Bay. I guess we are still to hear some remarks from the opposition.

1850

**Mr Mancini:** I am going to address the Legislature this evening on behalf of the Liberal caucus. First, I would like to welcome the parliamentary assistant, the member for Windsor-Sandwich, in what is I believe—is this your first opportunity, George, to shepherd through a piece of legislation?

**The Deputy Speaker:** Please address the member by his riding and not by his first name.

**Mr Mancini:** You have to understand, Mr Speaker, that since the member is from Windsor-Sandwich and I am from Essex South, we travel together on the same flights and we attend the same functions. I am sure my colleague the member for Windsor-Sandwich took no offence to my addressing him in such a casual way.

Bill 129 is, in our view, an ad hoc attempt by the government to help the trucking industry. It is symptomatic of the way this government deals with the economic problems businesses in this province are facing. We would think the government would look at the entire industry in a comprehensive manner. Instead its actions are similar to other things this government is doing such as tax increases and a number of other things I would like to mention but we are under a time allocation this evening. They basically, in my view, have no plan for this industry. The industry is on its own.

I further understand that the parliamentary assistant is going to be moving a number of amendments, perhaps five. They were last-minute amendments sent to us only the other day. We do not have any particular quarrel with the amendments, but we were concerned as to why, after the bill had been on Orders and Notices for such a long time, the government waited until the last minute to make these amendments.

After all, it does have a fairly significant ministry with several thousand employees and one would have thought, since the trucking industry is so important to the province and has had such a high profile over this past number of months due to the economic decline and due to the tax increases imposed by the NDP government, we could have got that information somewhat sooner.

The Ontario Trucking Association would like to see addressed a number of recommendations it has made over the years to improve the competitiveness of Ontario truckers.

I will only list a small number of these recommendations. They are: (1) a temporary exemption from provincial sales tax on heavy trucks and trailers; (2) a reduction in the diesel tax; (3) interest rate assistance similar to that provided to farmers—I might add that was something the NDP had promised to small business during the 1990 election



campaign; however, that promise, along with the dozens and dozens of other promises, has been shelved, probably never to see the light of day again—and (4) having US-licensed trucks meet the same rigid safety and inspection standards as Ontario trucks.

This legislation will not address any of these requests that have been made. However, I understand that the legislation is generally supported by the trucking industry, so we will be supporting the legislation in principle. But there are a number of concerns that we intend to raise.

Bill 129 is scheduled to sunset in April 1993. We realize it is interim legislation. We will have to wait for 17 months while the NDP government figures out some long-term solutions to truckers' concerns. I doubt if those solutions will come forward.

In dealing with these concerns and in preparing the legislation and initiatives which will replace Bill 129, the government must address some of the following issues. I repeat, I doubt if this will be done, but it is important to have it said and put on the record because the trucking industry is in need of friends and certainly in need of a friendly and sympathetic government.

The competitiveness report tabled in September 1991 issues a number of challenges to the government. Last spring the minister commissioned a study of the industry which showed that the real competitiveness issues lie in problems such as taxes. The Ontario Trucking Association has challenged the government to move on its report noting that it just confirmed what the association had been telling the minister all along.

The report is now gathering dust on some shelf and the government still has not taken any action. As I have been saying through my entire discourse here this evening, we do not expect this government to take any action, sad as that may be, even though the report showed that Ontario carriers were at a significant operating disadvantage, as much as 20%, with their American counterparts.

With this legislation the NDP is saying, "Here's something that might stop the problem from getting worse." But that is not accurate at all. We want to know from the minister, and hopefully we will hear from the minister through his parliamentary assistant this evening, what concrete actions the NDP government is going to be taking.

What actions, as called for by the Ontario Trucking Association, will the government move on? When will the government move on the tax problems and the cost crisis faced by our industry? Does the minister expect us to believe that Bill 129 is going to be of significant assistance to the industry? If so, how?

We would like to get the government's views on the record as to what it thinks the benefits of this legislation may actually be after it has been in place for its full two years.

The minister and this government have only delayed and studied, delayed and studied and finally they have brought in ad hoc, temporary legislation dealing with a small portion of the industry's concerns. I believe the Ontario Trucking Association said it best, "It's time for the government to act."

I want to talk this evening about the diesel tax increases levied on Ontario truckers by the Ontario New

Democratic Party government. Bill 129 will not be able to undo the damage done to truckers by the NDP's mishandling of Ontario's economy. The NDP's new diesel taxes can do much more to hurt truckers than Bill 129 can ever repair. The NDP's April budget raised the general diesel fuel tax by 1.7 cents per litre to 12.6 cents per litre. In addition, there will be a further NDP tax on January 1, 1992, of 1.7 cents per litre to 14.3 cents per litre for the general diesel fuel tax rate.

In the midst of a major recession, a crisis in the trucking industry and a cost spiral which is forcing Ontario truckers off the road into bankruptcy and on to unemployment lines, the NDP government's response has been two tax increases, one in April of 1.7 cents and one on January 1, 1992, of a further 1.7 cents. What a way to start the new year. What a way to face the new year, when your competition is literally running you off the road. The new diesel fuel tax increases will raise over \$90 million in new revenue for the government. Every single penny will come from an Ontario trucker who is trying to compete with his American counterparts. I know the member for Welland-Thorold shares my concerns.

#### 1900

This represents an over 30% total increase in fuel taxes for diesel; not the rate of inflation, not the 4% or less which is going to be the rate of inflation for this year, I am told, not double the rate of inflation, not triple the rate of inflation, but eight times the rate of inflation, I say to the parliamentary assistant; eight times. No wonder the minister is not here. No wonder he does not want to face the Legislature. My poor colleague the member for Windsor-Sandwich is sent here to face the Legislature. Small wonder the minister is not here: eight times the rate of inflation.

Trucking is a \$5-billion industry in this province, and for every trucker on the road there are other workers employed to service and repair the trucks, to load the trailers, and in truck and trailer manufacturing and sales. The Ontario Trucking Association estimates there are over 228,000 workers directly employed in the trucking industry in Ontario, 5% of the total provincial labour force; 5% and they get short shrift from this government.

Truck transportation is responsible for over 70% of our trade with the United States. This is an industry that needs to be able to compete in an international marketplace. Seventy per cent of our trade with the US is done through truck transportation. Think of the thousands of jobs that could be created if the NDP government would get off the backs of the truckers, if it would withdraw these unfair taxes, 30%—

**Mr Duignan:** It was your guy put it on the backs of the truckers.

**Mr Mancini:** I know the government does not like to hear this. They do not like to hear this. It is even shocking to me when I have to read it into the record, when I have to look at the statistics and realize again that the government offered the trucking industry, as its solution to problems, a 30% increase in its cost of fuel. That was their solution.

The diesel fuel tax increases can cost truckers \$15 in additional tax every time they fill up their tanks: \$15, not



15 cents, not 50 cents, not \$1.15, but \$15. Every time a trucker pulls up to a gas station or a truck stop he literally takes \$15 out of his pocket and throws it out the window. The new diesel tax will cost independent truckers at least \$4,000 a year in new taxes.

We have talked a lot over the last year and a half about high interest rates. Now the interest rates, thank goodness, have been coming down so that hopefully the truckers and anyone owing money on their rigs, etc., will be getting some type of benefit. But they are not going to see the benefit. They are not going to realize the benefit. The industry will not realize the benefit. Why? Because the NDP government of Ontario is taking it away from them by \$4,000 a year in new diesel taxes.

Whatever benefit they receive from the lower interest rates is being taken from them; it is being robbed. The NDP just put its hands into the pockets of the truckers and pulled out \$4,000. It is as simple as that. The member for Welland-Thorold knows that, because he is very sympathetic to the concerns of the truckers. I know that if he still had a responsible office as senior minister in the cabinet, some of the things we see coming forward now might be delayed; not stopped, but maybe delayed.

The NDP move to increase diesel fuel taxes is another example of the catch-22 the NDP finds itself in with its anti-business policies. This is the most anti-business government that has ever assumed office in Canada, sitting right over there across from the opposition benches, just to your right, Mr Speaker, not realizing in its anti-business crusade that it is business that creates jobs, that it is business that gives people opportunities, that it is business that pays taxes, not realizing that at all, blinded by its socialist ideology and all the other encumbrances it brought to office. We know that and we accept that, but it is a shame people like the truckers have to receive the brunt.

Interjection.

**Mr Mancini:** I am being told by my colleague from the Conservative caucus that the agreed-upon time we talked about has expired. In closing, I want to put on the record that we are prepared to do something to assist the truckers. For this reason, I hope to introduce an amendment to Bill 129 exempting truckers from the budget's diesel tax increases. The minister may not like this, but we are going to try to move the amendment and we are going to try to give the Ontario truckers back their \$4,000 that the Ontario NDP government has taken.

**Mr Turnbull:** Looking at the background to Bill 129, we know there are four significant factors that have come together to really significantly destroy the trucking industry in this province: deregulation, recession, slower depreciation and fuel taxes. I would just like to go over these bit by bit.

Deregulation was certainly much needed in the sense that having a licence to operate trucks in Ontario and indeed in Canada used to be a licence to print money. However, it is unfortunate that the deregulation has come together at the time of a significant recession. We know that with the recession we have fewer loads to move. What has happened is that we have people who are competing with some US truckers. I will quote the example of Hunt Transportation

from the US, which actually hires ex-cons to drive its trucks. They are working them incredible numbers of hours. Canadian truckers do not do the same number of hours, and I certainly would not like to see that.

The most important aspect is the fuel taxes. There was the question of the slower depreciation in Canada, which is a federal matter. I see that the federal government is moving to decrease the depreciation period so that this will significantly help it. However, the president of the Ontario Trucking Association, David Bradley, has gone on record at the time of the publication of the Trucking Competitively report, which came out in September 1991, as saying that all the items in that report are all very well, but that unless we get lower fuel costs at the moment, we will probably still have a significant number of members going out of business.

The provincial government, while hugging itself and saying how good it is to this industry, should be reminded, as my colleague from the Liberal Party suggested, that there was a 1.7-cents-per-litre fuel tax increase in the budget. Indeed, it is to be followed by yet another 1.7-cents-per-litre fuel tax increase on January 1.

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Each increase is the equivalent for the trucker of \$2,000 per year, for a total of \$4,000 per year tax increase. If this government was serious about its desire to help the trucking industry, it would address the central problem. It is not a question of cutting into their profits; it is further increasing their losses. Members can bring in moratoriums all they like, but it does not address the central problem.

In Canada we have significantly older equipment. The only way people can afford to buy new, more fuel-efficient equipment is if they are making profits. As I have said, the federal government is moving to decrease the depreciation schedule, which will allow a more rapid depreciation of the vehicles, which will help. Nevertheless, you still need to make profit. You will not make profit when the government is taxing fuel at this rate. We are now moving to be the second most expensive place in the whole of North America to buy fuel.

My colleagues from across the floor might suggest, "Yes, but a United States trucker coming into Canada has to pay an amount of money equivalent to the fuel he is using here, even if he gassed up in the United States." The basic problem is, this government is not policing the collection of that tax. We only have the equivalent of two man-years of auditing in the US, whereas New York state alone has several people auditing in Ontario.

Not only is the government forgoing a significant potential income source in not collecting the fuel tax outside Ontario as diligently as it should be, but it is piling on fuel taxes to truckers whose home base is Ontario, and \$4,000 a year is an awful lot of taxes. That is just the increase members opposite are putting on taxes to these truckers.

Turning to Bill 129, this is a quick fix that they are trying to achieve. The moratorium, on which I am delighted to say they have put a two-year sunset clause, is really closing the barn door after the horse has bolted, because there are so many licences out there that it is not going to help. Anybody who was to try to get a licence at this moment in



Ontario has to be a mental midget. There is no money to be made in the trucking business.

Indeed, the president of one of the major trucking companies told me that probably the only way they could solve the problem is to take all the excess tractor-trailers down to SkyDome and get Bigfoot, that tractor with all the great wheels, to crush them, because that is probably the order of magnitude we need to address the problem.

During deregulation there were a lot of people who had worked as truckers who thought, "I'll get rich," and they ran out and got a licence. I applaud them for the fact that they wanted to become independent business people and were prepared to take the risks. But the risks are always apparent in any business, and when you have a lot of extra licences, there is a lot of competition. They are now suffering. What we have to do to help these people is make sure the taxes are lowered. My colleague from the Liberal Party who spoke before me has suggested he will bring in an amendment requiring a reduction in the fuel tax. It is certainly an amendment I will be in favour of.

Turning to the question of controlling load brokers, it is a fact that a significant portion of the loads carried in Ontario are brokered through so-called load brokers. By and large, load brokers are very useful people and service the trucking industry well, but of course there has been the odd example where a load broker has not paid for the delivery of the service, and there are a few aspects to that.

The government is bringing in a clause in Bill 129 which allows them to require a bond. I have very vigorously worked on behalf of the industry to say that this should not be more than \$10,000. The reason \$10,000 is acceptable to my party is because in that respect it will be a level playing field with the United States.

Had the government gone ahead with its initial proposal of \$100,000, Ontario load brokers, who do play an important role, would have been at a yet more significant disadvantage at a time when there is a lack of loads. Certainly we welcome protection for the truckers but it is no excuse for the trucker not to do his own checking about the creditworthiness of the company he is trucking for. That applies even with a \$10,000 bond.

When the load broker is paid for the shipment, he is required to put the amount of money he is indebted to for the actual trucking company into a trust account, and that seems like an appropriate action. This is very similar to a lawyer putting money into a trust account or a real estate broker putting it into a trust account.

The exercise of that trust account we will only understand fully when the regulations are published. Of course this government is certainly famous for bringing forward legislation without us seeing the regulations, although from the co-operation we have had between the Ministry of Transportation and my office, I am encouraged to think that perhaps this time we might get a reasonable set of regulations. Certainly the work I have done with the Ministry of Transportation, in the typical non-partisan way which I am so famous for with my friends across the floor, has paid off in that some of the aspects of this bill are very much what we asked for.

But this is not a long-term solution. We need to have more efficient equipment, and in order to buy more efficient equipment we must have profits. We are only going to have profits if we have lower fuel costs, and we keep on going back to fuel costs. This has been one of the cash cows that the Treasurer has gone for, absolutely ignoring the pre-budget consultation where he was told there was a need for a reduction in the fuel tax, not an increase. It seems quite bizarre that we get a 30% increase in the cost of fuel when the Treasurer was told very clearly that unless there was reduction in the fuel tax cost, this industry would continue to haemorrhage the way it has.

The disadvantage we have over the US is something which cannot be ignored. The more fuel-efficient trucks the US is operating, which are typically two or three years old, compare with our trucks, which are seven or eight years old. In fact, we would stimulate the production of trucks in Canada if we were to somehow find a way of getting some profits into this industry.

One of the ways, as I have said, would be a reduction in fuel tax. Another way would be to have some kind of industry assistance. Probably the best thing would be a provincial sales tax moratorium for a period of time until this industry turns around.

This is a route which I believe a previous Conservative government went into. From the Conservative document we issued a few weeks ago called *New Directions: A Blueprint for Economic Renewal and Prosperity in Ontario*, I would just like to read in:

"Gasoline and fuel taxes should be immediately cut by 10%. This would benefit all sectors of the economy, including transportation, tourism and manufacturing. Combined with a reduction in PST, these cuts would begin to address ongoing concerns and job losses associated with cross-border shopping."

With that, I will say that we will be voting for this bill but it is only one step. Part of it is fixing a perception and other parts of it are probably appropriate in terms of the load brokers, but as long as we keep to a \$10,000 bond which is consistent with the United States, I think that is fine. I look forward to seeing the regulations.

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**Mr Dadamo:** I do not see too many on that side who are ready to speak.

I thank the member for Essex South and also the member for York Mills for contributing. Bill 129 sets the stage for government and interested parties to co-ordinate longer-term strategies for the Ontario-based trucking industry. We will work with the private sector to foster a competitive and financially viable industry.

As well, besides the two initiatives contained in Bill 129, this government has pursued and continues to pursue other actions of benefit to the industry. In March we changed our regulations to allow quarterly payments of interprovincial truck licence registrations. This helps truckers faced with cash-flow problems. Instead of paying several thousand dollars in one lump sum they can also spread their payment over the duration of one year.



The actions this ministry has taken cannot be assessed individually by themselves. They may seem insignificant but the cumulative effect will help stabilize the industry. These initiatives are components of a developing strategy, a longer-term strategy which will ensure the survival of a viable Ontario-based trucking industry.

Motion agreed to.

House in committee of the whole.

TRUCK TRANSPORTATION  
AMENDMENT ACT, 1991  
LOI DE 1991 MODIFIANT LA LOI  
SUR LE CAMIONNAGE

Consideration of Bill 129, An Act to amend the Truck Transportation Act, 1988 / Projet de loi 129, Loi portant modification de la Loi de 1988 sur le camionnage.

**Mr Dadamo:** I intend to move five amendments to the bill at the appropriate time during the clause-by-clause consideration of the bill, those being section 3 of the bill, proposed subsection 4.2(2) of the act; section 3 of the bill, proposed subsection 4.2(10) of the act; section 3 of the bill, proposed clause 4.3(5)(b) of the act; section 7 of the bill, proposed subsection 37.1(2.1); and also subsection 9(4) of the bill.

**The Chair:** I believe the member for Essex South has some amendments.

**Mr Mancini:** Has the government moved its amendments?

**The Chair:** Yes, he just did.

**Mr Mancini:** I understand the government has a number of amendments. My amendment will be at the very end of the legislation, so it might be advantageous for the government to move the three, four or five amendments, whatever it has.

Sections 1 and 2 agreed to.

Section 3:

**The Chair:** Mr Dadamo moves that subsection 4.2(2) of the act, as set out in section 3 of the bill, be struck out and the following substituted:

“(2) During the effective period of a direction made under section 37.1, the registrar shall continue to grant new operating authorities of a class identified by the direction to a person who, during the six months before the direction was made,

“(a) had entered into an agreement to carry goods of any other person for compensation; and

“(b) in order to carry out that agreement, had entered into an agreement to purchase or lease for more than 30 consecutive days one or two commercial motor vehicles.”

**Mr Dadamo:** This motion tightens up the exception for persons who had already committed to acquiring trucks and to providing for hired trucking services at the time the moratorium took effect. The applicant's eligibility for obtaining operating authority under this exception is being made conditional upon (1) existence of an agreement to purchase or lease one or two trucks, and (2) an agreement to provide for hired trucking service, provided such agree-

ments had been entered into during the six-month period prior to April 25, 1991, the effective date of the moratorium.

Motion agreed to.

**The Chair:** Mr Dadamo moves that subsection 4.2(10) of the act, as set out in section 3 of the bill, be amended by inserting before “agreement” in the fifth line “purchase or lease.”

**Mr Dadamo:** This amendment is necessitated by the previous amendment related to tightening up the exception for prior agreement to acquire one or two trucks and providing for hired trucking services.

**Mr Mancini:** Maybe I will just put on the record now that we have no objections to the previous amendment, to this amendment and to the other amendments the government will be placing.

Motion agreed to.

**The Chair:** Mr Dadamo moves that clause 4.3(5)(b) of the act, as set out in section 3 of the bill, be amended by striking out “under it by the transferor” in the fifth line and substituting “under the transferor's operating authorities.”

**Mr Dadamo:** This motion is necessary to clarify the requirements as to the limit on the maximum number of trucks which can be operated by licence holders who choose to transfer some of their interprovincial operating authorities while retaining at least one authority during the period of the moratorium. The bottom line is that the transferor will be allowed to operate a fleet size equal to the number of vehicles operated interprovincially before the transfer minus the number of trucks which the transferor is eligible to operate under the transferred authority for the duration of the moratorium.

Motion agreed to.

Section 3, as amended, agreed to.

Sections 4 to 6, inclusive, agreed to.

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**Mr Mancini:** I have an amendment I would like to make. Before I place my amendment, I would like to take a moment or two very briefly to put on the record why my amendment is absolutely essential and why it should receive the support of the government this evening.

During second reading debate earlier on this evening, I pointed out the statistical economic implications of the government's two 1.7-cents-per-litre tax increases that have been placed on diesel fuel, the original 1.7 cents to take effect the same day that the Treasurer brought in the budget and the further 1.7 cents as a New Year's present to truckers that will commence on January 1, 1992.

This taxation by the NDP government is taking \$4,000 from the pocket of every trucker in Ontario and further increasing the disparity in the costs of operation between Canadian truckers and American truckers. My amendment is going to bring some relief to Ontario truckers. My amendment will give Ontario truckers their \$4,000 back. I am going to be quite disappointed if the government does not see fit to support my amendment.

**The Chair:** Mr Mancini moves that section 6 of the bill be amended by adding the following subsection:



"6.1 Section 2 of the Fuel Tax Act is amended by striking out clauses 2(1)(a) and 2(1)(b) and substituting the following:

"2(1)(a) 10.9 cents per litre on all clear fuel received or used by a purchaser in Ontario after the 31st day of December 1991, to generate power in a motor vehicle other than railway equipment operated on rails in connection with a public transportation system."

I find this amendment out of order because it proposes to amend an act not being amended by the bill.

**Mr Mancini:** If that is the case, if the rules of the Legislative Assembly do not allow me to move this amendment at this particular time, I would like a commitment from the parliamentary assistant that such action will be taken forthwith at the earliest opportunity.

I wonder if the parliamentary assistant could inform the Legislature whether or not the intent of my amendment is going to be accepted by the government and all of the government members who have claimed some sympathy for the Ontario Trucking Association and the industry. I want to know if the intent of my amendment is going to be accepted by the government and whether or not it will move under, I guess, more proper circumstances for bills to be amended.

**Mr Dadamo:** The member well knows that this particular item is not playing a part tonight. We are not discussing the 1.7-cents-a-litre tax increase and, as he knows, the Treasurer controls the tax items. We will bring it to the Treasurer's attention again.

**Mr Mancini:** I appreciate the honourable parliamentary assistant's reply. The Ministry of Transportation is the ministry that should be looking after the interests of the Ontario trucking industry. They are its clients. The minister and the parliamentary assistant are the spokespeople in government for the industry.

There are a couple of Christmas parties going on, but we may have to stay here a while unless we hear some clear answers. I want to know what the position of the ministry is going to be in regard to the intention of my amendment, what the parliamentary assistant is going to do, how he is going to do it, when he is going to meet with the Treasurer, what he is going to tell the Treasurer and how he is going to advance the interests of the industry. I want to know those things this evening.

**Mr Dadamo:** We could go back and forth all night. If the member wants to stay all night, we will stay till midnight and beyond. It does not matter. But I will say to him again and I will make it perfectly clear that we have had these discussions with the trucking industry, we have had these discussions with the Treasurer and we will continue to have these discussions with the Treasurer.

One thing the member did say that is correct is that the Ministry of Transportation is taking care of the trucking industry the best it can. Let me say to the member again that we will have discussions with the Treasury over the 1.7-cents-a-litre tax on fuel. We promise the member that.

**Mr Mancini:** Let me see if I understand this right. Is it the intention of the minister to request the Treasurer to repeal the 1.7 cents instituted in April and to not move

forward with the 1.7-cents tax increase in January? Is that going to be his position to the Treasurer?

**Mr Dadamo:** The 1.7 cents is not up for grabs tonight. We are not discussing that. The member is playing with words. He knows I am not going to stand here tonight and give him any words I may make a mistake on. We will discuss it with the Treasurer, as we have already said.

**Mrs Marland:** What is up for grabs tonight, to use the colloquialism of the parliamentary assistant, is the future of a major part of the Ontario economy. A major part of the Ontario economy is driven by what happens to the Ontario trucking industry. This government has already demonstrated its disdain for the Ontario trucking industry with other legislation. The legislation to which the parliamentary assistant correctly refers is not the legislation of his ministry; it is the Treasury's responsibility when we are talking about budget bills.

When we are talking about the concerns that are trying to be expressed here, we are looking at an industry that is an entity on its own. It is an industry on which many millions of dollars depend through the whole process of doing business in this province. What business survives in any manufacturing area and even in some service areas without the trucking industry?

If this government is saying, "Of course we don't have to deal with that tonight because it's not this bill," I want to say, on behalf of the member for York Mills, who is the spokesperson for Transportation for our Progressive Conservative caucus, that he is concerned, as are the other members of our caucus, because this whole approach to the tax on gasoline has a total disregard for the future of the Ontario trucking industry.

David Bradley, the president of the Ontario Trucking Association, explains in detail, as he has probably explained to this parliamentary assistant and certainly to his minister and to ministry staff, that the industry is losing money. We are not talking about reducing profits here. We are not talking about how much money people who own and operate trucks are going to make. We are talking about how much money they are going to lose, how much more money they can lose. With that business loss, of course, go the jobs.

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I have said, as I have stood in this House a number of times in the last few months, that every time we get up on the opposition side of the House and talk about anything to do with business, commerce and industry, the socialist members opposite say, "Well, we've got to save the jobs," and we agree with them totally. But what this socialist government does not seem to realize is that in order to save jobs it has to save the commerce, the business and the industry that provide the jobs.

In speaking to this bill I want to express our concerns for the fact that on the one hand the Bob Rae socialist government talks about wanting to protect workers and save jobs, and on the other hand it brings in all kinds of punitive legislation that impedes the ability of businesses to stay in business. The trucking industry is only one example.

I will understand, Mr Chairman, if you do not accept the amendment of the representative of the official opposition



to this bill. But I will support the intent of the question behind the mover of that amendment to also ask the parliamentary assistant if there will be a commitment and pledge for his ministry to do something with the rest of the people with whom his minister sits around the cabinet table, and show some regard for an industry that is already foundering, closing down, where jobs are lost and business is lost across this province as a result of it. I would appreciate his concern being expressed on the record.

**Mr Dadamo:** In response to the member for Mississauga South, let me make it perfectly clear to her tonight that the Minister of Transportation has always made clear to his cabinet colleagues his sincerity that we are committed to assisting truckers in this province. He has never shirked that responsibility, and of course we will continue to examine methods of helping the industry in the long term. But here tonight, some of the members are tending to go off on wide and varied tangents. What we would like to do is to home in on a moratorium on truck licences, and I believe this is what we should be discussing here tonight via Bill 129.

As the member for Mississauga South would know, the increase in any taxes on fuel for the truckers is certainly under the purview of the Treasurer and the Treasurer only. We can of course make our views known to him, but he holds the purse-strings that will make that decision and he will live with that. I am sure the member for Mississauga South understands that.

The Ministry of Transportation has always been of assistance to the trucking industry. I need not explain that they were deregulated by the member's federal counterparts in the year 1988 and since then have gone downhill. The trucking industry has experienced some bad times not only in the last 15 or 16 months, but has been slowly going down in the last four or five. We are doing the most we can under our purview and of course under the amount of money that we can spend on its behalf.

I would like to say also that I have spoken to many trucking industries in Ontario. I have talked to truckers in the riding which I represent, Windsor-Sandwich. As we said earlier, whenever the trucker blockades occur, they occur in the riding I represent on the foot of Huron Church Road off the Ambassador Bridge, and I have to live with that also.

I am close to the truckers. I spoke at the first rally they had in Windsor. I assisted them as much as I could and worked alongside. Now we are in this enviable position of having to do something for them, so I would hope the member understands that I understand the industry and that I understand the problems it has. I am committed to doing whatever it is I can do for it.

**Mrs Marland:** I have just one final brief comment. The legislation that is before us at this magical moment in history has to do with truck licences. The point I am making, that I hope this parliamentary assistant will take to his minister, is that we will not have to worry about truck licences the way business is going in this province under this socialist government.

I am concerned about truck licences. This bill is going to go through, fine, and yes, this bill is dealing with truck

licences, but a number of businesses in the trucking industry are going out of business. They simply have to close up shop, close their doors and sell whatever is left of their capital investment in terms of equipment. Those people do not care about a piece of legislation about their licences; they care about the future of their industry.

While this government is in power in Ontario, it had better get its act together and it had better start worrying about the future of all industry in this province, particularly the industry about whose licences we are speaking in this case tonight.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** Mr Chairman, I do not want to prolong this, because I know the member who just spoke would like to join her colleagues tonight.

**Mrs Marland:** No, I am not, so you might correct the record.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** She is not joining her colleagues. Okay then, she is not; she is going to stay here. Actually, there are five or six other items on the agenda that we could do. That would be great.

I do not think I could let her comments pass without at least pointing out to her that the truckers in this province, the truckers in this country, have made it very clear that the major contributing factor to their decline and to the difficulties they have had in the industry has been this free-enterprise, right-wing approach the federal Conservative government has taken with deregulation, which has gutted the trucking industry in this province and in this nation.

I know she has to take the opposition point of view and throw in the barbs about socialism and so forth, but if she wants to talk about ideology that is destroying this country, all she has to do is to look to her cousins in Ottawa in the Mulroney government. This industry is the best example of what that right-wing ideology in Ottawa is doing to our nation. It has done it to the trucking industry and we are doing the best we can at the provincial level to try to help and try to mitigate the disastrous consequences from the disastrous economic policies of the Mulroney government.

If she thinks that she stands up here and makes these silly statements and anybody believes her, she is absolutely wrong. People know, and the truckers know, that their problems have been created by her federal government. If she wanted to do something constructive, instead of making the silly statements she is making here tonight, she would hop in a plane, go to Ottawa and beg them to understand the problems of the truckers and ask them to get out of the deregulation mode and bring back some control so that Canadian truckers can be protected.

**Mrs Marland:** The government House leader, the member for Windsor-Riverside, certainly has an advantage tonight because he has a full audience present. I do not have a whole lot of trained seals sitting around me tonight applauding my comments. That is not why I am on my feet. I am on my feet—

**Mr Abel:** If there is something worth applauding.

**Mrs Marland:** Does the member see how they respond? The trained seals are responding again. We are getting quite used to the interjections from across the floor of the House.



When the member for Windsor-Riverside, the government House leader, talks about the disdainful right-wing, free enterprise approach, I want to tell him that Ontario became the premier province in Canada not because of left-wing socialism, but because we believed in free enterprise in this province. We believed in this province that it was not a dirty word to refer to profits.

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**The Chair:** I would ask you to speak to the bill.

**Mrs Marland:** I am speaking to the bill in the same direction the member for Windsor-Riverside did. He referred to my cousins in the federal government and their policies and their legislation. I am not doing what he is doing, which is dumping responsibility on another level of government. He knows as well as I do that I do not control the federal government. I am not part of developing their policies. When he talks in this House about silly statements, I shall refer him to his own Hansard record tomorrow and we will see where the silly statements are.

The fact is that it is free enterprise in this province that allowed the trucking industry to develop as successfully as it has. The relationship between the trucking industry in this province and all the other businesses is what we are talking about in my comments tonight, and the fact that this government thinks the solution to everything is to damn the federal government while it does nothing to secure business and commerce in this province, but everything to drive business, commerce and industry out of this province.

I take strong exception to anyone who stands up on behalf of a socialist government and tries to pretend the way to go is the opposite to free enterprise. We will see where we are with their provincial deficit in another three or four years because of the taxation and the regressive legislation they bring into this House that penalizes business, industry and commerce, which in turn affects what the Ontario trucking industry has an opportunity to do.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I really will be short, but I cannot let that pass either. I think the member for Mississauga South knew she would force me to respond. I think what developed the economy in this province in a very strong way was that there was pragmatic governance in this province for many years, and that is what built the trucking industry. Then it was destroyed by federal policies that are not pragmatic.

**The Chair:** Perhaps I should read the amendment to the bill again.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I know, but you did let the member for Mississauga South go on for quite some period of time.

**The Chair:** Yes, I did, but I will not let anybody go through it again.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I agree. Let's finish the bill and then maybe the member for Mississauga South and I can talk later and I can remind her about things Mr Davis did with Suncor, UTDC and the domed stadium. If that is what she calls free enterprise, she has me very confused.

**The Chair:** Mr Dadamo moves that section 37.1 of the act, as set out in section 7 of the bill, be amended by adding the following subsection:

"(2.1) A direction shall cease to have effect on a day not later than the 25th day of April, 1993."

Motion agreed to.

Section 7, as amended, agreed to.

Section 8 agreed to.

Section 9:

**The Chair:** Mr Dadamo moves that subsection 9(4) of the bill be struck out and the following substituted:

"(4) Subsection (2) does not apply to an operating authority,

"(a) granted to a person who, during the six months before the 25th day of April, 1991,

"(i) had entered into an agreement to carry goods of any other person for compensation, and

"(ii) in order to carry out that agreement, had entered into an agreement to purchase or lease for more than 30 consecutive days one or two commercial motor vehicles; and

"(b) limited to the operation of the number of commercial motor vehicles that are the subject of the purchase or lease agreement."

Motion agreed to.

Section 9, as amended, agreed to.

Sections 10 and 11 agreed to.

Bill, as amended, ordered to be reported.

On motion by Mr Dadamo, the committee of the whole House reported one bill with certain amendments.

The House adjourned at 1956.



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